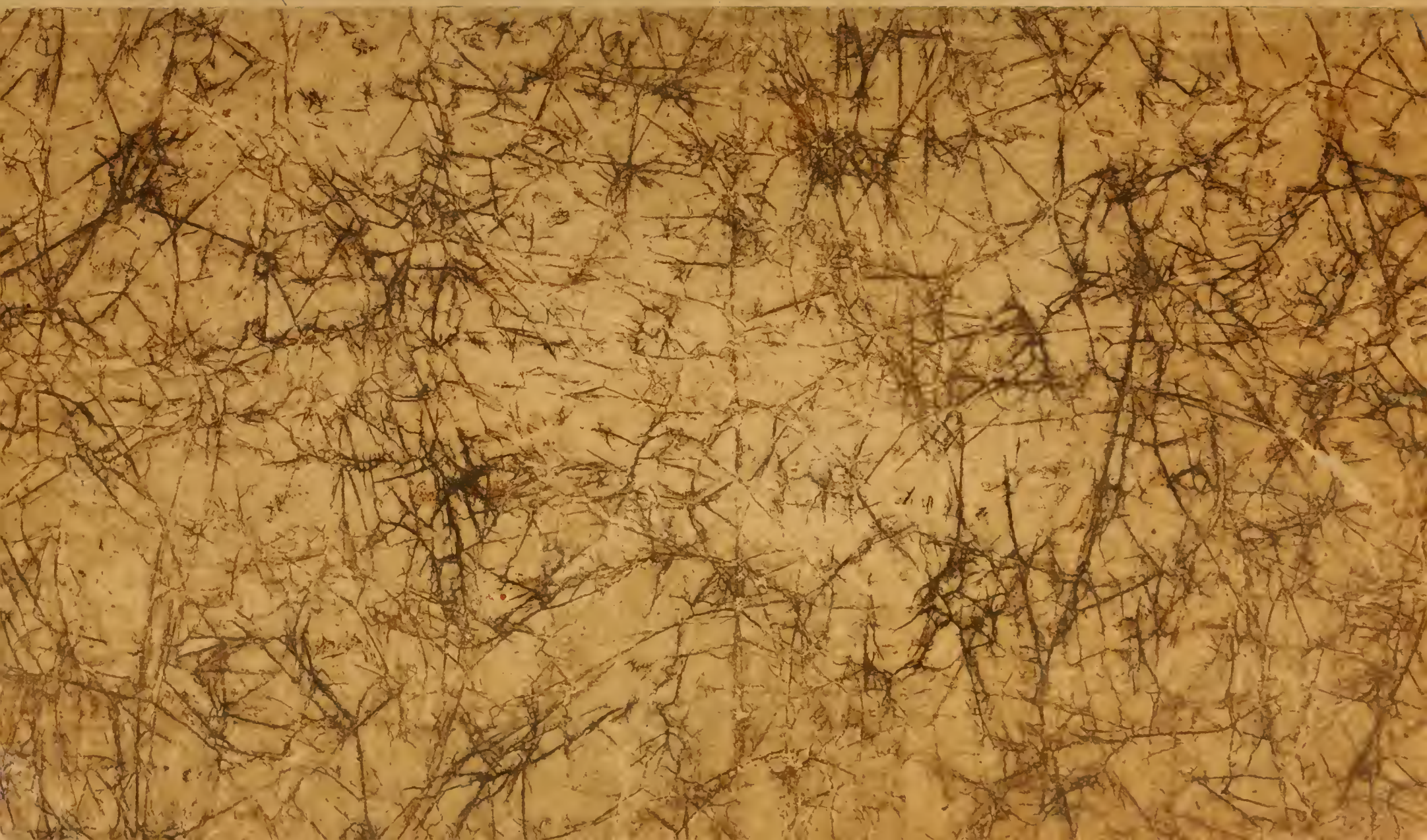

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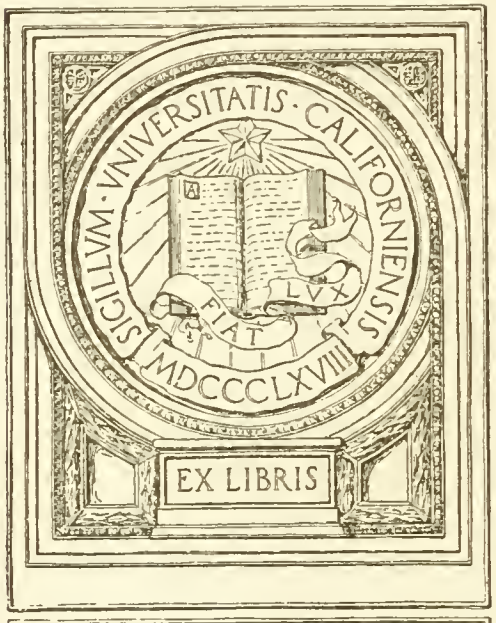

ROLF HOFFMANN

THE WORKS OF JOHN LOCKE Esq;

VOL. III.

CONTAINING,

Some Thoughts concerning Education.

An Eſſay for the Underſtanding St. *Paul's* Epiſtles, by conſulting St. *Paul* himſelf.

A Paraphraſe and Notes on the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Galatians*.

A Paraphraſe and Notes on St. *Paul's* Firſt and Second Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

A Paraphraſe and Notes on his Epiſtle to the *Romans*.

A Paraphraſe and Notes on his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS, *Viz.*

I. Of the Conduct of the Underſtanding.

II. An Examination of *P. Malebranche's* Opinion, of *Seeing all Things in God.*

III. A Diſcourſe of Miracles.

IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.

V. Memoirs relating to the Life of *Anthony* firſt Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

VI. His new Method of a Common-Place-Book, written originally in *French*, and now tranſlated into *Engliſh*.

Familiar Letters between Mr. *Locke* and ſeveral of his Friends.

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SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

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TO

Edward Clarke of *Chipley*, Esq;.

SIR,

THESE Thoughts concerning Education, *which now come Abroad into the World, do of right belong to You, being written ſeveral Years ſince for Your ſake, and are no other than what You have already by You in my Letters. I have ſo little varied any Thing, but only the Order of what was ſent You at different Times, and on ſeveral Occaſions, that the Reader will eaſily find, in the Familiarity and Faſhion of the Style, that they were rather the private Converſation of two Friends, than a Diſcourſe deſigned for publick View.*

The Importunity of Friends is the common Apology for Publications Men are afraid to own themſelves forward to. But You know I can truly ſay, That if ſome, who having heard of theſe Papers of mine, had not preſſed to ſee them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant ſtill in that Privacy they were deſigned for. But thoſe whoſe Judgment I defer much to, telling me, That they were perſwaded, that this rough Draught of mine might be of ſome Uſe, if made more publick, touch'd upon what will always be very prevalent with me. For I think it every Man's indiſpenſible Duty, to do all the Service he can to his Country: And I ſee not what Difference he puts between himſelf and his Cattel, who lives without that Thought. This Subject is of ſo great Concernment, and a right way of Education is of ſo general Advantage, that did I find my Abilities anſwer my Wiſhes, I ſhould not have needed Exhortations or Importunities from others. However, the Meanneſs of theſe Papers, and my juſt Diſtruſt of them, ſhall not keep me, by the Shame of doing ſo little, from contributing my Mite, when there is no more required of me, than my throwing it into the publick Receptacle. And if there be any more of their Size and Notions, who liked them ſo well, that they thought them worth Printing, I may flatter my ſelf, they will not be loſt Labour to every Body.

I my ſelf have been conſulted of late by ſo many, who profeſs themſelves at a Loſs how to breed their Children; and the early Corruption of Youth is now become ſo general a Complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the Conſideration of this Matter on the Stage, and offers ſomething, if it be but to excite others, or afford Matter of Correction. For Errors in Education ſhould be leſs indulged than any: Theſe, like Faults in the firſt Concoction, that are never mended in the ſecond or third, carry their afterwards-incorrigible Taint with them, through all the Parts and Stations of Life.

I am ſo far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I ſhould not be ſorry, even for your ſake, if ſome one abler and fitter for ſuch a Task, would in a juſt Treatiſe of Education, ſuited to our Engliſh *Gentry, rectifie the Miſtakes I have made in this; it being much more deſirable to me, that young Gentlemen ſhould*

be put into (that which every one ought to be ſollicitous about) the beſt way of being formed and inſtructed, than that my Opinion ſhould be received concerning it. You will however, in the mean time, bear me witneſs, that the Method here propos'd has had no ordinary Effects upon a Gentleman's Son it was not deſigned for. I will not ſay the good Temper of the Child did not very much contribute to it, but this, I think, You and the Parents are ſatisfied of, that a contrary Uſage, according to the ordinary Diſciplining of Children, would not have mended that Temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his Book; to take a Pleaſure in Learning, and to deſire, as he does, to be taught more than thoſe about him think fit always to teach him.

But my Buſineſs is not to recommend this Treatiſe to You, whoſe Opinion of it I know already; nor It to the World, either by your Opinion or Patronage. The well-Educating of their Children is ſo much the Duty and Concern of Parents, and the Welfare and Proſperity of the Nation ſo much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it ſeriouſly to Heart; and after having well examined and diſtinguiſhed what Fancy, Cuſtom, or Reaſon adviſes in the Caſe, ſet his helping hand to promote every where that way of training-up Youth, with regard to their ſeveral Conditions, which is the eaſieſt, ſhorteſt, and likelieſt to produce vertuous, uſeful, and able Men in their diſtinct Callings: Though that moſt to be taken care of, is the Gentleman's Calling. For if thoſe of that Rank are by their Education once ſet right, they will quickly bring all the reſt into Order.

I know not whether I have done more than ſhewn my good Wiſhes towards it in this ſhort Diſcourſe: Such as it is the World now has it; and if there be any thing in it worth their Acceptance, they owe their Thanks to you for it. My Affection to you gave the firſt Riſe to it, and I am pleaſed, that I can leave to Poſterity this Mark of the Friendſhip has been between us. For I know no greater Pleaſure in this Life, nor a better Remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued Friendſhip, with an honeſt, uſeful, and worthy Man, and Lover of his Countrey. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt faithful Servant,

7 March,
1690.

JOHN LOCKE.

SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

§. 1. A SOUND Mind in a ſound Body, is a ſhort, but full Deſcription of a happy State in this World: He that has theſe Two, has little more to wiſh for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing elſe. Men's Happineſs or Miſery, is moſt part of their own making. He, whoſe Mind directs not wiſely, will never take the right Way; and he, whoſe Body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confeſs there are ſome Mens Conſtitutions of Body and Mind ſo vigorous, and well framed by Nature, that they need not much Aſſiſtance from others, but by the Strength of their natural Genius, they are from their Cradles carried towards what is Excellent; and by the Privilege of their happy Conſtitutions, are able to do Wonders. But Examples of this kind are but few, and I think I may ſay, that of all the Men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, uſeful or not, by their Education. 'Tis that which makes the great Difference in Mankind. The little, or almoſt inſenſible Impreſſions on our tender Infancies, have very important and laſting Conſequences: And there 'tis, as in the Fountains of ſome Rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible Waters into Channels, that make them take quite contrary Courſes; and by this little Direction given them at firſt in the Source, they receive different Tendencies, and arrive at laſt at very remote and diſtant Places.

§. 2. I imagine the Minds of Children as eaſily turned this or that way, as Water it ſelf; and though this be the principal Part, and our main Care ſhould be about the Inſide, yet the Clay Cottage is not to be neglected. I ſhall therefore begin with the Caſe, and conſider firſt the *Health* of the Body, as that, which perhaps you may rather expect from that Study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied my ſelf to; and that alſo which will be ſooneſt diſpatch'd, as lying, if I gueſs not amiſs, in a very little compaſs. *Health.*

§. 3. How neceſſary *Health* is to our Buſineſs and Happineſs: And how requiſite a ſtrong Conſtitution, able to endure Hardſhips and Fatigue, is to one that will make any Figure in the World; is too obvious to need any Proof.

Health. §. 4. The Conſideration I ſhall here have of *Health*, ſhall be, not what a Phyſician ought to do with a ſick or crazy Child; but what the Parents, without the help of Phyſick, ſhould do for the *Preſervation and Improvement of an healthly*, or at leaſt, *not ſickly Conſtitution* in their Children: And this perhaps might be all diſpatched in this one ſhort Rule, *viz.* That Gentlemen ſhould uſe their Children, as the honeſt Farmers and ſubſtantial Yeomen do theirs. But becauſe the Mothers poſſibly may think this a little too hard, and the Fathers too ſhort, I ſhall explain my ſelf more particularly; only laying down this as a general and certain Obſervation for the Women to conſider, *viz.* That moſt Childrens Conſtitutions are either ſpoiled, or at leaſt harmed, by *Cockering* and *Tenderneſs*.

Tenderneſs. Warmth. §. 5. The firſt Thing to be taken care of, is, That Children be not too *warmly Clad or Cover'd*, Winter or Summer. The Face, when we are Born, is no leſs tender than any other part of the Body: 'Tis Uſe alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the Cold. And therefore the *Scythian* Philoſopher gave a very ſignificant Anſwer to the *Athenian*, who wonder'd how he could go Naked in Froſt and Snow: How, ſaid the *Scythian*, can you endure your Face expoſed to the ſharp Winter Air? My Face is uſed to it, ſaid the *Athenian*. Think me all Face, replied the *Scythian*. Our Bodies will endure any thing, that from the Beginning they are accuſtomed to.

An eminent Inſtance of this, though in the contrary exceſs of Heat, being to our preſent purpoſe to ſhew what Uſe can do, I ſhall ſet down in the Author's Words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious Voyage. * 'The 'Heats, ſays he, are more violent in *Malta*, than in any part of *Europe*; they 'exceed thoſe of *Rome* it ſelf, and are perfectly Stifling; and ſo much the 'more, becauſe there are ſeldom any cooling Breezes here. This makes the 'common People as black as Gypſies: But yet the Peaſants defie the Sun; 'they work-on in the hotteſt part of the Day, without intermiſſion, or 'ſheltering themſelves from his ſcorching Rays. This has convinc'd me that 'Nature can bring it ſelf to many things which ſeem impoſſible, provided 'we accuſtom our ſelves from our Infancy. The *Malteſes* do ſo, who hard-'en the Bodies of their Children, and reconcile them to the Heat, by ma-'king them go ſtark naked, without Shirt, Drawers, or any thing on their 'Head, from their Cradles, till they are Ten Years old.

**Nouveau Voyage du Levant.* 150 — 175

Give me leave therefore to adviſe you, not to fence too carefully againſt the Cold of this our Climate: There are thoſe in *England* who wear the ſame Clothes Winter and Summer, and that without any Inconvenience, or more Senſe of Cold than others find. But if the Mother will needs have an Allowance for Froſt and Snow, for fear of harm; and the Father for fear of Cenſure; be ſure let not his Winter-Clothing be too warm: And amongſt other things remember, That when Nature has ſo well cover'd his Head with Hair, and ſtrengthen'd it with a Year or two's Age, that he can run about by Day without a Cap, it is beſt that by Night a Child ſhould alſo lie without one; there being nothing that more expoſes to Head-ach, Colds, Catarrhs, Coughs, and ſeveral other Diſeaſes, than keeping the *Head warm*.

§. 6. I have ſaid *He* here, becauſe the principal Aim of my Diſcourſe is, how a young Gentleman ſhould be brought up from his Infancy, which, in all things will not ſo perfectly ſuit the Education of *Daughters*; though, where the Difference of Sex requires different Treatment, 'twill be no hard matter to diſtinguiſh.

Feet. §. 7. I would alſo adviſe his *Feet to be waſh'd* every Day in cold Water; and to have his *Shoes* ſo thin, that they might leak and *let in Water*, when ever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I ſhall have the Miſtreſs and Maids too againſt me. One will think it too filthy; and the other, perhaps, too much Pains to make clean his Stockings. But yet Truth will have it, that his Health is much more worth than all ſuch Conſiderations, and ten-times as much more. And he that conſiders how miſchievous and mortal a thing, taking *Wet in the Feet* is, to thoſe who have been bred nicely, will wiſh he had with the poor People's Children gone *Bare-foot*: who, by that means, come to be ſo reconciled by Cuſtom, to Wet in their Feet, that they take no more Cold or Harm by it, than if they were Wet in their Hands. And what

what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the Hands and the Feet in others, but only Cuſtom? I doubt not, but if a Man from his Cradle had been always uſed to go Bare-foot, whilſt his Hands were conſtantly wrapp'd up in warm Mittins, and cover'd with *Handſhoes*, as the *Dutch* call *Gloves*; I doubt not, I ſay, but ſuch a Cuſtom would make taking wet in his Hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their Feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is to have his Shoes made ſo as to leak water; and his Feet waſh'd conſtantly every day in cold water. It is recommendable for its cleanlineſs: But that which I aim at in it is Health. And therefore I limit it not preciſely to any time of the day. I have known it uſed every night, with very good ſucceſs, and that, all the Winter, without the omitting it ſo much as one night in extream cold Weather; when thick Ice cover'd the water, the Child bath'd his Legs and Feet in it; though he was of an Age not big enough to rub and wipe them himſelf, and when he began this Cuſtom, was puleing and very tender. But the great end being to harden thoſe parts by a frequent and familiar uſe of cold Water, and thereby to prevent the Miſchiefs that uſually attend accidental taking wet in the Feet, in thoſe who are bred otherwiſe; I think it may be left to the Prudence and Convenience of the Parents, to chuſe either night or morning. The time I deem indifferent, ſo the thing be effectually done. The Health and Hardineſs procured by it, would be a good Purchaſe at a much dearer rate. To which, If I add the preventing of Corns, that to ſome Men would be a very valuable Conſideration. But begin firſt in the Spring with luke-warm, and ſo colder and colder every time, till in a few days, you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it ſo Winter and Summer. For it is to be obſerv'd in this, as in all other *Alterations* from our ordinary way of living, the Changes muſt be made by gentle and inſenſible degrees; and ſo we may bring our Bodies to any thing without Pain, and without Danger.

Feet.

Alterations.

How fond Mothers are like to receive this Doctrine, is not hard to foreſee. What can it be leſs than to murder their tender Babes to uſe them thus? What! put their Feet in cold water in Froſt and Snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm? A little to remove their fears by Examples, without which the plaineſt Reaſon is ſeldom hearken'd to; *Seneca* tells us of himſelf, *Ep.* 53 and 83. that he uſed to bathe himſelf in cold Spring-water in the midſt of Winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would ſcarce have done, in an exuberant Fortune, that could well have born the expence of a warm Bath; and in an Age (for he was then Old) that would have excuſed greater Indulgence. If we think his Stoical Principles led him to this ſeverity; let it be ſo, that this Sect reconcil'd cold water to his Sufferance: What made it agreeable to his Health? For that was not impair'd by this hard Uſage. But what ſhall we ſay to *Horace*, who warm'd not himſelf with the Reputation of any Sect, and leaſt of all affected Stoical Auſterities? Yet he aſſures us, he was wont in the Winter Seaſon to bathe himſelf in cold water. But perhaps *Italy* will be thought much warmer than *England*, and the chillneſs of their Waters not to come near our's in Winter. If the Rivers of *Italy* are warmer, thoſe of *Germany* and *Poland* are much colder, than any in this our Country; and yet in theſe, the *Jews*, both Men and Women, bathe all over, at all Seaſons of the year, without any prejudice to their Health. And every one is not apt to believe it is Miracle, or any peculiar virtue of St. *Winifred*'s *Well*, that makes the cold Waters of that famous Spring do no harm to the tender Bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the Miracles done by cold Baths on decay'd and weak Conſtitutions, for the recovery of Health and Strength, and therefore they cannot be impracticable or intollerable, for the improving and hardening the Bodies of thoſe who are in better Circumſtances.

If theſe Examples of grown Men be not thought yet to reach the Caſe of Children; but that they may be judg'd ſtill to be too tender and unable to bear ſuch uſage; let them examine what the *Germans* of old, and the *Iriſh* now do to them; and they will find that Infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure Bathing, not only of their Feet, but of their

Feet. their whole Bodies in cold water. And there are, at this day, Ladies in the Highlands of *Scotland*, who uſe this diſcipline to their Children in the midſt of Winter; and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is Ice in it.

Swimming. §. 8. I ſhall not need here to mention *Swimming*, when he is of an Age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. 'Tis that ſaves many a Man's life: And the *Romans* thought it ſo neceſſary, that they rank'd it with Letters; and it was the common Phraſe to mark one ill Educated and good for nothing; That he had neither learn'd to Read nor to Swim. *Nec literas didicit nec natare.* But beſides the gaining a Skill, which may ſerve him at need; the advantages to Health, by often *bathing in cold water*, during the heat of Summer, are ſo many, that I think nothing need to be ſaid to encourage it, provided this one caution be uſed, That he never go into the water, when Exerciſe has at'all warm'd him, or left any emotion in his Blood or Pulſe.

Air. §. 9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's Health, but eſpecially Children's, is, to be much in the *open Air*, and very little as may be by the Fire, even in Winter. By this he will accuſtom himſelf alſo to Heat and Cold, Shine and Rain; all which if a Man's body will not endure, it will ſerve him to very little purpoſe in this World: And when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to uſe him to it: It muſt be got early and by degrees. Thus the Body may be brought to bear almoſt any thing. If I ſhould adviſe him to play in the *Wind and the Sun without a Hat*, I doubt whether it could be born. There would a thouſand Objections be made againſt it, which at laſt would amount to no more in truth, than being Sun-burnt. And if my young Maſter be to be kept always in the Shade, and never expoſed to the Sun and Wind, for fear of his Complexion, it may be a good way to make him a *Beau*, but not a Man of Buſineſs. And although greater regard be to be had to Beauty in the Daughters, yet I will take the liberty to ſay, that the more they are in the *Air*, without prejudice to their Faces, the ſtronger and healthier they will be; and the nearer they come to the Hardſhips of their Brothers in their Education, the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives.

§. 10. Playing in the *open Air*, has but this one danger in it, that I know; and that is, That when he is hot with running up and down, he ſhould ſit or lie down on the cold or moiſt Earth. This I grant, and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with Labour or Exerciſe, brings more People to the Grave, or to the brink of it, by Fevers, and other Diſeaſes, than any thing I know. Theſe Miſchiefs are eaſily enough prevented whilſt he is little, being then ſeldom out of ſight. And if during his Childhood, he be conſtantly and rigorouſly kept from ſitting on the ground, or drinking any cold Liquor *Habits.* whilſt he is hot, the Cuſtom of forbearing grown into a habit, will help much to preſerve him, when he is no longer under his Maid's or Tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the caſe. For, as years encreaſe, Liberty muſt come with them; and in a great many things he muſt be truſted to his own conduct, ſince there cannot always be a Guard upon him; except what you have put into his own Mind by good Principles, and eſtabliſh'd Habits, which is the beſt and ſureſt, and therefore moſt to be taken care of. For, from repeated Cautions and Rules, ever ſo often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing either in this, or any other caſe, farther than practice has eſtabliſh'd them into Habits.

Clothes. §. 11. One thing the mention of the Girls brings into my Mind, which muſt not be forgot; and that is, That your Son's *Clothes* be *never* made *ſtrait*, eſpecially about the Breaſt. Let Nature have ſcope to faſhion the Body as ſhe thinks beſt. She works of her ſelf a great deal better and exacter, than we can direct her. And if Women were themſelves to frame the Bodies of their Children in their Wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their Shapes when they are out, we ſhould as certainly have no perfect Children born, as we have few well-ſhap'd that are *ſtrait-laced*, or much tamper'd with. This Conſideration ſhould methinks keep buſie People (I will not ſay ignorant Nurſes and Bodice-makers) from medling in a matter they underſtand not; and they ſhould be afraid to put Nature out of her way in faſhioning the Parts,

Parts, when they know not how the leaſt and meaneſt is made. And yet I have ſeen ſo many Inſtances of Children receiving great harm from *ſtrait-lacing*, that I cannot but conclude there are other Creatures, as well as Monkeys, who little wiſer than they, deſtroy their young ones by ſenſeleſs fondneſs, and too much embracing. *Clothes.*

§. 12. Narrow Breaſts, ſhort and ſtinking Breath, ill Lungs, and Crookedneſs, are the natural and almoſt conſtant effects of *hard Bodice*, and *Clothes that pinch*. That way of making ſlender Waſtes and fine Shapes, ſerves but the more effectually to ſpoil them. Nor can there indeed but be diſproportion in the Parts, when the Nouriſhment prepared in the ſeveral Offices of the Body, cannot be diſtributed as Nature deſigns. And therefore what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, on ſome part not ſo *braced*, it often makes a Shoulder or a Hip higher or bigger than its juſt proportion. 'Tis generally known that the Women of *China* (imagining I know not what kind of Beauty in it) by bracing and binding them hard from their Infancy, have very little Feet. I ſaw lately a pair of *China* Shoes, which I was told were for a grown Woman; they were ſo exceedingly diſproportion'd to the Feet of one of the ſame Age amongſt us, that they would ſcarce have been big enough for one of our little Girls. Beſides this, 'tis obſerv'd that their Women are alſo very little, and ſhort-liv'd; whereas the Men are of the ordinary Stature of other Men, and live to a proportionable Age. Theſe defects in the Female Sex of that Country, are by ſome imputed to the unreaſonable binding of their Feet; whereby the free circulation of the Blood is hinder'd, and the Growth and Health of the whole Body ſuffers. And how often do we ſee that ſome ſmall part of the Foot being injur'd by a Wrench or a Blow, the whole Leg, or Thigh thereby loſes it's Strength and Nouriſhment, and dwindles away? How much greater Inconveniencies may we expect, when the *Thorax*, wherein is placed the heart and ſeat of Life, is unnaturally *compreſſed*, and hinder'd from its due expanſion?

§. 13. As for his *Diet*, it ought to be very *plain* and ſimple; and if I might adviſe, Fleſh ſhould be forborn as long as he is in Coats, or at leaſt till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be to his preſent and future Health and Strength, I fear it will hardly be conſented to by Parents, miſled by the Cuſtom of eating too much Fleſh themſelves; who will be apt to think their Children, as they do themſelves, in danger to be ſtarved, if they have not Fleſh at leaſt twice a day. This I am ſure, Children would breed their Teeth with much leſs danger, be freer from Diſeaſes whilſt they were little, and lay the Foundations of an healthy and ſtrong Conſtitution much ſurer, if they were not cram'd ſo much as they are by fond Mothers and fooliſh Servants, and were kept wholly from Fleſh, the firſt three or four years of their Lives. *Diet.*

But if my young Maſter muſt needs have Fleſh, let it be but once a day, and of one ſort at a Meal. Plain Beef, Mutton, Veal, *&c.* without other Sawce than Hunger, is beſt: And great care ſhould be uſed, that he eat *Bread* plentifully, both alone and with every thing elſe. And whatever he eats that is ſolid, make him *chew* it well. We *Engliſh* are often negligent herein; from whence follows Indigeſtion, and other great Inconveniencies.

§. 14. For *Breakfaſt* and *Supper*, *Milk*, *Milk-Pottage*, *Water-Gruel*, *Flummery*, and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in *England*, are very fit for Children: Only, in all theſe let care be taken, that they be plain, and without much mixture, and very ſparingly ſeaſon'd with Sugar, or rather none at all: Eſpecially all *Spice*, and other things that may heat the Blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be ſparing alſo of *Salt* in the ſeaſoning of all his Victuals, and uſe him not to high-ſeaſon'd Meats. Our Palates grow into a reliſh, and liking of the Seaſoning and Cookery which by Cuſtom they are ſet to; and an over-much uſe of Salt, beſides that it occaſions Thirſt, and over-much Drinking, has other ill effects upon the Body. I ſhould think that a good piece of well made and well baked *Brown-bread*, ſometimes with and ſometimes without *Butter* or *Cheeſe*, would be often the beſt Breakfaſt for my young Maſter. I am ſure 'tis as wholſome, and will make him as ſtrong a Man as greater Delicacies; and if he be uſed to it, it will be as pleaſant to him.

Diet. him. If he at any time calls for Victuals between Meals, uſe him to nothing but dry *Bread*. If he be hungry more than wanton, *Bread* alone will down; and if he be not hungry, 'tis not fit he ſhould eat. By this you will obtain two good effects; 1. That by Cuſtom he will come to be in love with *Bread*; for, as I ſaid, our Palates and Stomachs too are pleaſed with the things we are uſed to. Another good you will gain hereby, is, That you will not teach him to eat more, nor oftner than Nature requires. I do not think that all Peoples Appetites are alike: Some have naturally ſtronger, and ſome weaker Stomachs. But this I think, that many are made *Gormands* and *Gluttons* by Cuſtom, that were not ſo by Nature: And I ſee in ſome Countries Men as luſty and ſtrong, that eat but two Meals a day, as others that have ſet their Stomachs by a conſtant uſage, like Larums to call on them for four or five. The *Romans* uſually faſted till Supper; the only ſet Meal, even of thoſe who ate more than once a day: And thoſe who uſed Breakfaſts, as ſome did at eight, ſome at ten, others at twelve of the Clock, and ſome later, neither ate Fleſh, nor had any thing made ready for them. *Auguſtus*, when the greateſt Monarch on the Earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry Bread in his Chariot. And *Seneca* in his 83d Epiſtle, giving an account how he managed himſelf, even when he was Old, and his Age permitted Indulgence, ſays, That he uſed to eat a piece of dry Bread for his Dinner, without the formality of ſitting to it: Though his Eſtate would have as well paid for a better Meal (had Health requir'd it) as any Subject's in *England*, were it doubled. The Maſters of the World were bred up with this ſpare Diet: And the young Gentlemen of *Rome* felt no want of Strength or Spirit, becauſe they ate but once a day. Or if it happen'd by chance, that any one could not faſt ſo long as till Supper, their only ſet Meal; he took nothing but a bit of dry Bread, or at moſt a few Raiſins, or ſome ſuch ſlight thing with it, to ſtay his Stomach. This part of Temperance was found ſo neceſſary both for Health and Buſineſs, that the Cuſtom of only one Meal a day held out againſt that prevailing Luxury, which their Eaſtern Conqueſts and Spoils had brought in amongſt them: And thoſe who had given up their old frugal Eating, and made Feaſts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than one ſet Meal a day was thought ſo monſtrous, that it was a reproach as low down as *Cæſar*'s time, to make an Entertainment, or ſit down to a full Table, 'till towards Sun-ſet. And therefore, if it would not be thought too ſevere, I ſhould judge it moſt convenient, that my young Maſter ſhould have nothing but *Bread* too for *Breakfaſt*. You cannot imagine of what force Cuſtom is: And I impute a great part of our Diſeaſes in *England*, to our eating too much *Fleſh*, and too little *Bread*.

Meals. §. 15. As to his *Meals*, I ſhould think it beſt, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they ſhould not be kept conſtantly to an hour. For when Cuſtom has fix'd his eating to certain ſtated periods, his Stomach will expect Victuals at the uſual hour, and grow peeviſh if he paſſes it; either fretting it ſelf into a troubleſome exceſs, or flagging into a downright want of Appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept conſtantly to for his Breakfaſt, Dinner and Supper, but rather varied almoſt every day. And if betwixt theſe, which I call *Meals*, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry Bread. If any one think this too hard and ſparing a Diet for a Child, let them know, that a Child will never ſtarve, nor dwindle for want of nouriſhment, who, beſides Fleſh at Dinner, and Spoon-meat, or ſome ſuch other thing at Supper, may have good Bread and Beer as often as he has a Stomach: For thus, upon ſecond thoughts, I ſhould judge it beſt for Children to be order'd. The Morning is generally deſign'd for Study, to which a full Stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry Bread, though the beſt nouriſhment, has the leaſt temptation: And no body would have a Child cram'd at Breakfaſt, who has any regard to his Mind or Body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unſuitable to one of Eſtate and Condition. A Gentleman in any Age, ought to be ſo bred, as to be fitted to bear Arms, and be a Soldier. But he that in this, breeds his Son ſo, as if he deſign'd him to ſleep over his Life, in the plenty and eaſe of a full Fortune he intends to leave him, little conſiders the examples he has ſeen, or the Age he lives in.

§. 16.

§. 16. His *Drink* ſhould be only Small Beer; and that too he ſhould never be ſuffer'd to have between Meals, but after he had eat a piece of Bread. The Reaſons why I ſay this, are theſe: *Drink.*

§. 17. 1. More Fevers and Surfeits are got by People's Drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by Play he be hot and dry, Bread will ill go down; and ſo, if he cannot have *Drink*, but upon that Condition, he will be forced to forbear. For, if he be very hot, he ſhould by no means *Drink*. At leaſt, a good piece of Bread firſt to be eaten, will gain time to warm the Beer *Blood-hot*, which then he may drink ſafely. If he be very dry, it will go down ſo warm'd, and quench his Thirſt better: And if he will not drink it ſo warm'd, abſtaining will not hurt him. Beſides, This will teach him to forbear, which is an Habit of greateſt Uſe for Health of Body and Mind too.

§. 18. 2. Not being permitted to *drink* without eating, will prevent the Cuſtom of having the Cup often at his Noſe; a dangerous Beginning, and Preparation to *Good-fellowſhip*. Men often bring habitual Hunger and Thirſt on themſelves by Cuſtom. And if you pleaſe to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by Uſe, to ſuch a Neceſſity again of *Drinking* in the Night, that he will not be able to ſleep without it. It being the Lullaby uſed by Nurſes, to ſtill crying Children; I believe Mothers generally find ſome Difficulty to wean their Children from *Drinking* in the Night, when they firſt take them home. Believe it, Cuſtom prevails as much by Day as by Night; and you may, if you pleaſe, bring any one to be Thirſty every hour.

I once lived in an Houſe, where to appeaſe a froward Child, they gave him *Drink* as often as he cried; ſo that he was conſtantly bibbing: And tho' he could not ſpeak, yet he drank more in twenty four hours than I did. Try it when you pleaſe, you may with Small, as well as with Strong Beer, drink your ſelf into a Drought. The great Thing to be minded in Education is, what *Habits* you ſettle: And therefore in this, as all other Things, do not begin to make any thing *Cuſtomary*, the Practice whereof you would not have continue, and increaſe. It is convenient for Health and Sobriety, to *drink* no more than natural Thirſt requires: And he that eats not Salt Meats, nor drinks Strong Drink, will ſeldom thirſt between Meals, unleſs he has been accuſtomed to ſuch unſeaſonable *Drinking*. *Habits.*

§. 19. Above all, take great Care that he ſeldom, if ever, taſte any *Wine*, or *Strong Drink*. There is nothing ſo ordinarily given Children in *England*, and nothing ſo deſtructive to them. They ought *never* to drink any *Strong Liquor*, but when they need it as a Cordial, and the Doctor preſcribes it. And in this Caſe it is, that Servants are moſt narrowly to be watched, and moſt ſeverely to be reprehended, when they tranſgreſs. Thoſe mean Sort of People, placing a great part of their Happineſs in *Strong-Drink*, are always forward to make court to my young Maſter, by offering him that which they love beſt themſelves: And finding themſelves made merry by it, they fooliſhly think 'twill do the Child no harm. This you are carefully to have your Eye upon, and reſtrain with all the Skill and Induſtry you can; There being nothing that lays a ſurer Foundation of Miſchief, both to Body and Mind, than Children's being uſed to *Strong Drink*; eſpecially, to drink in private *with the Servants*. *Strong Drink.*

§. 20. *Fruit* makes one of the moſt difficult Chapters in the Government of Health, eſpecially that of Children. Our firſt Parents ventur'd *Paradiſe* for it: And 'tis no wonder our Children cannot ſtand the Temptation, though it coſt them their Health. The Regulation of this cannot come under any one General Rule: For I am by no means of their mind, who would keep Children almoſt wholly from *Fruit*, as a thing totally unwholſome for them: By which ſtrict way they make them but the more ravenous after it; and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. *Melons*, *Peaches*, moſt ſorts of *Plumbs*, and all ſorts of *Grapes* in *England*, I think Children ſhould be *wholly kept from*, as having a very tempting Taſte, in a very unwholſome Juice; ſo that, if it were poſſible, they ſhould never ſo much as ſee them, or know there were any ſuch thing. *Fruit.*

But

Fruit. But *Strawberries*, *Cherries*, *Gooſe-berries*, or *Currans*, when thorough ripe, I think may be very ſafely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal Hand, if they be eaten with theſe Cautions. 1. Not after Meals, as we uſually do, when the Stomach is already full of other Food. But I think they ſhould be eaten rather before or between Meals, and Children ſhould have them for their Breakfaſts. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing, than hurtful to our Health. *Summer-Fruits*, being ſuitable to the hot Seaſon of the Year they come in, refreſh our Stomachs, languiſhing and fainting under it: And therefore I ſhould not be altogether ſo ſtrict in this Point, as ſome are to their Children; who, being kept ſo very ſhort, inſtead of a moderate quantity of well-choſen *Fruit*, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get looſe, or bribe a Servant to ſupply them, ſatisfie their Longing with any Traſh they can get, and eat to a Surfeit.

Apples and *Pears* too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered ſome time, I think may be ſafely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities; eſpecially *Apples*, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after *October*.

Fruits alſo dried without Sugar, I think very wholſome. But *Sweet-meats* of all kinds are to be avoided; which whether they do more harm to the Maker, or Eater, is not eaſie to tell. This I am ſure, it is one of the moſt inconvenient ways of Expence, that Vanity hath yet found out; and ſo I leave them to the Ladies.

Sleep. §. 21. Of all that looks ſoft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged in Children than *Sleep*. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full Satisfaction; nothing contributing more to the Growth and Health of Children, than *Sleep*. All that is to be regulated in it is, in what part of the twenty-four Hours they ſhould take it: Which will eaſily be reſolved, by only ſaying, That it is of great Uſe to accuſtom them to riſe early in the Morning. It is beſt ſo to do, for Health: And he that from his Childhood, has by a ſettled Cuſtom made *Riſing betimes* eaſie and familiar to him, will not, when he is a Man, waſte the beſt and moſt uſeful part of his Life in Drowzineſs, and Lying a Bed. If Children therefore are to be called up early in the Morning, it will follow of courſe, that they muſt go to Bed betimes; whereby they will be accuſtomed to avoid the unhealthy and unſafe Hours of Debauchery, which are thoſe of the Evenings: And they who keep good Hours, ſeldom are guilty of any great Diſorders. I do not ſay this, as if your Son, when grown up, ſhould never be in Company paſt Eight, nor ever chat over a Glaſs of Wine till Midnight. You are now, by the accuſtoming of his tender Years, to indiſpoſe him to thoſe Inconveniencies as much as you can: And it will be no ſmall advantage, that contrary Practice having made Sitting-up uneaſie to him, it will make him often avoid, and very ſeldom propoſe Midnight-Revels. But if it ſhould not reach ſo far, but Faſhion and Company ſhould prevail, and make him live as others do above Twenty, 'tis worth the while to accuſtom him to *Early Riſing*, and Early going to Bed, between this and that; for the preſent Improvement of his Health, and other Advantages.

Though I have ſaid a large Allowance of *Sleep*, even as much as they will take, ſhould be made to Children when they are little; yet I do not mean, that it ſhould always be continu'd to them in ſo large a Proportion, and they ſuffer'd to indulge a drowzy Lazineſs in their Beds as they grow up bigger. But whether they ſhould begin to be reſtrain'd at Seven, or Ten Years old, or any other time, is impoſſible to be preciſely determin'd. Their Tempers, Strength and Conſtitutions muſt be conſider'd. But ſome time between Seven and Fourteen, if they are too great Lovers of their Beds, I think it may be ſeaſonable to begin to reduce them by degrees to about Eight Hours, which is generally Reſt enough for Healthy grown People. If you have accuſtom'd him, as you ſhould do, to riſe conſtantly very early in the Morning, this Fault of being too long in Bed will eaſily be reformed; and moſt Children will be forward enough to ſhorten that time themſelves, by coveting to ſit up with the Company at Night: Though, if they be not look'd after,

after, they will be apt to take it out in the Morning, which ſhould by no means be permitted. They ſhould conſtantly be call'd up, and made to riſe at their early Hour; but great care ſhould be taken in waking them, that it be not done haſtily, nor with a loud or ſhrill Voice, or any other ſuddain violent Noiſe. This often affrights Children, and does them great harm. And ſound *Sleep* thus broke off, with ſuddain Alarms, is apt enough to diſcompoſe any one. When Children are to be waken'd out of their *Sleep*, be-ture to begin with a low Call, and ſome gentle Motion, and ſo draw them out of it by Degrees, and give them none but kind Words and Uſage, till they are come perfectly to themſelves, and being quite Dreſſed, you are ſure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their *Sleep*, how gently ſoever you do it, is Pain enough to them: And care ſhould be taken not to add any other Uneaſineſs to it, eſpecially ſuch that may terrifie them. *Sleep.*

§. 22. Let his *Bed* be *hard*, and rather Quilts than Feathers. Hard Lodging ſtrengthens the Parts; whereas being buried every Night in Feathers, melts and diſſolves the Body, is often the cauſe of Weakneſs, and the Forerunner of an early Grave. And, beſides the Stone, which has often its riſe from this warm Wrapping of the Reins; ſeveral other Indiſpoſitions, and that which is the Root of them all, a tender weakly Conſtitution, is very much owing to *Down-Beds*. Beſides, He that is uſed to hard Lodging at Home, will not miſs his Sleep (where he has moſt need of it) in his Travels abroad, for want of his ſoft Bed, and his Pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiſs, to *make* his *Bed* after different Faſhions, ſometimes lay his Head higher, ſometimes lower, that he may not feel every little Change he muſt be ſure to meet with, who is not deſign'd to lie always in my young Maſter's Bed at home, and to have his Maid lay all Things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great Cordial of Nature is Sleep. He that miſſes that, will ſuffer by it: And he is very unfortunate, who can take his Cordial only in his Mother's fine Gilt Cup, and not in a Wooden Diſh. He that can ſleep ſoundly, takes the Cordial: And it matters not, whether it be on a ſoft *Bed*, or the hard Boards. 'Tis Sleep only that is the thing neceſſary. *Bed.*

§. 23. One thing more there is, which hath a great Influence upon the Health, and that is, *Going to Stool* regularly; People that are very *looſe*, have ſeldom ſtrong Thoughts, or ſtrong Bodies. But the Cure of this, both by Diet, and Medicine, being much more eaſie than the contrary Evil, there needs not much to be ſaid about it: For if it come to threaten, either by its Violence, or Duration, it will ſoon enough, and ſometimes too ſoon, make a Phyſician be ſent for: And if it be moderate or ſhort, it is commonly beſt to leave it to Nature. On the other ſide, *Coſtiveneſs* has too its ill Effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by Phyſick; purging Medicines, which ſeem to give relief, rather increaſing than removing the Evil. *Coſtiveneſs.*

§. 24. It being an Indiſpoſition I had a particular reaſon to enquire into, and not finding the Cure of it in Books, I ſet my Thoughts on work, believing that greater Changes than that might be made in our Bodies, if we took the right Courſe, and proceeded by rational Steps.

1. Then I conſidered, that *Going to Stool* was the effect of certain Motions of the Body, eſpecially of the Periſtaltick Motion of the Guts.

2. I conſidered, that ſeveral Motions, that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet by Uſe and conſtant Application, be brought to be Habitual, if by an unintermitted Cuſtom, they were at certain Seaſons endeavoured to be conſtantly produced.

3. I had obſerved ſome Men, who by taking after Supper a Pipe of Tobacco, never failed of a *Stool*; and began to doubt with my ſelf, whether it were not more Cuſtom, than the Tobacco, that gave them the Benefit of Nature; or at leaſt, if the Tobacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous Motion in the Guts, than by any purging quality; for then it would have had other Effects.

Having thus once got the Opinion, that it was poſſible to make it habitual; the next thing was to conſider, what way and means was the likelieſt to obtain it.

Coſtiveneſs. 4. Then I gueſſed, that if a Man, after his firſt eating in the Morning, would preſently ſollicite Nature, and try, whether he could ſtrain himſelf ſo as to obtain a *Stool*, he might in time, by a conſtant Application, bring it to be habitual.

§. 25. The Reaſons that made me chuſe this Time, were:

1. Becauſe the Stomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it (for I would never, but in caſe of Neceſſity, have any one Eat, but what he likes, and when he has an Appetite) it was apt to embrace it cloſe by a ſtrong Conſtriction of its Fibres; which Conſtriction, I ſuppoſed, might probably be continued on in the Guts, and ſo increaſe their periſtaltick Motion; as we ſee in the *Ileus*, that an inverted Motion, being begun any where below, continues it ſelf all the whole length, and makes even the Stomach obey that irregular Motion.

2. Becauſe when Men eat, they uſually relax their Thoughts, and the Spirits, then free from other Imployments, are more vigorouſly diſtributed into the lower Belly, which thereby contribute to the ſame effect.

3. Becauſe, whenever Men have leiſure to eat, they have leiſure enough alſo to make ſo much court to Madam *Cloacina*, as would be neceſſary to our preſent purpoſe; but elſe, in the variety of humane Affairs and Accidents, it was impoſſible to affix it to any Hour certain; whereby the Cuſtom would be interrupted. Whereas Men in Health, ſeldom failing to eat once a Day, tho' the Hour be changed, the Cuſtom might ſtill be preſerved.

§. 26. Upon theſe Grounds, the Experiment began to be tried, and I have known none, who have been ſteady in the Proſecution of it, and taken care to go conſtantly to the neceſſary Houſe, after their firſt Eating, when ever that happen'd, whether they found themſelves called on or no, and there endeavour'd to put Nature upon her Duty, but in a few Months they obtained the deſired Succeſs, and brought themſelves to ſo regular an Habit, that they ſeldom ever failed of a *Stool*, after their firſt eating, unleſs it were by their own neglect. For, whether they have any motion or no, if they go to the Place, and do their part, they are ſure to have Nature very obedient.

§. 27. I would therefore adviſe, that this Courſe ſhould be taken with a Child every Day, preſently after he has eaten his Break-faſt. Let him be ſet upon the Stool, as if diſburthening were as much in his power, as filling his Belly; and let not him, or his Maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is ſo: And if he be forced to endeavour, by being hinder'd from his Play, or eating again till he has been effectually at *Stool*, or at leaſt done his utmoſt; I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that Children being uſually intent on their Play, and very heedleſs of any thing elſe, often let paſs thoſe Motions of Nature, when ſhe calls them but gently; and ſo they, neglecting the ſeaſonable Offers, do by degrees bring themſelves into an habitual Coſtiveneſs. That by this method Coſtiveneſs may be prevented, I do more than gueſs; having known, by the conſtant Practice of it for ſome time, a Child brought to have a *Stool* regularly after his Break-faſt every Morning.

§. 28. How far any grown People will think fit to make tryal of it, muſt be left to them; tho' I cannot but ſay, that conſidering the many Evils that come from that defect, of a requiſite eaſing of Nature, I ſcarce know any thing more conducing to the preſervation of Health than this is. Once in four and twenty Hours, I think is enough; and no body, I gueſs, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without Phyſick, which commonly proves very ineffectual, in the Cure of a ſettled and habitual Coſtiveneſs.

Phyſick. §. 29. This is all I have to trouble you with concerning his Management, in the ordinary Courſe of his Health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I ſhould give ſome Directions of *Phyſick*, to prevent Diſeaſes: For which, I have only this one very Sacredly to be obſerved: Never to give Children any *Phyſick* for prevention. The Obſervation of what I have already adviſed, will, I ſuppoſe, do that better than the Ladies Diet-drinks or Apothecary's Medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, leſt, inſtead

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of preventing; you draw on Diſeaſes. Nor even upon every little Indiſpoſition is *Phyſick* to be given, or the Phyſician to be called to Children; eſpecially if he be a buſy Man, that will preſently fill their Windows with Gally-pots, and their Stomachs with Drugs. It is ſafer to leave them wholly to Nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper; or that thinks Children are to be cured in ordinary Diſtempers, by any thing but Diet, or by a method very little diſtant from it. It ſeeming ſuitable both to my Reaſon and Experience, that the tender Conſtitutions of Children, ſhould have as little done to them as is poſſible, and as the abſolute neceſſity of the Caſe requires. A little cold-ſtill'd red *Poppy-water*, which is the true Surfeit-water, with eaſe and abſtinence from Fleſh, often puts an end to ſeveral Diſtempers in the beginning, which, by too forward Applications, might have been made luſty Diſeaſes. When ſuch a gentle treatment will not ſtop the growing Miſchief, nor hinder it from turning into a form'd Diſeaſe, it will be time to ſeek the Advice of ſome ſober and diſcreet Phyſician. In this part, I hope, I ſhall find an eaſy belief; and no body can have a Pretence to doubt the Advice of one, who has ſpent ſome time in the Study of Phyſick, when he counſels you not to be too forward in making uſe of *Phyſick* and *Phyſicians*. *Phyſick.*

§. 30. And thus I have done with what concerns the Body and Health, which reduces it ſelf to theſe few and eaſily obſervable Rules. Plenty of open *Air*, *Exerciſe* and *Sleep*; plain *Diet*, no *Wine* or *Strong-drink*, and very little or no *Phyſick*; not too warm and ſtreight *Clothing*; eſpecially the *Head* and *Feet* kept cold, and the *Feet* often uſed to cold water, and expoſed to wet.

§. 31. Due care being had to keep the Body in ſtrength and vigour, ſo that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the *Mind*; the next and principal Buſineſs is, to ſet the *Mind* right, that on all occaſions it may be diſpoſed to conſent to nothing, but what may be ſuitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational Creature. *Mind.*

§. 32. If what I have ſaid in the beginning of this Diſcourſe be true, as I do not doubt but it is, *viz.* That the difference to be found in the Manners and Abilities of Men, is owing more to their *Education* than to any thing elſe; we have reaſon to conclude, that great care is to be had of the forming Childrens *Minds*, and giving them that ſeaſoning early, which ſhall influence their Lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the praiſe or blame will be laid there: And when any thing is done aukwardly, the common ſaying will paſs upon them, That it is ſuitable to their *Breeding*.

§. 33. As the ſtrength of the Body lies chiefly in being able to endure Hardſhips, ſo alſo does that of the Mind. And the great Principle and Foundation of all Virtue and Worth, is placed in this, That a Man is able to *deny himſelf* his own Deſires, croſs his own Inclinations, and purely follow what Reaſon directs as beſt, tho' the Appetite lean the other way.

§. 34. The great Miſtake I have obſerv'd in People's breeding their Children has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its *due ſeaſon*; That the Mind has not been made obedient to Diſcipline, and pliant to Reaſon, when at firſt it was moſt tender, moſt eaſy to be bowed. Parents, being wiſely ordain'd by Nature to love their Children, are very apt, if Reaſon watch not that natural Affection very warily; are apt, I ſay, to let it run into Fondneſs. They love their little ones, and 'tis their duty: But they often, with them, cheriſh their Faults too. They muſt not be croſſed, forſooth; they muſt be permitted to have their Wills in all things; and, they being in their Infancies not capable of great Vices, their Parents think they may ſafely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themſelves ſport with that pretty Perverſeneſs, which they think well enough becomes that innocent Age. But to a fond Parent, that would not have his Child corrected for a perverſe trick, but excuſed it, ſaying, it was a ſmall matter; *Solon* very well replied, 'Ay, but Cuſtom is a great one. *Early.*

§. 35. The Fondling muſt be taught to ſtrike, and call Names; muſt have what he cries for, and do what he pleaſes. Thus Parents, by humouring and cockering them when *little*, corrupt the Principles of Nature in their Children, and wonder afterwards to taſte the bitter Waters, when they themſelves have poiſoned

Early. poiſoned the Fountain. For when their Children are grown up, and theſe ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their Parents can no longer make uſe of them as Play-things; then they complain, that the Brats are untoward and perverſe; then they are offended to ſee them wilful, and are troubled with thoſe ill humours, which they themſelves infuſed and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out thoſe Weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be eaſily extirpated. For he that has been uſed to have his Will in every thing, as long as he was in Coats, why ſhould we think it ſtrange, that he ſhould deſire it, and contend for it ſtill, when he is in Breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a Man, Age ſhews his Faults the more, ſo that there be few Parents then ſo blind, as not to ſee them; few ſo inſenſible as not to feel the ill effects of their own Indulgence. He had the will of his Maid before he could ſpeak or go; he had the maſtery of his Parents ever ſince he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is ſtronger and wiſer than he was then, why now of a ſudden muſt he be reſtrained and curbed? Why muſt he at ſeven, fourteen, or twenty years old, loſe the Privilege which the Parents Indulgence, till then, ſo largely allow'd him? Try it in a Dog or an Horſe, or any other Creature, and ſee whether the ill and reſty tricks, they have learn'd when young, are eaſily to be mended when they are knit: And yet none of thoſe Creatures are half ſo wilful and proud, or half ſo deſirous to be Maſters of themſelves and others, as Man.

§. 36. We are generally wiſe enough to begin with them when they are *very young*; and diſcipline *betimes* thoſe other Creatures we would make uſeful and good for ſomewhat. They are only our own Off-ſpring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill Children, we fooliſhly expect they ſhould be good Men. For if the Child muſt have Grapes, or Sugar-plumbs, when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor Babby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, muſt he not be ſatisfied too, if his Deſires carry him to Wine or Women? They are Objects as ſuitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a Child. The having Deſires accommodated to the apprehenſions and reliſh of thoſe ſeveral Ages, is not the Fault; but the not having them ſubject to the Rules and Reſtraints of Reaſon: The Difference lies not in the having or not having Appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny our ſelves in them. He that is not uſed to ſubmit his Will to the Reaſon of others, *when* he is *young*, will ſcarce hearken or ſubmit to his own Reaſon, when he is of an Age to make uſe of it. And what a kind of a Man ſuch a one is like to prove, is eaſie to fore-ſee.

§. 37. Theſe are over-ſights uſually committed by thoſe who ſeem to take the greateſt care of their Childrens Education. But if we look into the common management of Children, we ſhall have reaſon to wonder, in the great diſſoluteneſs of Manners which the World complains of, that there are any Foot-ſteps at all left of Virtue. I deſire to know what Vice can be named, which Parents, and thoſe about Children, do not ſeaſon them with, and drop into them the Seeds of, as often as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the Examples they give, and the Patterns they ſet before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is the downright teaching them Vice, and actual putting them out of the way of Virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with Violence, Revenge, and Cruelty. *Give me a Blow that I may beat him*, is a Leſſon, which moſt Children every day hear: And it is thought nothing, becauſe their Hands have not ſtrength enough to do any miſchief. But I ask, Does not this corrupt their Minds? Is not this the way of Force and Violence, that they are ſet in? And if they have been taught, when little, to ſtrike and hurt others by Proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and ſee them ſuffer; are they not prepar'd to do it, when they are ſtrong enough to be felt themſelves, and can ſtrike to ſome purpoſe?

The coverings of our Bodies, which are for Modeſty, Warmth, and Defence, are, by the Folly or Vice of Parents, recommended to their Children for other uſes. They are made matter of Vanity and Emulation. A Child

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is set a longing after a new Suit, for the finery of it: And when the little Girl is tricked up in her new Gown and Commode, how can her Mother do less than teach her to Admire her self, by calling her, *her little Queen* and *her Princess?* Thus the little ones are taught to be *Proud* of their Clothes, before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this out-side Fashionableness of the Taylor or Tire-woman's making, when their Parents have so early instructed them to do so? *Early.*

Lying and Equivocations, and Excuses little different from Lying, are put into the Mouths of young People, and commended in Apprentices and Children, whilst they are for their Master's or Parent's Advantage. And can it be thought, that he, that finds the straining of Truth dispensed with, and encouraged, whilst it is for his Godly Master's turn, will not make use of that Privilege for himself, when it may be for his own Profit?

Those of the meaner Sort are hinder'd by the straightness of their Fortunes, from encouraging *Intemperance* in their Children, by the Temptation of their Diet, or Invitations to Eat or Drink more than enough: But their own ill Examples, whenever Plenty comes in their way, shew that 'tis not the dislike of Drunkenness and Gluttony that keeps them from Excess, but want of Materials. But if we look into the Houses of those who are a little warmer in their Fortunes, there Eating and Drinking are made so much the great Business and Happiness of Life, that Children are thought neglected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces, and Raggousts, and Food disguised by all the Arts of Cookery, must tempt their Palates, when their Bellies are full: And then, for fear the Stomach should be over-charg'd, a pretence is found for t'other Glass of Wine to help Digestion, though it only serves to increase the Surfeit.

Is my young Master a little out of Order: The first Question is, *What will my Dear eat? What shall I get for thee?* Eating and Drinking are instantly pressed: And every Body's Invention is set on work to find out something, luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of Appetite, which Nature has wisely order'd in the Beginning of Distempers, as a defence against their Increase; that, being freed from the ordinary Labour of digesting any new load in the Stomach, she may be at leisure to correct, and master the peccant Humours.

And where Children are so happy in the Care of their Parents, as by their Prudence to be kept from the Excess of their Tables, to the Sobriety of a plain and simple Diet; yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the Contagion that poisons the Mind. Though by a discreet Management, whilst they are under Tuition, their Healths perhaps may be pretty well secur'd; yet their Desires must needs yield to the Lessons, which every where will be read to them upon this part of Epicurism. The Commendation that *eating well* has every where, cannot fail to be a successful Incentive to natural Appetite, and bring them quickly to the Liking and Expence of a fashionable Table. This shall have from every one, even the Reprovers of Vice, the Title of *Living well.* And what shall sullen Reason dare to say against the Publick Testimony? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that *Luxury*, which is so much owned, and universally practised by those of the best Quality?

This is now so grown a Vice, and has so great Supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the Name of Vertue; and whether it will not be thought Folly, or want of Knowledge of the World, to open one's Mouth against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little Satyr out of my way, did I not mention it with this View, that it might awaken the Care and Watchfulness of Parents in the Education of their Children; when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with Temptations, but Instructors to Vice, and that perhaps in those they thought Places of Security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this Subject; much less run over all the Particulars, that would shew what Pains are used to corrupt Children, and instil Principles of Vice into them: But I desire Parents soberly to consider, What Irregularity or Vice there is, which Children are not visibly taught;

and whether it be not their Duty and Wiſdom to provide them other Inſtructions.

Craving. §. 38. It ſeems plain to me, that the Principle of all Vertue and Excellency lies in a Power of denying our ſelves the Satisfaction of our own Deſires, where Reaſon does not authorize them. This Power is to be got and improved by Cuſtom, made eaſie and familiar by an *early* Practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would adviſe, that, contrary to the ordinary way, Children ſhould be uſed to ſubmit their Deſires, and go without their Longings, even *from their very Cradles.* The very firſt thing they ſhould learn to know ſhould be, that they were not to have any thing, becauſe it pleaſed them, but becauſe it was thought fit for them. If things ſuitable to their Wants were ſupplied to them, ſo that they were never ſuffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it; would never with Bawling and Peeviſhneſs contend for Maſtery; nor be half ſo uneaſie to themſelves and others as they are, becauſe *from the firſt* Beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never ſuffered to obtain their Deſire by the Impatience they expreſſed for it, they would no more cry for other Things, than they do for the Moon.

§. 39. I ſay not this, as if Children were not to be indulged in any Thing, or that I expected they ſhould, in Hanging-Sleeves, have the Reaſon and Conduct of Counſellors. I conſider them as Children, who muſt be tenderly uſed, who muſt play, and have Play-things. That which I mean is, That whenever they crav'd what was not fit for them to have or do, they ſhould not be permitted it, becauſe they were *little*, and deſired it: Nay, Whatever they were importunate for, they ſhould be ſure, for that very Reaſon, to be denied. I have ſeen Children at a Table, who, whatever was there, never asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them: And at another Place I have ſeen others cry for every Thing they ſaw, muſt be ſerved out of every Diſh, and that firſt too. What made this vaſt Difference, but this; That one was accuſtomed to have what they called or cried for; the other to go without it? The *younger* they are, the leſs I think are their unruly and diſorderly Appetites to be complied with; and the leſs Reaſon they have of their own, the more are they to be under the Abſolute Power and Reſtraint of thoſe, in whoſe Hands they are. From which, I confeſs, it will follow, That none but diſcreet People ſhould be about them. If the World commonly does otherwiſe, I cannot help that. I am ſaying what I think ſhould be; which, if it were already in Faſhion, I ſhould not need to trouble the World with a Diſcourſe on this Subject. But yet I doubt not, but when it is conſidered, there will be others of Opinion with me, That the *ſooner* this Way is begun with Children, the eaſier it will be for them, and their Governours too; And, that this ought to be obſerved as an inviolable Maxim, That whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by Crying or Importunity, unleſs one has a Mind to teach them to be impatient and troubleſome, by rewarding them for it, when they are ſo.

Early. §. 40. Thoſe therefore that intend ever to govern their Children, ſhould begin it whilſt they are *very little*; and look that they perfectly comply with the Will of their Parents. Would you have your Son obedient to you when paſt a Child? Be ſure then to eſtabliſh the Authority of a Father, *as ſoon* as he is capable of Submiſſion, and can underſtand in whoſe Power he is. If you would have him ſtand in Awe of you, imprint it *in his Infancy*; and, as he approaches more to a Man, admit him nearer to your Familiarity: So ſhall you have him your obedient Subject (as is fit) whilſt he is a Child, and your affectionate Friend, when he is a Man. For, methinks, they mightily miſplace the Treatment due to their Children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but ſevere to them, and keep them at a diſtance when they are grown up. For Liberty and Indulgence can do no Good to *Children:* Their want of Judgment makes them ſtand in need of Reſtraint and Diſcipline. And, on the contrary, Imperiouſneſs and Severity, is but an ill Way of Treating Men, who have Reaſon of their own to guide them, unleſs you have a mind to make your Children when grown up, weary of you; and ſecretly to ſay within themſelves, *When will you Die, Father?*

§. 41.

§. 41. I imagine every one will judge it reaſonable, that their Children, *when little*, ſhould look upon their Parents as their Lords, their Abſolute Governours; and, as ſuch, ſtand in Awe of them: And that, when they come to riper Years, they ſhould look on them as their beſt, as their only ſure Friends; and, as ſuch, love and reverence them. The Way, I have mentioned, if I miſtake not, is the only one to obtain this. We muſt look upon our Children, when grown up, to be like our ſelves; with the ſame Paſſions, the ſame Deſires. We would be thought Rational Creatures, and have our Freedom; we love not to be uneaſie under conſtant Rebukes and Brow-beatings; nor can we bear ſevere Humours, and great Diſtance in thoſe we converſe with. Whoever has ſuch Treatment when he is a Man, will look out other Company, other Friends, other Converſation, with whom he can be at Eaſe. If therefore a ſtrict Hand be kept over Children *from the Beginning*, they will in that Age, be tractable, and quietly ſubmit to it, as never having known any other: And if, as they grow up to the Uſe of Reaſon, the Rigour of Government be, as they deſerve it, gently relaxed, and the Father's Brow more ſmooth'd to them, and the diſtance by Degrees abated; his former Reſtraints will increaſe their Love, when they find it was only a Kindneſs to them, and a Care to make them capable to deſerve the Favour of their Parents, and the Eſteem of every Body elſe. *Early.*

§. 42. Thus much for the Settling your Authority over your Children in general. Fear and Awe ought to give you the firſt Power over their Minds, and Love and Friendſhip in riper Years to hold it: For the Time muſt come, when they will be paſt the Rod, and Correction; and then, if the Love of you make them not obedient and dutiful; if the Love of Virtue and Reputation keep them not in laudable Courſes; I ask, What Hold will you have upon them, to turn them to it? Indeed, Fear of having a ſcanty Portion if they diſpleaſe you, may make them Slaves to your Eſtate, but they will be never the leſs ill and wicked in private; and that Reſtraint will not laſt always. Every Man muſt ſome time or other be truſted to himſelf, and his own Conduct; and he that is a good, a vertuous and able Man, muſt be made ſo within. And therefore, what he is to receive from Education, what is to ſway and influence his Life, muſt be ſomething put into him betimes: Habits woven into the very Principles of his Nature; and not a counterfeit Carriage, and diſſembled Outſide, put on by Fear, only to avoid the preſent Anger of a Father, who perhaps may diſinherit him.

§. 43. This being laid down in general, as the Courſe ought to be taken, 'tis fit we now come to conſider the Parts of the Diſcipline to be uſed, a little more particularly. I have ſpoken ſo much of carrying a *ſtrict Hand* over Children, that perhaps I ſhall be ſuſpected of not conſidering enough, what is due to their tender Age and Conſtitutions. But that Opinion will vaniſh, when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think, that *great Severity* of Puniſhment does but very little Good; nay, great Harm in Education: And I believe it will be found, that, *cæteris paribus*, thoſe Children who have been moſt *chaſtiſed*, ſeldom make the beſt Men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, That whatſoever *Rigour* is neceſſary, it is more to be uſed the younger Children are, and having by a due Application wrought its Effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder Sort of Government. *Puniſhments.*

§. 44. A Compliance, and Suppleneſs of their Wills, being by a ſteady Hand introduced by Parents, before Children have Memories to retain the Beginnings of it, will ſeem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were ſo; preventing all Occaſions of Struggling, or Repining. The only Care is, That it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till *Awe* and *Reſpect* be grown familiar, and there appears not the leaſt Reluctancy in the Submiſſion, and ready Obedience of their Minds. When this *Reverence* is once thus eſtabliſhed, (which it muſt be early, or elſe it will coſt Pains and Blows to recover it, and the more, the longer it is deferred) 'tis by it, mixed ſtill with as much Indulgence as they made not an ill Uſe of, and not by *Beating*, *Chiding*, or other *Servile Puniſhments*, they are for the future to be governed, as they grow up to more Underſtanding. *Awe.*

§. 45.

Self-denial. §. 45. That this is ſo, will be eaſily allowed, when it is but conſider'd, what is to be aim'd at in an ingenuous Education; and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a Maſtery over his Inclinations, he that knows not how to *reſiſt* the Importunity of *preſent Pleaſure or Pain*, for the ſake of what Reaſon tells him is fit to be done, wants the true Principle of Virtue and Induſtry; and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This Temper therefore, ſo contrary to unguided Nature, is to be got betimes; and this Habit, as the true Foundation of future Ability and Happineſs, is to be wrought into the Mind, as early as may be, even from the firſt Dawnings of any Knowledge or Apprehenſion in Children; and ſo to be confirmed in them, by all the Care and Ways imaginable, by thoſe who have the Over-ſight of their Education.

Dejected. §. 46. 2. On the other ſide, if the *Mind* be curbed, and *humbled* too much in Children; if their *Spirits* be abaſed and *broken* much, by too ſtrict an Hand over them, they loſe all their Vigour and Induſtry, and are in a worſe State than the former. For extravagant young Fellows, that have Livelineſs and Spirit, come ſometimes to be ſet right, and ſo make Able and Great Men: But *dejected Minds*, timorous and tame, and *low Spirits*, are hardly ever to be raiſed, and very ſeldom attain to any thing. To avoid the Danger that is on either hand, is the great Art; and he that has found a way how to keep up a Child's Spirit, eaſy, active and free; and yet, at the ſame time, to reſtrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneaſy to him; he, I ſay, that knows how to reconcile theſe ſeeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education.

Beating. §. 47. The uſual lazy and ſhort way by Chaſtiſement, and the Rod, which is the only Inſtrument of Government that Tutours generally know, or ever think of, is the moſt unfit of any to be uſed in Education; becauſe it tends to both thoſe Miſchiefs; which, as we have ſhewn, are the *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, which on the one hand or the other, ruine all that miſcarry.

§. 48. 1. This kind of Puniſhment contributes not at all to the Maſtery of our Natural Propenſity to indulge corporal and preſent Pleaſure, and to avoid Pain at any rate; but rather encourages it; and thereby ſtrengthens that in us, which is the Root from whence ſpring all Vicious Actions, and the Irregularities of Life. For what other Motive, but of ſenſual Pleaſure and Pain, does a Child act by, who drudges at his Book againſt his Inclination or abſtains from eating unwholſome Fruit, that he takes Pleaſure in, only out of Fear of *whipping*? He in this only prefers the greater *Corporal Pleaſure*, or avoids the greater *Corporal Pain*. And what is it, to govern his Actions, and direct his Conduct by ſuch Motives as theſe? What is it, I ſay, but to cheriſh that Principle in him, which it is our Buſineſs to root out and deſtroy? And therefore I cannot think any Correction uſeful to a Child, where the Shame of Suffering for having done amiſs, does not work more upon him than the Pain.

§. 49. 2. This ſort of Correction naturally breeds an Averſion to that which 'tis the Tutour's Buſineſs to create a liking to. How obvious is it to obſerve, that Children come to hate things which were at firſt acceptable to them, when they find themſelves *whipped*, and *chid*, and *teazed* about them? And it is not to be wondered at in them; when grown Men would not be able to be reconciled to any thing by ſuch Ways. Who is there that would not be diſguſted with any innocent Recreation, in it ſelf indifferent to him, if he ſhould with *Blows*, or ill Language be *haled* to it, when he had no Mind; Or be conſtantly ſo treated, for ſome Circumſtances in his Application to it? This is natural to be ſo. Offenſive Circumſtances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joyn'd with: And the very ſight of a Cup, wherein any one uſes to take nauſeous Phyſick, turns his Stomach; ſo that nothing will reliſh well out of it, tho' the Cup be ever ſo clean, and well ſhaped, and of the richeſt Materials.

§. 50. 3. Such a ſort of *Slaviſh Diſcipline* makes a *Slaviſh Temper*. The Child ſubmits and diſſembles Obedience, whilſt the Fear of the Rod hangs over him; but when that is removed, and, by being out of ſight, he can promiſe himſelf

himself Impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural Inclination; which by this way is not at all alter'd, but on the contrary heighten'd and increased in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more Violence; or, *Beating.*

§. 51. 4. If *Severity* carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a Cure upon the present unruly Distemper, it is often bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous Disease, by breaking the Mind; and then in the place of a disorderly young Fellow, you have a *low-spirited moap'd* Creature: Who, however with his unnatural Sobriety he may please silly People, who commend tame unactive Children because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet, at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his Friends, as he will be, all his Life, an useless thing to himself, and others.

§. 52. Beating them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal Punishments, are not the Discipline fit to be used in the Education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous Men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great Occasions, and cases of Extremity. On the other side, to flatter Children by *Rewards* of things, that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his Son *Apples*, or Sugar-*plumbs*, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with; to make him learn his Book, does but authorize his Love of Pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous Propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you give his Inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous Man, 'tis fit he should learn to cross his Appetite, and deny his Inclinations to *Riches*, *Finery*, or *pleasing his Palate*, &c. whenever his Reason advises the contrary, and his Duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit, by the offer of *Money*; or reward the pains of learning his Book, by the pleasure of a luscious Morsel; When you promise him a *Lace-Cravat*, or a *fine new Suit*, upon performance of some of his little tasks; what do you, by proposing these as *Rewards*, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus People, to prevail with Children to be industrious about their Grammar, Dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their Lives, by mis-applied *Rewards* and *Punishments* sacrifice their Virtue, invert the Order of their Education, and teach them Luxury, Pride, or Covetousness, *&c.* For in this way, flattering those wrong Inclinations, which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the Foundations of those future Vices, which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our Desires, and accustoming them early to submit to Reason. *Rewards.*

§. 53. I say not this, that I would have Children kept from the Conveniencies or Pleasures of Life, that are not injurious to their Health or Virtue: On the contrary, I would have their Lives made as pleasant, and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them: Provided it be with this Caution, that they have those Enjoyments, only as the Consequences of the state of Esteem and Acceptation they are in with their Parents and Governors; but they should *never* be offer'd or bestow'd on them, as the *Rewards of this or that particular Performance* that they shew an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

§. 54. But if you take away the Rod on one hand, and these little Encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other: How then (will you say) shall Children be govern'd? Remove Hope and Fear, and there is an end of all Discipline. I grant, that Good and Evil, *Reward* and *Punishment*, are the only Motives to a rational Creature; these are the Spur and Reins, whereby all Mankind are set on work, and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to Children too. For I advise their Parents and Governours always to carry this in their Minds, that Children are to be treated as rational Creatures.

Rewards. §. 55. *Rewards*, I grant, and *Puniſhments* muſt be propoſed to Children, if we intend to work upon them. The Miſtake, I imagine, is, that thoſe that are generally made uſe of, are *ill choſen*. The Pains and Pleaſures of the Body are, I think, of ill conſequence, when made the Rewards and Puniſhments, whereby Men would prevail on their Children: For, as I ſaid before, they ſerve but to encreaſe and ſtrengthen thoſe Inclinations which 'tis our Buſineſs to ſubdue and maſter. What Principle of Vertue do you lay in a Child, if you will redeem his Deſires of one Pleaſure, by the propoſal of another? This is but to enlarge his Appetite, and inſtruct it to wander. If a Child cries for an unwholſome and dangerous Fruit, you purchaſe his quiet by giving him a leſs hurtful Sweet-meat. This perhaps may preſerve his Health, but ſpoils his Mind, and ſets that farther out of order. For here you only change the Object; but flatter ſtill his *Appetite*, and allow that muſt be ſatisfied, wherein, as I have ſhewed, lies the root of the Miſchief: And till you bring him to be able to bear a Denial of that Satisfaction, the Child may at preſent be quiet and orderly, but the Diſeaſe is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cheriſh in him, that which is the Spring from whence all the Evil flows, which will be ſure on the next occaſion to break out again with more Violence, give him ſtronger Longings, and you more Trouble.

Reputation. §. 56. The *Rewards* and *Puniſhments* then, whereby we ſhould keep Children in order, *are* quite of another kind; and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the Buſineſs, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. *Eſteem* and *Diſgrace* are, of all others, the moſt powerful Incentives to the Mind, when once it is brought to reliſh them. If you can once get into Children a Love of Credit, and an Apprehenſion of Shame and Diſgrace, you have put into them the true Principle, which will conſtantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, How ſhall this be done?

I confeſs, it does not at firſt appearance want ſome difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to ſeek the ways (and practiſe them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great Secret of Education.

§. 57. *Firſt*, Children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very ſenſible of *Praiſe* and Commendation. They find a Pleaſure in being eſteem'd, and valued, eſpecially by their Parents, and thoſe whom they depend on. If therefore the Father *careſs and commend them, when they do well; ſhew a cold and neglectful Countenance to them upon doing ill*; and this accompanied by a like Carriage of the Mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them ſenſible of the difference; and this, if conſtantly obſerved, I doubt not but will of it ſelf work more than Threats or Blows, which loſe their force, when once grown common, and are of no uſe when Shame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborn, and never to be uſed, but in the Caſe hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

§. 58. But *Secondly*, To make the Senſe of *Eſteem* or *Diſgrace* ſink the deeper, and be of the more weight, *other agreeable or diſagreeable things ſhould conſtantly accompany theſe different States*; not as particular Rewards and Puniſhments of this or that particular Action, but as neceſſarily belonging to, and conſtantly attending one, who by his Carriage has brought himſelf into a State of Diſgrace or Commendation. By which way of treating them, Children may as much as poſſible be brought to conceive, that thoſe that are commended and in eſteem for doing well, will neceſſarily be belov'd and cheriſh'd by every Body, and have all other good things as a Conſequence of it; and on the other ſide, when any one by Miſcarriage, falls into diſ-eſteem, and cares not to preſerve his Credit, he will unavoidably fall under Neglect and Contempt; and in that State the Want of what ever might ſatisfie or delight him, will follow. In this way the Objects of their Deſires are made aſſiſting to Virtue; when a ſettled experience from the beginning teaches Children, that the Things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoy'd by thoſe only, who are in a State of Reputation. If by theſe Means you can come once to ſhame them out of their Faults, (for beſides that, I would willingly have no Puniſhment) and make

them

them in love with the Pleaſure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you pleaſe, and they will be in love with all the ways of Virtue. *Reputation.*

§. 59. The great difficulty here, is, I imagine, from the Folly and Perverſeneſs of Servants, who are hardly to be hinder'd from croſſing herein the deſign of the Father and Mother. Children, diſcountenanc'd by their Parents for any Fault, find uſually a Refuge and Relief in the Careſſes of thoſe fooliſh Flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the Parents endeavour to eſtabliſh. When the Father or Mother looks ſowre on the Child, every Body elſe ſhould put on the ſame coldneſs to him, and no body give him Countenance, till Forgiveneſs ask'd, and a Reformation of his Fault, has ſet him right again, and reſtor'd him to his former Credit. If this were conſtantly obſerv'd, I gueſs there would be little need of Blows, or Chiding: Their own eaſe and ſatisfaction would quickly teach Children to court Commendation, and avoid doing that which they found every Body condemn'd, and they were ſure to ſuffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them Modeſty and Shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that, which they found made them ſlighted and neglected by every body. But how this Inconvenience from Servants is to be remedied, I muſt leave to Parents Care and Conſideration. Only I think it of great importance; and that they are very happy, who can get diſcreet People about their Children.

§. 60. Frequent *Beating* or *Chiding* is therefore carefully *to be avoided.* Because this ſort of Correction never produces any Good, farther than it ſerves to raiſe *Shame* and Abhorrence of the Miſcarriage that brought it on them. And if the greateſt part of the Trouble be not the Senſe that they have done amiſs, and the Apprehenſion that they have drawn on themſelves the juſt Diſpleaſure of their beſt Friends, the pain of Whipping will work but an imperfect Cure. It only patches up for the preſent, and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the Sore. Ingenuous *Shame*, and the Apprehenſions of Diſpleaſure, are the only true reſtraint: Theſe alone ought to hold the Reins, and keep the Child in order. But corporal Puniſhments muſt neceſſarily loſe that effect, and wear out the Senſe of *Shame*, where they frequently return. Shame in Children has the ſame place that Modeſty has in Women; which cannot be kept, and often tranſgreſſed againſt. And as to the Apprehenſion of *Diſpleaſure in the Parents*, that will come to be very inſignificant, if the Marks of that Diſpleaſure quickly ceaſe, and a few Blows fully expiate. Parents ſhould well conſider, what Faults in their Children are weighty enough to deſerve the Declaration of their Anger: But when their Diſpleaſure is once declared to a degree that carries any Puniſhment with it, they ought not preſently to lay by the Severity of their Brows, but to reſtore their Children to their former Grace with ſome difficulty; and delay a full Reconciliation, till their Conformity, and more than ordinary Merit, make good their Amendment. If this be not ſo order'd, *Puniſhment* will by Familiarity become a mere thing of Courſe, and loſe all its influence: Offending, being chaſtiſed, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and neceſſary as Noon, Night, and Morning following one another. *Shame.*

§. 61. Concerning Reputation; I ſhall only remark this one Thing more of it; That, though it be not the true Principle and Meaſure of Virtue, (for that is the Knowledge of a Man's Duty, and the Satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the Dictates of that Light God has given him, with the Hopes of Acceptation and Reward) yet it is that which comes neareſt to it: And being the Teſtimony and Applauſe that other People's Reaſon, as it were by a common Conſent, gives to virtuous and well-order'd Actions, it is the proper Guide and Encouragement of Children, till they grow able to judge for themſelves, and to find what is right by their own Reaſon. *Reputation.*

§. 62. This Conſideration may direct Parents, how to manage themſelves in reproving and commending their Children. The Rebukes and Chiding, which their Faults will ſometimes make hardly to be avoided, ſhould not only be in ſober, grave and unpaſſionate Words, but alſo alone and in private: But the Commendations Children deſerve, they ſhould receive before others. This doubles the Reward, by ſpreading their Praiſe; but the Backwardneſs

Parents

Reputation. Parents ſhew in divulging their Faults, will make them ſet a greater Value on their Credit themſelves, and teach them to be the more careful to preſerve the good Opinion of others, whilſt they think they have it: But when, being expoſed to Shame, by publiſhing their Miſcarriages, they give it up for loſt, that Check upon them is taken off; And they will be the leſs careful to preſerve others good Thoughts of them, the more they ſuſpect that their Reputation with them is already blemiſh'd.

§. 63. But if a right courſe be taken with Children, there will not be ſo much need of the Application of the common Rewards and Puniſhments, as we imagine, and as the general Practice has eſtabliſh'd. For all their innocent Folly, Playing, and *Childiſh Actions, are to be left perfectly free and unreſtrain'd*, as far as they can conſiſt with the Reſpect due to thoſe that are preſent; and that with the greateſt Allowance. If theſe Faults of their Age, rather than of the Children themſelves, were, as they ſhould be, left only to Time and Imitation, and riper Years to cure, Children would eſcape a great deal of miſ-applied and uſeleſs Correction; which either fails to over-power the Natural Diſpoſition of their Childhood, and ſo, by an ineffectual Familiarity, makes Correction in other neceſſary Caſes of leſs uſe; or elſe, if it be of Force to reſtrain the natural Gaiety of that Age, it ſerves only to ſpoil the Temper both of Body and Mind. If the Noiſe or Buſtle of their Play prove at any time inconvenient, or unſuitable to the Place or Company they are in (which can only be where their Parents are) a Look or a Word from the Father or Mother, if they have eſtabliſh'd the Authority they ſhould, will be enough either to remove, or quiet them for that Time. But this Gameſome Humour, which is wiſely adapted by Nature to their Age and Temper, ſhould rather be encouraged, to keep up their Spirits, and improve their Strength and Health, than curbed or reſtrained: And the chief Art is to make all that they have to do, Sport and Play too.

Childiſhneſs.

Rules. §. 64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a Fault in the ordinary Method of Education; and that is, The charging of Childrens Memories, upon all occaſions, with *Rules* and Precepts, which they often do not underſtand, and conſtantly as ſoon forget as given. If it be ſome Action you would have done, or done otherwiſe; whenever they forget, or do it aukwardly, make them do it over and over again, till they are perfect: Whereby you will get theſe two Advantages: *Firſt*, To ſee whether it be an Action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them. For ſometimes Children are bid to do Things, which, upon Trial, they are found not able to do; and had need be taught and exerciſed in, before they are required to do them. But it is much eaſier for a Tutor to command, than to teach. *Secondly*, Another Thing got by it will be this; That by repeating the ſame Action, till it be grown habitual in them, the Performance will not depend on Memory, or Reflection, the Concomitant of Prudence and Age, and not of Childhood; but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a Gentleman when he ſalutes him, and looking in his Face when he ſpeaks to him, is by conſtant Uſe as natural to a well-bred Man, as breathing; it requires no Thought, no Reflection. Having this way cured in your Child any Fault, it is cured for ever: And thus one by one you may weed them out all, and plant what Habits you pleaſe.

§. 65. I have ſeen Parents ſo heap *Rules* on their Children, that it was impoſſible for the poor little Ones to remember a tenth part of them, much leſs to obſerve them. However, they were either by Words or Blows corrected for the Breach of thoſe multiplied and often very impertinent Precepts. Whence it naturally follow'd, that the Children minded not what was ſaid to them; when it was evident to them, that no Attention, they were capable of, was ſufficient to preſerve them from Tranſgreſſion, and the Rebukes which follow'd it.

Let therefore your *Rules* to your Son, be as few as is poſſible, and rather fewer than more than ſeem abſolutely neceſſary. For if you burden him with many *Rules*, one of theſe two things muſt neceſſarily follow; that, either he muſt be very often puniſh'd, which will be of ill conſequence, by making Puniſhment too frequent and familiar; or elſe you muſt let the Tranſgreſſions

Tranſgreſſions of ſome of your Rules go unpuniſh'd, whereby they will of courſe grow contemptible, and your Authority become cheap to him. Make but few *Laws*, but ſee they be well obſerv'd, when once made. Few Years require but few Laws, and as his Age increaſes, when one Rule is by Practice well eſtabliſh'd, you may add another. *Rules.*

§. 66. But pray remember, Children are *not* to be *taught by Rules*, which will be always ſlipping out of their Memories. What you think neceſſary for them to do, ſettle in them by an indiſpenſible Practice, as often as the Occaſion returns; and if it be poſſible make Occaſions. This will beget Habits in them, which being once eſtabliſh'd, operate of themſelves eaſily and naturally, without the aſſiſtance of the Memory. But here let me give two Cautions. 1. The one is, That you keep them to the Practice of what you would have grow into a Habit in them, by kind Words, and gentle Admonitions; rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harſh Rebukes and Chiding; as if they were willfully guilty. 2*dly*, Another thing you are to take care of, is, not to endeavour to ſettle too many Habits at once, leſt by variety you confound them, and ſo perfect none. When conſtant Cuſtom has made any one thing eaſy and natural to them, and they practiſe it without Reflection, you may then go on to another. *Habits.*

This Method of teaching Children by a repeated Practice, and the ſame Action done over and over again, under the Eye and Direction of the Tutor, till they have got the Habit of doing it well, and not by relying on *Rules* truſted to their Memories, has ſo many Advantages, which way ſoever we conſider it, that I cannot but wonder (if ill Cuſtoms could be wonder'd at in any thing) how it could poſſibly be ſo much neglected. I ſhall name one more that comes now in my way. By this Method we ſhall ſee, whether what is requir'd of him be adapted to his Capacity, and any way ſuited to the Child's natural Genius and Conſtitution: For that too muſt be conſider'd in a right Education. We muſt not hope wholly to change their Original Tempers, nor make the Gay Penſive and Grave, nor the Melancholy Sportive, without ſpoiling them. God has ſtamp'd certain Characters upon Mens Minds, which, like their Shapes, may perhaps be a little mended; but can hardly be totally alter'd, and transform'd into the contrary. *Practice.*

He therefore, that is about Children, ſhould well ſtudy their Natures and Aptitudes, and ſee by often Tryals, what turn they eaſily take, and what becomes them; obſerve what their Native Stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for: He ſhould conſider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by Induſtry, and incorporated there by Practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many Caſes, all that we can do, or ſhould aim at, is to make the beſt of what Nature has given, to prevent the Vices and Faults to which ſuch a Conſtitution is moſt inclined, and give it all the Advantages it is capable of. Every one's Natural Genius ſhould be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain; and what is ſo Plaiſter'd on, will at beſt ſit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulneſs of Conſtraint and Affectation.

Affectation is not, I confeſs, an early Fault of Childhood, or the Product of untaught Nature; it is of that ſort of Weeds, which grow not in the wild uncultivated Waſte, but in Garden-Plots, under the negligent Hand, or unskilful Care of a Gardiner. Management and Inſtruction, and ſome Senſe of the Neceſſity of Breeding, are requiſite to make any one capable of *Affectation*, which endeavours to correct Natural Defects, and has always the Laudable Aim of Pleaſing, though it always miſſes it; and the more it labours to put on Gracefulneſs, the farther it is from it. For this Reaſon it is the more carefully to be watched, becauſe it is the proper Fault of Education; a perverted Education indeed, but ſuch as young People often fall into, either by their own Miſtake, or the ill Conduct of thoſe about them. *Affectation.*

He that will examine wherein that Gracefulneſs lies, which always pleaſes, will find it ariſes from that Natural Coherence, which appears between the thing done, and ſuch a Temper of Mind, as cannot but be approved

Affectation. of as ſuitable to the Occaſion. We cannot but be pleaſed with an Humane, Friendly, Civil Temper, where-ever we meet with it. A Mind free, and Maſter of it ſelf and all its Actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and inſolent, not blemiſh'd with any great Defect, is what every one is taken with. The Actions, which naturally flow from ſuch a well-form'd Mind, pleaſe us alſo, as the genuine Marks of it; and being as it were natural Emanations from the Spirit and Diſpoſition within, cannot but be eaſie and unconſtrain'd. This ſeems to me to be that Beauty, which ſhines through ſome Mens Actions, ſets off all that they do, and takes all they come near; when by a conſtant Practice, they have faſhion'd their Carriage, and made all thoſe little Expreſſions of Civility and Reſpect, which Nature or Cuſtom has eſtabliſhed in Converſation ſo eaſy to themſelves, that they ſeem not Artificial or Studied, but naturally to follow from a Sweetneſs of Mind, and a well-turn'd Diſpoſition.

On the other ſide, *Affectation* is an aukward and forced Imitation of what ſhould be genuine and eaſie, wanting the Beauty that accompanies what is Natural; becauſe there is always a Diſagreement between the outward Action, and the Mind within, one of theſe two ways; 1. Either when a Man would outwardly put on a Diſpoſition of Mind, which then he really has not, but endeavours by a forced Carriage to make ſhew of; yet ſo, that the Conſtraint he is under, diſcovers it ſelf: And thus Men affect ſometimes to appear Sad, Merry, or Kind, when, in Truth, they are not ſo.

2. The other is, when they do not endeavour to make ſhew of Diſpoſitions of Mind, which they have not, but to expreſs thoſe they have, by a Carriage not ſuited to them: And ſuch in Converſation are all conſtrain'd Motions, Actions, Words, or Looks, which, though deſigned to ſhew either their Reſpect or Civility to the Company, or their Satisfaction and Eaſineſs in it, are not yet Natural nor Genuine Marks of the one or the other; but rather of ſome Defect or Miſtake within. Imitation of others, without diſcerning what is Graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their Characters, often makes a great part of this. But *Affectation* of all kinds, whenceſoever it proceeds, is always Offenſive: Becaule we naturally hate whatever is Counterfeit; and condemn thoſe, who have nothing better to recommend themſelves by.

Plain and rough Nature left to it ſelf, is much better than an Artificial Ungracefulneſs, and ſuch ſtudied Ways of being ill faſhion'd. The want of an Accompliſhment, or ſome Defect in our Behaviour, coming ſhort of the utmoſt Gracefulneſs, often ſcapes Obſervation and Cenſure. But *Affectation* in any part of our Carriage, is lighting up a Candle to our Defects; and never fails to makes us be taken notice of, either as wanting Senſe, or wanting Sincerity. This Governours ought the more diligently to look after; becauſe, as I above obſerv'd, 'tis an acquired Uglineſs, owing to Miſtaken Education, few being Guilty of it, but thoſe who pretend to Breeding, and would not be thought Ignorant of what is faſhionable and becoming in Converſation: And, if I miſtake not, it has often its riſe from the lazy Admonitions of thoſe who give Rules, and propoſe Examples, without joyning Practice with their Inſtructions, and making their Pupils repeat the Action in their Sight, that they may Correct what is indecent or conſtrain'd in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming Eaſineſs.

Manners. §. 67. *Manners*, as they call it, about which Children are ſo often perplex'd, and have ſo many goodly Exhortations made them, by their wiſe Maids and Governeſſes, I think, are rather to be learn'd by Example than Rules; and then Children, if kept out of ill Company, will take a pride to behave themſelves prettily, after the faſhion of others, perceiving themſelves eſteem'd and commended for it. But if, by a little Negligence in this part, the Boy ſhould not put off his Hat, nor make Legs very gracefully, a Dancing-maſter will cure that Defect, and wipe off all that Plainneſs of Nature, which the A-la-mode People call Clowniſhneſs. And ſince nothing appears to me to give Children ſo much becoming Confidence and Behaviour, and ſo to raiſe them to the Converſation of thoſe above their Age, as *Dancing*; I think they ſhould be taught to Dance, as ſoon as they are capable of learning it. For, though this conſiſt only in outward gracefulneſs of Motion, yet, I know

Dancing.

know not how, it gives Children manly Thoughts, and Carriage more than any thing. But otherwiſe I would not have little Children much tormented about Punctilio's, or Niceties of Breeding. *Manners.*

Never trouble your ſelf about thoſe Faults in them, which you know Age will cure. And therefore want of well-faſhion'd Civility in the Carriage, whilſt *Civility* is not wanting in the Mind (for there you muſt take care to plant it early) ſhould be the Parents leaſt care, whilſt they are young. If his tender Mind be fill'd with a Veneration for his Parents and Teachers, which conſiſts in Love and Eſteem, and a Fear to offend them; and with *Reſpect and good Will* to all People; that Reſpect will of it ſelf teach thoſe ways of expreſſing it, which he obſerves moſt acceptable. Be ſure to keep up in him the Principles of good Nature and Kindneſs; make them as habitual as you can, by Credit and Commendation, and the good Things accompanying that State: And when they have taken root in his Mind, and are ſettled there by a continued Practice, fear not, the Ornaments of Converſation, and the Out-ſide of faſhionable Manners, will come in their due time; If when they are remov'd out of their Maid's Care, they are put into the Hands of a well-bred Man to be their Governour.

Whilſt they are very young, any *Careleſneſs* is to be born with in Children, that carries not with it the Marks of Pride or ill Nature: But thoſe when ever they appear in any Action, are to be corrected immediately by the Ways above mentioned. What I have ſaid concerning Manners, I would not have ſo underſtood, as if I meant that thoſe, who have the Judgment to do it, ſhould not gently faſhion the Motions, and Carriage of Children, when they are very young. It would be of great Advantage, if they had People about them, from their being firſt able to go, that had the Skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is the wrong Courſe that is uſually taken in this Matter. Children who were never taught any ſuch thing as Behaviour, are often (eſpecially when Strangers are preſent) chid for having ſome way or other failed in good Manners, and have thereupon Reproofs and Precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their Hats, or making of Legs, *&c.* Though in this thoſe concern'd pretend to correct the Child, yet in truth, for the moſt part, it is but to cover their own Shame: And they lay the Blame on the poor little Ones, ſometimes paſſionately enough, to divert it from themſelves, for fear the By-ſtanders ſhould impute to their want of Care and Skill the Child's ill Behaviour.

For, as for the Children themſelves, they are never one jot better'd by ſuch occaſional Lectures: They at other times ſhould be ſhewn what to do, and by reiterated Actions, be faſhioned before-hand into the Practice of what is fit and becoming; and not told, and talk'd to do upon the Spot, of what they have never been accuſtomed, nor know how to do as they ſhould: To hare and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex, and torment them to no purpoſe. They ſhould be let alone, rather than Chid for a Fault, which is none of their's, nor is in their Power to mend for ſpeaking to. And it were much better their natural childiſh Negligence or Plainneſs ſhould be left to the Care of riper years, than that they ſhould frequently have Rebukes miſplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can, give them graceful Motions. If their Minds are well diſpoſed, and principled with inward Civility, a great part of the Roughneſs, which ſticks to the outſide for want of better Teaching, Time and Obſervation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good Company; but if in ill, all the Rules in the World, all the Correction imaginable, will not be able to poliſh them. For you muſt take this for a certain Truth, that let them have what Inſtructions you will, and ever ſo learned Lectures of Breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will moſt influence their Carriage, will be the Company they converſe with, and the faſhion of thoſe about them. Children (nay, and Men too) do moſt by Example. We are all a ſort of Camelions, that ſtill take a Tincture from things near us: Nor is it to be wonder'd at in Children, who better underſtand what they ſee, than what they hear.

Company. §. 68. I mention'd above, one great Miſchief that came by Servants to Children, when by their Flatteries they take off the edge and force of the Parents Rebukes, and ſo leſſen their Authority. And here is another great inconvenience which Children receive from the ill Examples which they meet with amongſt the meaner Servants.

They are wholly, if poſſible, to be kept from ſuch Converſation: For the Contagion of theſe ill Precedents, both in Civility and Vertue, horribly infects Children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbred or debauched Servants ſuch Language, untowardly Tricks and Vices, as otherwiſe they poſſibly would be ignorant of all their Lives.

§. 69. 'Tis a hard matter wholly to prevent this Miſchief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a Clowniſh or Vicious Servant, and if from them your Children never get any Infection. But yet as much muſt be done towards it, as can be; and the Children kept as much as may be † *in the Company of their Parents*, and thoſe to whoſe Care they are committed. To this purpoſe, their being in their preſence ſhould be made eaſie to them: They ſhould be allowed the Liberties and Freedom ſuitable to their Ages, and not be held under unneceſſary Reſtraints, when in their Parent's or Governour's ſight. If it be a Priſon to them, 'tis no wonder they ſhould not like it. They muſt not be hinder'd from being Children, or from playing, or doing as Children, but from doing ill. All other Liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the *Company of their Parents*, they ſhould receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The Servants ſhould be hinder'd from making court to them, by giving them ſtrong Drink, Wine, Fruit, Play-things, and other ſuch matters, which may make them in love with their Converſation.

† *How much the* Romans *thought the Education of their Children a buſineſs that properly belong'd to the Parents themſelves, ſee in* Suetonius, *Auguſt.* Sect. 64. Plutarch *in vita Catonis Cenſoris*; Diodorus Siculus, *l.* 2. *cap.* 3.

§. 70. Having named *Company*, I am almoſt ready to throw away my Pen, and trouble you no farther on this Subject. For ſince that does more than all Precepts, Rules, and Inſtructions, methinks 'tis almoſt wholly in vain to make a long Diſcourſe of other things, and to talk of that almoſt to no purpoſe. For you will be ready to ſay, What ſhall I do with my Son? If I keep him always at Home, he will be in danger to be my young Maſter; and if I ſend him Abroad, how is it poſſible to keep him from the contagion of Rudeneſs and Vice, which is every where ſo in faſhion? In my Houſe, he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the World: Wanting there change of Company, and being uſed conſtantly to the ſame Faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a ſheepiſh or conceited Creature.

I confeſs, both ſides have their Inconveniencies. Being abroad, 'tis true, will make him bolder, and better able to buſtle and ſhift amongſt Boys of his own age; and the Emulation of School-fellows often puts Life and Induſtry into young Lads. But till you can find a School, wherein it is poſſible for the Maſter to look after the Manners of his Scholars, and can ſhew as great Effects of his Care of forming their Minds to Virtue, and their Carriage to good Breeding, as of forming their Tongues to the learned Languages; you muſt confeſs, that you have a ſtrange value for Words, when preferring the Languages of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, to that which made them ſuch brave Men, you think it worth while, to hazard your Son's Innocence and Virtue, for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that Boldneſs and Spirit which Lads get amongſt their Play-fellows at School, it has ordinarily ſuch a mixture of Rudeneſs, and an ill-turn'd Confidence, that thoſe miſ-becoming and diſ-ingenuous ways of ſhifting in the World, muſt be unlearn'd, and all the Tincture waſh'd out again, to make way for better Principles, and ſuch Manners as make a truly worthy Man. He that conſiders how diametrically oppoſite the Skill of living well, and managing, as a Man ſhould do, his Affairs in the World, is to that mal-pertneſs, tricking, or violence learnt amongſt School-Boys, will think the Faults of a privater Education infinitely to be prefer'd to ſuch Improvements; and will take care to preſerve his Child's Innocence and Modeſty at Home, as being

nearer

nearer of Kin, and more in the way of thoſe qualities which make an uſe- *Company.*
ful and able Man. Nor does any one find, or ſo much as ſuſpect, that that Retirement and Baſhfulneſs, which their Daughters are brought up in, makes them leſs knowing or leſs able Women. Converſation, when they come into the World, ſoon gives them a becoming Aſſurance; and whatſoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boiſterous, may in Men be very well ſpared too: For Courage and Steadineſs, as I take it, lie not in Roughneſs and ill Breeding.

Vertue is harder to be got, than a Knowledge of the World; and if loſt in a young Man, is ſeldom recovered. Sheepiſhneſs and Ignorance of the World, the Faults imputed to a private Education, are neither the neceſſary Conſequences of being bred at Home, nor if they were, are they incurable Evils. Vice is the more ſtubborn, as well as the more dangerous Evil of the two; and therefore, in the firſt place, to be fenced againſt. If that ſheepiſh ſoftneſs, which often enervates thoſe who are bred like Fondlings at Home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally ſo for Vertue's ſake: For fear leſt ſuch a yielding temper ſhould be too ſuſceptible of vitious Impreſſions, and expoſe the Novice too eaſily to be corrupted. A young Man, before he leaves the ſhelter of his Father's Houſe, and the Guard of a Tutour, ſhould be fortified with Reſolution, and made acquainted with Men, to ſecure his Vertues; leſt he ſhould be led into ſome ruinous courſe, or fatal precipice, before he is ſufficiently acquainted with the Dangers of Converſation, and has Steadineſs enough not to yield to every Temptation. Were it not for this, a young Man's Baſhfulneſs, and Ignorance in the World, would not ſo much need an early Care. Converſation would cure it in a great meaſure; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a ſtronger reaſon for a good Tutour at home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and aſſurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his Vertue when he goes into the World under his own Conduct.

It is prepoſterous therefore to ſacrifice his Innocency to the attaining of Confidence, and ſome little Skill of buſtling for himſelf among others, by his Converſation with ill-bred and vitious Boys; when the chief uſe of that ſturdineſs, and ſtanding upon his own Legs, is only for the preſervation of his Vertue. For if Confidence or Cunning come once to mix with Vice, and ſupport his Miſcarriages, he is only the ſurer loſt: And you muſt undo again, and ſtrip him of that he has got from his Companions, or give him up to Ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught aſſurance by Converſation with Men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modeſty and Submiſſion till then, better fits them for Inſtruction: And therefore there needs not any great Care to ſtock them with Confidence beforehand. That which requires moſt time, pains, and aſſiduity, is to work into them the Principles and Practice of Vertue, and good Breeding. This is the Seaſoning they ſhould be prepar'd with, ſo as not eaſily to be got out again. This they had need to be well provided with. For Converſation, when they come into the World, will add to their knowledge and aſſurance, but be too apt to take from their Vertue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully ſtored with, and have that tincture ſunk deep into them.

How they ſhould be fitted for Converſation, and entered into the World, when they are ripe for it, we ſhall conſider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed Herd of unruly Boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap, or rook at Span-farthing, fits him for civil Converſation, or Buſineſs, I do not ſee. And what Qualities are ordinarily to be got from ſuch a Troop of Play-fellows as Schools uſually aſſemble together from Parents of all kinds, that a Father ſhould ſo much covet it, is hard to divine. I am ſure, he who is able to be at the charge of a Tutour at home, may there give his Son a more genteel Carriage, more manly Thoughts, and a Sence of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater Proficiency in Learning into the Bargain, and ripen him up ſooner into a Man, than any at School can do. Not that I blame the School-Maſter in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three Pupils in the ſame Houſe, and three or fourſcore Boys lodg'd up and down. For let the

Company. Maſter's Induſtry and Skill be ever ſo great, it is impoſſible he ſhould have 50 or 100 Scholars under his Eye, any longer than they are in the School together: Nor can it be expected, that he ſhould inſtruct them Succeſsfully in any thing but their Books; the forming of their Minds and Manners requiring a conſtant Attention, and particular Application to every ſingle Boy, which is impoſſible in a numerous Flock; and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to Study and Correct every one's particular Defects, and wrong Inclinations) when the Lad was to be left to himſelf, or the prevailing Infection of his Fellows, the greateſt part of the four and twenty Hours.

But Fathers, obſerving that Fortune is often moſt ſucceſsfully courted by bold and buſtling Men, are glad to ſee their Sons pert and forward betimes; take it for an happy Omen that they will be thriving Men, and look on the Tricks they play their School-fellows, or learn from them, as a Proficiency in the Art of Living, and making their way through the World. But I muſt take the liberty to ſay, that he that lays the Foundation of his Son's Fortune in Vertue, and good Breeding, takes the only ſure and warrantable way. And 'tis not the Waggeries or Cheats practiſed among School-boys, 'tis not their Roughneſs one to another, nor the well-laid Plots of Robbing an Orchard together, that makes an able Man; but the Principles of Juſtice, Generoſity and Sobriety, joyn'd with Obſervation and Induſtry, Qualities, which I judge School-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a Young Gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at School, his Father has made a very ill choice of a Tutour. Take a Boy from the top of a Grammar-School, and one of the ſame Age, bred as he ſhould be in his Father's Family, and bring them into good Company together, and then ſee which of the two will have the more manly Carriage, and addreſs himſelf with the more becoming Aſſurance to Strangers. Here I imagin the School-boy's Confidence will either fail or diſcredit him: And, if it be ſuch as fits him only for the Converſation of Boys, he had better be without it.

Vice. Vice, if we may believe the general Complaint, ripens ſo faſt now-a-days, and runs up to Seed ſo early in young People, that it is impoſſible to keep a Lad from the ſpreading Contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the Herd, and truſt to Chance or his own Inclination for the choice of his Company at School. By what Fate Vice has ſo thriven amongſt us theſe Years paſt; and by what Hands it has been nurs'd up into ſo uncontroul'd a Dominion, I ſhall leave to others to enquire. I wiſh, that thoſe, who complain of the great Decay of Chriſtian Piety and Vertue every where, and of Learning and acquired Improvements in the Gentry of this Generation, would conſider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am ſure, That if the Foundation of it be not laid in the Education and Principling of the Youth, all other Endeavours will be in vain. And if the Innocence, Sobriety, and Induſtry, of thoſe who are coming up, be not taken care of and preſerved, 'twill be ridiculous to expect, that thoſe who are to ſucceed next on the Stage, ſhould abound in that Vertue, Ability, and Learning, which has hitherto made *England* conſiderable in the World. I was going to add Courage too, though it has been look'd on as the natural Inheritance of Engliſhmen. What has been talked of ſome late Actions at Sea, of a Kind unknown to our Anceſtors, gives me occaſion to ſay, that Debauchery ſinks the Courage of Men: And when Diſſoluteneſs has eaten out the Senſe of true Honour, Bravery ſeldom ſtays long after it. And I think it impoſſible to find an inſtance of any Nation, however renowned for their Valour, who ever kept their Credit in Arms, or made themſelves redoubtable amongſt their Neighbours, after Corruption had once broke through, and diſſolv'd the reſtraint of Diſcipline; and Vice was grown to ſuch an head, that it durſt ſhew it ſelf barefaced, without being out of Countenance.

Vertue. 'Tis Vertue then, direct Vertue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in Education; and not a forward Pertneſs, or any little Arts of Shifting. All other Conſiderations and Accompliſhments ſhould give way and be poſtpon'd to this. This is the ſolid and ſubſtantial good, which Tutours ſhould not only read Lectures, and talk of; but the Labour, and Art of Educa-

Education ſhould furniſh the Mind with, and faſten there, and never ceaſe till the young Man had a true Reliſh of it, and placed his Strength, his Glory and his Pleaſure in it.

Company. The more this advances, the eaſier way will be made for other Accompliſhments in their turns. For he that is brought to ſubmit to Vertue, will not be refractory, or reſty, in any thing that becomes him. And therefore I cannot but prefer Breeding of a young Gentleman at Home in his Father's ſight, under a good Governour, as much the beſt and ſafeſt way to this great and main End of Education; when it can be had, and is order'd as it ſhould be. Gentlemens Houſes are ſeldom without Variety of Company: They ſhould uſe their Sons to all the Strange Faces that come there, and engage them in Converſation with Men of Parts and Breeding, as ſoon as they are capable of it. And why thoſe who live in the Country ſhould not take them with them, when they make Viſits of Civility to their Neighbours, I know not: This I am ſure, a Father that breeds his Son at home, has the Opportunity to have him more in his own Company, and there give him what Encouragement he thinks fit; and can keep him better from the Taint of Servants, and the meaner ſort of People, than is poſſible to be done Abroad. But what ſhall be reſolv'd in the caſe, muſt in great meaſure be left to the Parents, to be determin'd by their Circumſtances and Conveniencies. Only I think it the worſt ſort of good Husbandry, for a Father not to ſtrain himſelf a little for his Son's Breeding; which, let his Condition be what it will, is the beſt Portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it ſhall be thought by ſome, that the Breeding at Home has too little Company; and that at ordinary Schools, not ſuch as it ſhould be, for a young Gentleman; I think there might be ways found out to avoid the Inconveniencies on the one ſide and the other.

§. 71. Having under Conſideration how great the Influence of *Company* is, and how prone we are all, eſpecially Children, to Imitation; I muſt here take the liberty to mind Parents of this one Thing, *viz.* That he that will have his Son have a Reſpect for him, and his Orders, muſt himſelf have a great Reverence for his Son. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.* You muſt do *Example.* nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing ſcape you, which you would have paſs for a Fault in him, he will be ſure to ſhelter himſelf under your Example, and ſhelter himſelf ſo, as that it will not be eaſie to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you puniſh him for what he ſees you practiſe your ſelf, he will not think that Severity to proceed from Kindneſs in you, careful to amend a Fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it, the Peeviſhneſs, and Arbitrary Imperiouſneſs of a Father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his Son the Liberty and Pleaſures he takes himſelf. Or if you aſſume to your ſelf the liberty you have taken, as a Privilege belonging to riper Years, to which a Child muſt not aſpire, you do but add new force to your Example, and recommend the Action the more powerfully to him. For you muſt always remember, that Children affect to be Men earlier than is thought: And they love Breeches, not for their Cut, or Eaſe, but becauſe the having them is a Mark or a Step towards Manhood. What I ſay of the Father's Carriage before his Children, muſt extend it ſelf to all thoſe who have any Authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any Reſpect.

§. 72. But to return to the Buſineſs of Rewards and Puniſhments. All the *Puniſh-* Actions of Childiſhneſs, and unfaſhionable Carriage, and whatever Time *ment.* and Age will of it ſelf be ſure to reform, being (as I have ſaid) exempt from the Diſcipline of the Rod, there will not be ſo much need of beating Children, as is generally made uſe of. To which if we add Learning to Read, Write, Dance, Foreign Language, *&c.* as under the ſame Privilege, there will be but very rarely any occaſion for Blows or Force in an ingenuous Education. The right way to teach them thoſe Things, is, to give them a Liking and Inclination to what you propoſe to them to be learn'd, and that will engage their Induſtry and Application. This I think no hard matter to do, if Children be handled as they ſhould be, and the Rewards and Puniſhments above-mention'd be carefully applied, and with them theſe few Rules obſerv'd in the Method of Inſtructing them.

§. 73. 1. None

Task. §. 73. 1. None of the Things they are to learn ſhould ever be made a Burthen to them, or impoſed on them as a *Task*. Whatever is ſo propoſed preſently becomes irkſome: The Mind takes an Averſion to it, though before it were a thing of Delight or Indifferency. Let a Child be but ordered to whip his Top at a certain Time every day, whether he has, or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a Duty, wherein he muſt ſpend ſo many Hours Morning and Afternoon, and ſee whether he will not ſoon be weary of any Play at this rate. Is it not ſo with grown Men? What they do chearfully of themſelves, do they not preſently grow ſick of, and can no more endure, as ſoon as they find it is expected of them as a Duty? Children have as much a mind to ſhew that they are free, that their own good Actions come from themſelves, that they are abſolute and independent, as any of the proudeſt of you grown Men, think of them as you pleaſe.

Diſpoſition. §. 74. 2. As a Conſequence of this, they ſhould ſeldom be put about doing even thoſe Things you have got an Inclination in them to, but when they have a Mind and *Diſpoſition* to it. He that loves Reading, Writing, Muſick, *&c.* finds yet in himſelf certain Seaſons wherein thoſe things have no reliſh to him: And, if at that time he forces himſelf to it, he only pothers and wearies himſelf to no purpoſe. So it is with Children. This Change of Temper ſhould be carefully obſerv'd in them, and the favourable *Seaſons of Aptitude and Inclination* be heedfully laid hold of: And if they are not often enough forward of themſelves, a good Diſpoſition ſhould be talk'd into them, before they be ſet upon any thing. This I think no hard Matter for a diſcreet Tutour to do; who has ſtudied his Pupil's Temper, and will be at little pains to fill his Head with ſuitable Idea's, ſuch as may make him in love with the preſent Buſineſs. By this means a great deal of Time and Tiring would be ſaved. For a Child will learn three times as much when he is *in tune*, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes aukwardly, or is dragg'd unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it ſhould, Children might be permitted to weary themſelves with Play, and yet have Time enough to learn what is ſuited to the Capacity of each Age. But no ſuch thing is conſidered in the ordinary way of Education, nor can it well be. That rough Diſcipline of the Rod is built upon other Principles, has no Attraction in it, regards not what Humour Children are in, nor looks after favourable Seaſons of Inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when Compulſion and Blows have raiſed an Averſion in the Child to his Task, to expect he ſhould freely of his own accord leave his Play, and with Pleaſure court the Occaſions of Learning. Whereas, were Matters order'd right, learning any thing they ſhould be taught, might be made as much a Recreation to their Play, as their Play is to their Learning. The Pains are equal on both ſides: Nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be buſie, and the Change and Variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is in that which we call Play, they act at liberty, and employ their Pains (whereof you may obſerve them never ſparing) freely; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them: They are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that, which at firſt enterance balks and cools them; they want their Liberty: Get them but to ask their Tutour to teach them, as they do often their Play-fellows, inſtead of his calling upon them to learn; and they being ſatisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do in other things, they will go on with as much Pleaſure in it, and it will not differ from their other Sports and Play. By theſe ways, carefully purſued, a Child may be brought to deſire to be taught any thing you have a mind he ſhould learn. The hardeſt Part, I confeſs, is with the firſt or eldeſt; but when once he is ſet aright, it is eaſie by him to lead the reſt whither one will.

§. 75. Though it be paſt doubt, that the fitteſt Time for Children to learn any thing, is, when their *Minds* are *in tune, and well diſpoſed* to it; when neither Flagging of Spirit, nor Intentneſs of Thought upon ſomething elſe makes them aukward and averſe; yet two Things are to be taken care of: 1. That theſe Seaſons either not being warily obſerv'd, and laid

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hold on, as often as they return; or else not returning as often as they should, the Improvement of the Child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into an habitual Idleness, and confirm'd in this Indisposition. 2. That tho' other Things are ill learned when the Mind is either indisposed, or otherwise taken up; yet it is of great Moment, and worth our Endeavours, to teach the Mind to get the Mastery over it self; and to be able, upon choice, to take it self off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set it self upon another with Facility and Delight; or at any time to shake off its Sluggishness, and vigorously employ it self about what Reason, or the Advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in Children, by trying them sometimes, when they are by Lazineſs unbent, or by Avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the Thing propos'd. If by this means the Mind can get an habitual Dominion over it self, lay by *Idea's*, or Business, as occasion requires, and betake it self to new and less acceptable Employments, without Reluctancy or Discomposure, it will be an Advantage of more Consequence than Latin, or Logick, or most of those Things Children are usually required to learn. *Disposition.*

§. 76. Children being more Active and Busie in that Age, than in any other Part of their Life, and being indifferent to any Thing they can do, so they may be but doing, *Dancing* and *Scotch-hoppers* would be the same thing to them, were the Encouragements and Discouragements equal. But to Things we would have them learn, the great and only Discouragement I can observe, is, that they are called to it; 'tis *made their Business*; they are *teazed* and *chid* about it, and do it with Trembling and Apprehension: Or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired: All which intrenches too much on that natural Freedom they extreamly affect. And 'tis that Liberty alone which gives the true Relish and Delight to their ordinary Play-Games. Turn the Tables, and you will find, they will soon change their Application; especially if they see the Examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the Things which they observe others to do, be order'd so that they insinuate themselves into them, as the Privilege of an Age or Condition above their's, then Ambition, and the Desire still to get forward, and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with Vigour and Pleasure: Pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved Freedom will be no small Encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the Satisfaction of Credit and Reputation, I am apt to think, there will need no other Spur to excite their Application and Assiduity, as much as is necessary. I confess, there needs Patience and Skill, Gentleness and Attention, and a prudent Conduct to attain this at first. But, why have you a Tutour, if there needed no pains? But when this is once establish'd, all the rest will follow more easily than in any more severe and imperious Discipline. And I think it no hard matter, to gain this Point; I am sure it will not be, where Children have no ill Examples set before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend, is only from Servants, and other ill-ordered Children, or such other vicious or foolish People, who spoil Children, both by the ill Pattern they set before them in their own ill Manners, and by giving them together, the two Things they should never have at once; I mean, vicious Pleasures, and Commendation. *Compulsion.*

§. 77. As Children should very seldom be corrected by Blows; so, I think, frequent, and especially, passionate *Chiding* of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the Authority of the Parents, and the Respect of the Child: For I bid you still remember, they distinguish early betwixt Passion and Reason: And as they cannot but have a Reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a Contempt of the former; or if it causes a present Terrour, yet it soon wears off; and natural Inclination will easily learn to slight such Scare-crows, which make a noise, but are not animated by Reason. Children being to be restrained by the Parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a Look or Nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss: Or, if words are sometimes to be used, *Chiding.*

Chiding. they ought to be grave, kind and ſober, repreſenting the ill, or unbecomingneſs of the Faults, rather than a *haſty rating* of the Child for it, which makes him not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh, whether your Diſlike be not more directed to him, than his Fault. Paſſionate chiding uſually carries rough and ill Language with it; which has this further ill effect, that it teaches and juſtifies it in Children: And the Names that their Parents or Preceptours give them, they will not be aſham'd or backward to beſtow on others, having ſo good Authority for the uſe of them.

Obſtinacy. §. 78. I foreſee here it will be objected to me; What then, will you have Children never Beaten nor Chid for any Fault? This will be to let looſe the Reins to all kind of Diſorder. Not ſo much, as is imagined, if a right Courſe has been taken in the firſt Seaſoning of their Minds, and implanting that Awe of their Parents above-mentioned. For Beating, by conſtant Obſervation, is found to do little good, where the Smart of it is all the Puniſhment is feared, or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one Fault, for which, I think, Children ſhould be beaten; and that is *Obſtinacy*, or *Rebellion*. And in this too, I would have it order'd ſo, if it can be, that the ſhame of the Whipping, and not the Pain, ſhould be the greateſt part of the Puniſhment. Shame of doing amiſs, and deſerving Chaſtiſement, is the only true Reſtraint belonging to Vertue. The Smart of the Rod, if Shame accompanies it not, ſoon ceaſes, and is forgotten, and will quickly, by uſe, loſe its Terrour. I have known the Children of a Perſon of Quality kept in awe, by the fear of having their Shooes pulled off, as much as others by apprehenſions of a Rod hanging over them. Some ſuch Puniſhment, I think better than Beating; for, 'tis Shame of the Fault, and the Diſgrace that attends it, that they ſhould ſtand in fear of, rather than Pain, if you would have them have a Temper truly ingenuous. But *Stubbornneſs*, and an *obſtinate Diſobedience*, muſt be maſter'd with Force and Blows: For this there is no other Remedy. Whatever particular Action you bid him do, or forbear, you muſt be ſure to ſee your ſelf obey'd; no Quarter in this caſe, no Reſiſtance. For when once it comes to be a Trial of Skill, a Conteſt for Maſtery betwixt you, as it is if you command, and he refuſes; you muſt be ſure to carry it, whatever Blows it coſts, if a Nod or Words will not prevail; unleſs, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your Son. A prudent and kind Mother, of my Acquaintance, was, on ſuch an occaſion, forced to whip her little Daughter, at her firſt coming home from Nurſe, eight times ſucceſſively the ſame Morning, before ſhe could maſter her *Stubbornneſs*, and obtain a compliance in a very eaſie and indifferent matter. If ſhe had left off ſooner, and ſtop'd at the ſeventh Whipping, ſhe had ſpoiled the Child for ever; and, by her unprevailing Blows, only confirmed her *Refractorineſs*, very hardly afterwards to be cured: But wiſely perſiſting till ſhe had bent her Mind, and ſuppled her will, the only end of Correction and Chaſtiſement, ſhe eſtabliſhed her Authority thoroughly in the very firſt occaſions, and had ever after a very ready Compliance and Obedience in all things from her Daughter. For as this was the firſt time, ſo, I think, it was the laſt too ſhe ever ſtruck her.

The Pain of the Rod, *the firſt* occaſion that requires it, continued and increaſed without leaving off till it has throughly prevailed, ſhould firſt bend the Mind, and ſettle the Parent's Authority: And then Gravity mixed with Kindneſs, ſhould for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make People more wary in the uſe of the Rod and the Cudgel; and keep them from being ſo apt to think Beating the ſafe and univerſal Remedy, to be applied at random, on all occaſions. This is certain however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the Mind, and makes not the Will ſupple, it hardens the Offender; and whatever pain he has ſuffered for it, it does but indear to him his beloved *Stubbornneſs*, which has got him this time the Victory, and prepares him to conteſt and hope for it for the future. Thus, I doubt not, but by ill order'd Correction, many have been taught to be *obſtinate* and *refractory*, who otherwiſe would have been very pliant and tractable. For if you puniſh a Child

ſo,

ſo, as if it were only to revenge the paſt Fault, which has raiſed your Choler: What operation can this have upon his Mind, which is the part to be amended? If there were no *ſturdy humour*, or *wilfulneſs* mixed with his Fault, there was nothing in it, that required the ſeverity of Blows. A kind, or grave Admonition is enough, to remedy the ſlips of Frailty, Forgetfulneſs, or Inadvertency, and is as much as they will ſtand in need of. But if there were a *Perverſeneſs* in the Will, if it were a deſigned, reſolved Diſobedience, the Puniſhment is not to be meaſured by the greatneſs or ſmallneſs of the matter, wherein it appeared, but by the oppoſition it carries, and ſtands in, to that Reſpect and Submiſſion is due to the Father's Orders; which muſt always be rigorouſly exacted, and the Blows, by pauſes laid on, till they reach the Mind, and you perceive the Signs of a true Sorrow, Shame, and purpoſe of Obedience. *Obſtinacy.*

This, I confeſs, requires ſomething more than ſetting Children a Task, and Whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our Fancy. This requires Care, Attention, Obſervation, and a nice ſtudy of Children's Tempers, and weighing their Faults well, before we come to this ſort of Puniſhment. But is not that better than always to have the Rod in Hand, as the only Inſtrument of Government; and, by frequent uſe of it on all Occaſions, miſapply and render inefficacious this laſt and uſeful Remedy, where there is need of it? For, what elſe can be expected, when it is promiſcuouſly uſed upon every little ſlip? When a Miſtake in *Concordance*, or a wrong *Poſition* in Verſe, ſhall have the ſeverity of the Laſh in a well-temper'd and induſtrious Lad, as ſurely as a wilful Crime in an obſtinate and perverſe Offender: How can ſuch a way of Correction be expected to do good on the Mind, and ſet that right? Which is the only thing to be look'd after; and when ſet right, brings all the reſt that you can deſire along with it.

§. 79. Where a *wrong Bent of the Will* wants not Amendment, there can be no need of Blows. All other Faults, where the Mind is rightly diſpoſed, and refuſes not the Government and Authority of the Father or Tutour, are but Miſtakes, and may often be over-look'd; or when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle Remedies of Advice, Direction and Reproof; till the repeated and wilful Neglect of thoſe, ſhews the Fault to be in the Mind, and that a manifeſt *Perverſeneſs* of the Will lies at the Root of their Diſobedience. But when ever *Obſtinacy*, which is an open Defiance, appears, that cannot be wink'd at, or neglected, but muſt in the firſt Inſtance, be ſubdued and maſter'd: Only Care muſt be had, that we miſtake not; and we muſt be ſure it is Obſtinacy, and nothing elſe.

§. 80. But ſince the Occaſions of Puniſhment, eſpecially Beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it ſhould not be often brought to this Point. If the Awe I ſpoke of be once got, a Look will be ſufficient in moſt Caſes. Nor, indeed ſhould the ſame Carriage, Serioufneſs or Application be expected from young Children, as from thoſe of riper Growth. They muſt be permitted, as I ſaid, the Fooliſh and Childiſh Actions ſuitable to their Years, without taking notice of them. Inadvertency, Careleſsneſs, and Gayety is the Character of that Age. I think the Severity I ſpoke of is not to extend it ſelf to ſuch unreaſonable Reſtraints; nor is that haſtily to be interpreted Obſtinacy, or Wilfulneſs, which is the natural Product of their Age or Temper. In ſuch Miſcarriages they are to be aſſiſted, and help'd towards an Amendment, as weak People under a natural Infirmity; which though they are warn'd of, yet every Relapſe muſt not be counted a perfect Neglect, and they preſently treated as Obſtinate. Faults of Frailty, as they ſhould never be neglected, or let paſs without minding; ſo, unleſs the Will mix with them, they ſhould never be exaggerated, or very ſharply reproved; but with a gentle Hand ſet right, as Time and Age permit. By this means, Children will come to ſee what 'tis in any Miſcarriage, that is chiefly offenſive, and ſo learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their Wills right; which is the great Buſineſs; when they find that it preſerves them from any great Diſpleaſure;

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Obſtinacy. and that in all their other Failings they meet with the kind Concern and Help, rather than the Anger and paſſionate Reproaches of their Tutour and Parents. Keep them from Vice, and vicious Diſpoſitions, and ſuch a kind of Behaviour in general will come, with every Degree of their Age, as is ſuitable to that Age, and the Company they ordinarily converſe with: And as they grow in Years, they will grow in Attention and Application. But that your Words may always carry Weight and Authority with them, if it ſhall happen, upon any Occaſion, that you bid him leave off the Doing of any even Childiſh things, you muſt be ſure to carry the Point, and not let him have the Maſtery. But yet, I ſay, I would have the Father ſeldom interpoſe his Authority and Command in theſe Caſes, or in any other but ſuch as have a Tendency to vicious Habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them: And a gentle Perſuaſion in Reaſoning (when the firſt Point of Submiſſion to your Will is got) will moſt Times do much better.

Reaſoning. §. 81. It will perhaps be wonder'd that I mention *Reaſoning* with Children: And yet I cannot but think that the true Way of Dealing with them. They underſtand it as early as they do Language; and, if I miſ-obſerve not, they love to be treated as Rational Creatures ſooner than is imagined. 'Tis a Pride ſhould be cheriſhed in them, and as much as can be, made the greateſt Inſtrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of *Reaſoning*, I do not intend any other, but ſuch as is ſuited to the Child's Capacity and Apprehenſion. No Body can think a Boy of Three, or Seven Years old, ſhould be argued with, as a grown Man. Long Diſcourſes, and Philoſophical Reaſonings, at beſt, amaze and confound, but do not inſtruct Children. When, I ſay therefore, that they muſt be *treated as Rational Creatures*, I mean, that you ſhould make them ſenſible, by the Mildneſs of your Carriage, and the Compoſure even in your Correction of them, that what you do is reaſonable in you, and uſeful and neceſſary for them: And that it is not out of *Capricio*, Paſſion, or Fancy, that you command or forbid them any Thing. This they are capable of underſtanding; and there is no Vertue they ſhould be excited to, nor Fault they ſhould be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of; but it muſt be by ſuch *Reaſons* as their Age and Underſtanding are capable of, and thoſe propoſed always *in very few and plain Words.* The Foundations on which ſeveral Duties are built, and the Fountains of Right and Wrong, from which they ſpring, are not perhaps, eaſily to be let into the Minds of grown Men, not uſed to abſtract their Thoughts from common receiv'd Opinion. Much leſs are Children capable of *Reaſonings* from remote Principles. They cannot conceive the Force of long Deductions: The *Reaſons* that move them muſt be *obvious*, and level to their Thoughts, and ſuch as may (if I may ſo ſay) be felt, and touched. But yet, if their Age, Temper, and Inclinations be conſidered, there will never want ſuch Motives, as may be ſufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet theſe will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any Fault, fit to be taken notice of in them (*viz.*) That it will be a Diſcredit and Diſgrace to them, and diſpleaſe you.

Examples. §. 82. But of all the ways whereby Children are to be inſtructed, and their Manners formed, the plaineſt, eaſieſt, and moſt efficacious, is, to ſet before their Eyes the *Examples* of thoſe Things you would have them do, or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the Practice of Perſons within their Knowledge, with ſome Reflections on their Beauty or Unbecomingneſs, are of more force to draw or deter their Imitation, than any Diſcourſes which can be made to them. Vertues and Vices can by no Words be ſo plainly ſet before their Underſtandings, as the Actions of other Men will ſhew them, when you direct their Obſervation, and bid them view this or that good or bad Quality in their Practice. And the Beauty or Uncomelineſs of many Things, in good and ill Breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper Impreſſions on them, in the *Examples* of others, than from any Rules or Inſtructions can be given about them.

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This is a Method to be uſed, not only whilſt they are young, but to be continued even as long as they ſhall be under another's Tuition or Conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the beſt way to be uſed by a Father, as long as he ſhall think fit, on any occaſion, to reform any thing he wiſhes mended in his Son: Nothing ſinking ſo gently, and ſo deep, into Men's Minds, as *Example*. And what Ill they either overlook, or indulge in them themſelves, they cannot but diſlike, and be aſhamed of, when it is ſet before them in another. *Examples.*

§. 83. It may be doubted concerning *Whipping*, when, as the laſt Remedy, it comes to be neceſſary; at what Times, and by whom it ſhould be done: Whether preſently upon the committing the Fault, whilſt it is yet freſh and hot; And whether Parents themſelves ſhould beat their Children. As to the Firſt: I think it ſhould *not* be done *preſently*, leſt Paſſion mingle with it; and ſo, though it exceed the juſt proportion, yet it loſe of its due Weight: For, even Children diſcern when we do things in Paſſion. But, as I ſaid before, that has moſt weight with them, that appears ſedately to come from their Parent's Reaſon; and they are not without this diſtinction. Next, If you have any diſcreet Servant capable of it, and has the Place of governing your Child (for if you have a Tutour, there is no doubt) I think it is beſt the *Smart* ſhould come more immediately *from another's hand*, though by the Parent's Order, who ſhould ſee it done; whereby the Parents's Authority will be preſerv'd, and the Child's Averſion for the Pain it ſuffers rather be turn'd on the Perſon that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a *Father ſeldom ſtrike his Child*, but upon very urgent Neceſſity, and as the laſt Remedy: And then perhaps it will be fit to do it ſo, that the Child ſhould not quickly forget it. *Whipping.*

§. 84. But, as I ſaid before, *Beating* is the worſt, and therefore the laſt Means to be uſed in the Correction of Children; and that only in Caſes of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried, and proved unſucceſsful: Which, if well obſerv'd, there will be very ſeldom any need of Blows. For, it not being to be imagin'd that a Child will often, if ever, diſpute his Father's preſent Command in any particular Inſtance; and the Father not interpoſing his abſolute Authority, in peremptory Rules, concerning either childiſh or indifferent Actions, wherein his Son is to have his Liberty; or concerning his Learning or Improvement, wherein there is no Compulſion to be uſed: There remains only the Prohibition of ſome vicious Actions, wherein a Child is capable of *Obſtinacy*, and conſequently can deſerve Beating: And ſo there will be but very few occaſions of that Diſcipline to be uſed by any one, who conſiders well, and orders his Child's Education as it ſhould be. For the firſt Seven Years, What Vices can a Child be guilty of, but Lying, or ſome ill-natur'd Tricks; the repeated Commiſſion whereof, after his Father's direct Command againſt it, ſhall bring him into the Condemnation of *Obſtinacy*, and the Chaſtiſement of the Rod? If any vicious Inclination in him be, in the firſt Appearances and Inſtances of it, treated as it ſhould be, firſt, with your Wonder, and then, if returning again a ſecond time, diſcountenanced with the ſevere Brow of the Father, Tutour, and all about him, and a Treatment ſuitable to the State of Diſcredit before-mentioned; and this continued till he be made ſenſible, and aſhamed of his Fault; I imagine there will be no need of any other Correction, nor ever any Occaſion to come to Blows. The Neceſſity of ſuch Chaſtiſement is uſually the Conſequence only of former Indulgencies, or Neglects. If vicious Inclinations were watched from the Beginning, and the firſt Irregularities which they cauſed, corrected by thoſe gentler ways, we ſhould ſeldom have to do with more than one Diſorder at once; which would be eaſily ſet right without any ſtir or noiſe, and not require ſo harſh a Diſcipline as Beating. Thus, one by one, as they appear'd, they might all be weeded out, without any Signs or Memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their Faults (by Indulging and Humouring our little Ones) grow up, till they are Sturdy and Numerous, and the Deformity of them makes us aſham'd and uneaſie; we are fain to come to the Plough and the Harrow; the Spade and the Pick-axe muſt go deep to come at the Roots, and all the Force,

Whipping. Skill, and Diligence we can uſe, is ſcarce enough to cleanſe the vitiated Seed-Plat overgrown with Weeds, and reſtore us the Hopes of Fruits to reward our Pains in its Seaſon.

§. 85. This Courſe, if obſerv'd, will ſpare both Father and Child the trouble of repeated Injunctions, and multiplied Rules of Doing and Forbearing. For, I am of Opinion, that of thoſe Actions, which tend to vitious Habits (which are thoſe alone that a Father ſhould interpoſe his Authority and Commands in) none ſhould be forbidden Children till they are found Guilty of them. For ſuch untimely Prohibitions, if they do nothing worſe, do at leaſt ſo much towards teaching and allowing them, that they ſuppoſe that Children may be guilty of them, who would poſſibly be ſafer in the Ignorance of any ſuch Faults. And the beſt Remedy to ſtop them, is, as I have ſaid, to ſhew *Wonder and Amazement* at any ſuch Action as hath a vitious tendency, when it is firſt taken notice of in a Child. For Example, When he is firſt found in a Lye, or any ill-natur'd Trick; the firſt Remedy ſhould be, to talk to him of it as a *ſtrange Monſtrous Matter* that it could not be imagin'd he would have done, and ſo ſhame him out of it.

§. 86. It will be ('tis like) objected, That whatſoever I fanſy of the Tractableneſs of Children, and the Prevalency of thoſe ſofter ways of Shame and Commendation; yet there are many, who will never apply themſelves to their Books, and to what they ought to learn, unleſs they are ſcourged to it. This I fear is nothing but the Language of ordinary Schools and Faſhion, which have never ſuffer'd the other to be tried as it ſhould be, in Places where it could be taken notice of. *Why*, elſe, *does the Learning of Latin and Greek need the Rod, when French and Italian need it not?* Children learn to Dance and Fence without Whipping; nay, Arithmetick, Drawing, *&c.* they apply themſelves well enough to without Beating: Which would make one ſuſpect, that there is ſomething ſtrange, unnatural, and diſagreeable to that Age, in the things requir'd in Grammar-Schools, or in the Methods uſed there, that Children cannot be brought to, without the ſeverity of the Laſh, and hardly with that too; or elſe, that it is a miſtake, that thoſe Tongues could not be taught them without Beating.

§. 87. But let us ſuppoſe ſome ſo Negligent or Idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways propoſed: For we muſt grant, that there will be Children found of all Tempers: Yet it does not thence follow, that the rough Diſcipline of the Cudgel is to be uſed to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the *milder Methods* of Government, till they have been *throughly tried* upon him; and if they will not prevail with him to uſe his Endeavours, and do what is in his Power to do, we make no Excuſes for the Obſtinate: Blows are the proper Remedies for thoſe; but Blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his Book, and ſtubbornly refuſes any thing he can do, required of him by his Father expreſſing himſelf in a poſitive ſerious Command, ſhould not be corrected with two or three angry Laſhes, for not performing his Task, and the ſame Puniſhment repeated again and again, upon every the like Default: But when it is brought to that paſs, that Wilfulneſs evidently ſhews it ſelf, and makes Blows neceſſary; I think the Chaſtiſement ſhould be a little more Sedate, and a little more Severe; and the Whipping (mingled with Admonition between) ſo continued, till the Impreſſions of it on the Mind were found legible in the Face, Voice, and Submiſſion of the Child, not ſo ſenſible of the Smart, as of the Fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true Sorrow under it. If ſuch a Correction as this, tried ſome few times at fit diſtances, and carried to the utmoſt Severity, with the viſible Diſpleaſure of the Father all the while, will not work the Effect, turn the Mind, and produce a future Compliance: What can be hoped from *Blows*, and to what purpoſe ſhould they be any more uſed? *Beating*, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the Fury of an enraged Enemy, than the good Will of a compaſſionate Friend; and ſuch Chaſtiſement carries with it only Provocation without any proſpect of Amendment. If it be any Father's Misfortune to have a Son thus perverſe and untractable, I know not what more he can do, but pray for him.

him. But, I imagine, if a right Courſe be taken with Children from the beginning, very few will be found to be ſuch; and when there are any ſuch Inſtances, They are not to be the Rule for the Education of thoſe who are better Natur'd, and may be managed with better Uſage. *Whipping.*

§. 88. If a *Tutour* can be got, that, thinking himſelf in the Father's place, charged with his Care, and reliſhing theſe Things, will at the beginning apply himſelf to put them in Practice, he will afterwards find his Work very eaſie: And you will, I gueſs, have your Son in a little time, a greater Proficient in both Learning and Breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no Means beat him, at any time, without your Conſent and Direction; at leaſt till you have Experience of his Diſcretion and Temper. But yet to keep up his Authority with his Pupil, beſides concealing that he has not the Power of the Rod, you muſt be ſure to uſe him with great Reſpect your ſelf, and cauſe all your Family to do ſo too. For you cannot expect, your Son ſhould have any regard for one, whom he ſees you, or his Mother, or others ſlight. If you think him worthy of Contempt, you have choſen amiſs: And if you ſhew any Contempt of him, he will hardly ſcape it from your Son: And whenever that happens, whatever Worth he may have in himſelf, and Abilities for this Imployment, they are all loſt to your Child, and can afterwards never be made uſeful to him. *Tutour.*

§. 89. As the Father's Example muſt teach the Child Reſpect for his Tutour; ſo the Tutour's Example muſt lead the Child into thoſe Actions he would have him do. His Practice muſt by no means croſs his Precepts, unleſs he intend to ſet him wrong. It will be to no purpoſe for the Tutour to talk of the Reſtraint of the Paſſions, whilſt any of his own are let looſe: And he will in vain endeavour to reform any Vice or Indecency in his Pupil, which he allows in himſelf. Ill Patterns are ſure to be follow'd more than good Rules: And therefore he muſt alſo carefully preſerve him from the Influence of ill Precedents, eſpecially the moſt dangerous of all, the Examples of the Servants; from whoſe Company he is to be kept, not by Prohibitions, for that will but give him an Itch after it, but by other Ways I have mention'd.

§. 90. In all the whole Buſineſs of Education, there is nothing like to be leſs hearken'd to, or harder to be well obſerv'd, than what I am now going to ſay; and that is, That Children ſhould from their firſt beginning to talk, have ſome *Diſcreet*, *Sober*, nay, *Wiſe* Perſon about them, whoſe Care it ſhould be to faſhion them aright, and keep them from all Ill, eſpecially the Infection of bad Company. I think this Province requires great *Sobriety*, *Temperance*, *Tenderneſs*, *Diligence*, and *Diſcretion*; Qualities hardly to be found united in Perſons, that are to be had for ordinary Salaries; nor eaſily to be found any where. As to the Charge of it, I think it will be the Money beſt laid out that can be about our Children; and therefore though it may be Expenſive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He, that at any Rate procures his Child a good Mind, well Principled, temper'd to Vertue and Uſefulneſs, and adorned with Civility and good Breeding, makes a better Purchaſe for him, than if he laid out the Money for an Addition of more Earth to his former Acres. Spare it in Toys and Play-Games, in Silk and Ribbons, Laces and other uſeleſs Expences, as much as you pleaſe; but be not ſparing in ſo neceſſary a part as this. 'Tis not good Husbandry to make his Fortune rich, and his Mind poor. I have often with great Admiration ſeen People laviſh it profuſely in tricking up their Children in fine Clothes, Lodging, and Feeding them ſumptuouſly, allowing them more than enough of uſeleſs Servants, and yet at the ſame time ſtarve their Minds, and not take ſufficient Care to cover that, which is the moſt Shameful Nakedneſs, *viz.* their natural wrong Inclinations and Ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a Sacrificing to their own Vanity; it ſhewing more their Pride, than true Care of the Good of their Children. Whatſoever you imploy to the Advantage of your Son's Mind will ſhew your true Kindneſs, tho' it be to the leſſening of his Eſtate. A Wiſe and Good Man can hardly want either the Opinion or Reality of being Great and Happy. But he that is Fooliſh, or Vicious, can be neither Great nor Happy, what Eſtate ſoever you *Governour.*

Governour. you leave him: And I ask you, Whether there be not Men in the World whom you had rather have your Son be with 500 *l. per Annum*, than ſome other you know, with 5000 *l.*?

§. 91. The Conſideration of Charge ought not therefore to deter thoſe who are able: The great difficulty will be where to find a *proper Perſon*. For thoſe of ſmall Age, Parts, and Vertue, are unfit for this Imployment; and thoſe that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake ſuch a Charge. You muſt therefore look out early, and enquire every where: For the World has People of all ſorts. And I remember, *Montaigne* ſays in one of his Eſſays, That the Learned *Caſtalio* was fain to make Trenchers at *Baſle* to keep himſelf from Starving, when his Father would have given any Money for ſuch a Tutour for his Son, and *Caſtalio* have willingly embraced ſuch an Imployment upon very reaſonable Terms; But this was for want of Intelligence.

§. 92. If you find it difficult to meet with ſuch a Tutour as we deſire, you are not to wonder. I only can ſay, Spare no Care nor Coſt to get ſuch an one. All things are to be had that way: And I dare aſſure you, That if you can get a good one, you will never repent the Charge; but will always have the Satisfaction to think it the Money of all other the beſt laid out. But be ſure take no Body upon Friends, or Charitable, no, nor bare great Commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the Reputation of a Sober Man with a good Stock of Learning (which is all uſually required in a Tutour) will not be enough to ſerve your turn. In this Choice be as Curious, as you would be in that of a Wife for him: For you muſt not think of Trial, or Changing afterwards: That will cauſe great Inconveniency to you, and greater to your Son. When I conſider the Scruples and Cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks, as if I adviſed you to ſomething, which I would have offer'd at, but in Effect not done. But he that ſhall conſider, how much the Buſineſs of a Tutour, rightly imployed, lies out of the Road; and how remote it is from the Thoughts of many, even of thoſe who propoſe to themſelves this Imployment, will perhaps be of my Mind, that one, fit to educate and form the Mind of a Young Gentleman, is not every where to be found; and that more than ordinary Care is to be taken in the Choice of him, or elſe you may fail of your End.

Tutour. §. 93. The Character of a Sober Man and a Scholar, is, as I have above obſerv'd, what every one expects in a Tutour. This generally is thought enough, and is all that Parents commonly look for. But when ſuch an one has emptied out into his Pupil all the Latin and Logick he has brought from the Univerſity, will that Furniture make him a fine Gentleman? Or can it be expected, that he ſhould be better Bred, better skill'd in the World, better Principled in the Grounds and Foundations of true Vertue and Generoſity, than his young *Tutour* is?

To form a young Gentleman as he ſhould be, 'tis fit his *Governour* ſhould himſelf be well-Bred, underſtand the Ways of Carriage, and Meaſures of Civility in all the Variety of Perſons, Times and Places; and keep his Pupil, as much as his Age requires, conſtantly to the Obſervation of them. This is an Art not to be learnt, nor taught by Books. Nothing can give it but good Company, and Obſervation joyn'd together. The Taylor may make his Cloathes Modiſh, and the Dancing-Maſter give Faſhion to his Motions; yet neither of theſe, though they ſet off well, make a well-bred Gentleman; No, though he have Learning to boot; which, if not well managed, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in Converſation. Breeding is that which ſets a Gloſs upon all his other good Qualities, and renders them uſeful to him, in procuring him the Eſteem and Good-Will of all that he comes near. Without good Breeding, his other Accompliſhments make him paſs but for Proud, Conceited, Vain, or Fooliſh.

Courage in an ill-bred Man, has the Air, and ſcapes not the Opinion of Brutality: Learning becomes Pedantry; Wit, Buffoonery; Plainneſs, Ruſticity; Good Nature, Fawning. And there cannot be a good Quality in him, which want of Breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his Diſadvantage. Nay, Vertue and Parts, though they are allow'd their due Commendation,

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yet are not enough to procure a Man a good Reception, and make him Welcome where-ever he comes. No body contents himself with rough Diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with Advantage. When they are polish'd, and set, then they give a lustre. Good Qualities are the Substantial Riches of the Mind, but 'tis good Breeding sets them off: And he that will be acceptable, must give Beauty as well as Strength to his Actions. Solidity, or even Usefulness, is not enough: A graceful Way and Fashion, in every thing, is that which gives the Ornament and Liking. And in most Cases the manner of doing is of more Consequence than the thing done; And upon that depends the Satisfaction or Disgust wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the Hat, nor making of Complements; but in a due and free composure of Language, Looks, Motion, Posture, Place, *&c.* suited to Persons and Occasions, and can be learn'd only by Habit and Use, though it be above the capacity of Children, and little ones should not be perplex'd about it; yet it ought to be begun, and in a good Measure learn'd by a young Gentleman whilst he is under a Tutour, before he comes into the World upon his own Legs: For then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual Indecencies, which lie in little things. For the Carriage is not as it should be, till it is become Natural in every Part; falling, as skilful Musicians Fingers do, into Harmonious Order, without Care, and without Thought. If in Conversation a Man's Mind be taken up with a sollicitous Watchfulness about any part of his Behaviour; instead of being mended by it, it will be constrain'd, uneasie, and ungraceful. *Tutour.*

Besides, this part is most necessary to be form'd by the Hands and Care of a *Governour*: Because, though the Errours committed in Breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of. Not, but that the Malice of the World is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who should make profit of their Judgment, and Reform himself by their Censure. And indeed, this is so nice a Point to be meddled with, that even those who are Friends, and wish it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love, that they are Guilty in such or such Cases of ill Breeding. Errors in other things, may often with Civility be shewn another; and 'tis no Breach of good Manners or Friendship, to set him right in other Mistakes: But good Breeding it self allows not a Man to touch upon this; or to insinuate to another that he is guilty of want of Breeding. Such Information can come only from those who have Authority over them: And from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown Man; and however soften'd, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever so little in the World. Wherefore it is necessary, that this Part should be the *Governour's* principal Care; that an habitual Gracefulness, and Politeness in all his Carriage may be settled in his Charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his Hands: And that he may not need Advice in this Point, when he has neither Time, nor Disposition to receive it, nor has any Body left to give it him. The *Tutour* therefore ought in the first place to be well bred: And a young Gentleman, who gets this one Qualification from his *Governour*, sets out with great Advantage; and will find, that this one Accomplishment, will more open his way to him, get him more Friends, and carry him farther in the World, than all the hard Words, or real Knowledge he has got from the Liberal Arts, or his *Tutour's* learned *Encyclopaidia*; not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferr'd, or suffer'd to thrust out the other.

§. 94. Besides being well-bred, the *Tutour* should know the World well; the Ways, the Humours, the Follies, the Cheats, the Faults of the Age he is fallen into, and particularly of the Country he lives in. These he should be able to shew to his Pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him Skill in Men, and their Manners; pull off the Mask which their several Callings, and Pretences cover them with; and make his Pupil discern what lies at the bottom under such Appearances; that he may not as unexperienc'd young Men are apt to do, if they are unwarn'd, take one thing for another,

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Tutour. judge by the Out-ſide, and give himſelf up to Show, and the Inſinuation of a fair Carriage, or an obliging Application; A Governour ſhould teach his Scholar to gueſs at, and beware of, the Deſigns of Men he hath to do with, neither with too much Suſpicion, nor too much Confidence; but, as the young Man is by Nature moſt enclined to either ſide, rectifie him and bend him the other way. He ſhould accuſtom him to make as much as is poſſible a true Judgment of Men by thoſe Marks, which ſerve beſt to ſhew what they are, and give a Proſpect into their Inſide; which often ſhews it ſelf in little things, eſpecially when they are not in Parade, and upon their Guard. He ſhould acquaint him with the true State of the World, and diſpoſe him to think no Man better or worſe, wiſer or fooliſher, than he really is. Thus by ſafe and inſenſible Degrees, he will paſs from a Boy to a Man; which is the moſt hazardous Step in all the whole Courſe of Life. This therefore ſhould be carefully watch'd, and a young Man with great Diligence handed over it; and not, as now uſually is done, be taken from a *Governour*'s Conduct, and all at once thrown into the World under his own, not without manifeſt Dangers of immediate Spoiling; there being nothing more frequent, than Inſtances of the great Looſeneſs, Extravagancy and Debauchery, which young Men have run into as ſoon as they have been let looſe from a ſevere and ſtrict Education: Which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of Breeding, eſpecially in this Part: For having been bred up in a great Ignorance of what the World truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it ſhould be, and ſo imagined it was, are eaſily perſuaded, by other kind of Tutours, which they are ſure to meet with, that the Diſcipline they were kept under, and the Lectures were read to them, were but the Formalities of Education, and the Reſtraints of Childhood; that the Freedom belonging to Men, is to take their Swing in a full Enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They ſhew the young Novice the World full of faſhionable and glittering Examples of this every where, and he is preſently dazzled with them. My young Maſter, failing not to be willing to ſhew himſelf a Man, as much as any of the Sparks of his Years, lets himſelf looſe to all the Irregularities he finds in the moſt Debauch'd; and thus courts Credit and Manlineſs, in the caſting off the Modeſty, and Sobriety, he has till then been kept in; and thinks it brave, at his firſt ſetting out, to ſignalize himſelf in running counter to all the Rules of Vertue, which have been preach'd to him by his Tutour.

The ſhewing him the World as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the beſt Means, I think, to prevent this Miſchief. He ſhould by degrees be informed of the Vices in faſhion, and warn'd of the Applications and Deſigns of thoſe, who will make it their Buſineſs to corrupt him. He ſhould be told the Arts they uſe, and the Trains they lay; and now and then have ſet before him the tragical or ridiculous Examples of thoſe, who are ruining, or ruined this way. The Age is not like to want Inſtances of this kind, which ſhould be made Land-marks to him; that by the Diſgraces, Diſeaſes, Beggary and Shame of hopeful young Men thus brought to Ruin, he may be precaution'd, and be made ſee, how thoſe joyn in the Contempt and Neglect of them that are undone, who by Pretences of Friendſhip and Reſpect lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilſt they were undoing; that he may ſee, before he buys it by a too dear Experience, that thoſe who perſuade him not to follow the ſober Advices he has received from his *Governours*, and the Counſel of his own Reaſon, which they call being govern'd by others, do it only, that they may have the Government of him themſelves; and make him believe, he goes like a Man of himſelf, by his own Conduct, and for his own Pleaſure, when, in truth, he is wholly as a Child led by them into thoſe Vices which beſt ſerve their Purpoſes. This is a Knowledge which, upon all Occaſions, a *Tutour* ſhould endeavour to inſtil, and by all Methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly reliſh.

I know it is often ſaid, That to diſcover to a young Man the Vices of the Age, is to teach them him. That I confeſs is a good deal ſo, according

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as it is done ; and therefore requires a diſcreet Man of Parts, who knows the World, and can judge of the Temper, Inclination and weak Side of his Pupil. This farther is to be remember'd, that it is not poſſible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young Gentleman from Vice, by a total Ignorance of it ; unleſs you will all his Life mew him up in a Cloſet, and never let him go into Company. The longer he is kept thus hood-wink'd, the leſs he will ſee, when he comes Abroad into open Day-light, and be the more expoſed to be a Prey to himſelf, and others. And an old Boy at his firſt Appearance, with all the Gravity of his Ivy-buſh about him, is ſure to draw on him the Eyes and Chirping of the whole Town Volery ; amongſt which, there will not be wanting ſome Birds of Prey, that will preſently be on the wing for him. *Tutour.*

The only Fence againſt the World, is a thorough Knowledge of it : into which a young Gentleman ſhould be enter'd by Degrees, as he can bear it ; and the earlier the better, ſo he be in ſafe and skilful Hands to guide him. The Scene ſhould be gently open'd, and his Enterance made Step by Step, and the Dangers pointed out that attend him, from the ſeveral Degrees, Tempers, Deſigns and Clubs of Men. He ſhould be prepared to be ſhock'd by ſome, and careſs'd by others ; warn'd who are like to oppoſe, who to miſlead, who to undermine him, and who to ſerve him. He ſhould be inſtructed how to know, and diſtinguiſh them ; where he ſhould let them ſee, and when diſſemble the Knowledge of them, and their Aims and Workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own Strength and Skill, the Perplexity and Trouble of a Miſadventure now and then, that reaches not his Innocence, his Health, or Reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more Caution.

This I confeſs, containing one great part of Wiſdom, is not the Product of ſome ſuperficial Thoughts, or much Reading ; but the effect of Experience and Obſervation in a Man, who has lived in the World with his Eyes open, and convers'd with Men of all Sorts. And therefore I think it of moſt value to be inſtill'd into a young Man, upon all Occaſions which offer themſelves, that, when he comes to launch into the Deep himſelf, he may not be like one at Sea without a Line, Compaſs, or Sea-Chart ; but may have ſome notice before-hand of the Rocks and Shoals, the Currents and Quick-ſands, and know a little how to ſteer, that he ſink not, before he get Experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his Son, and for which he more needs a Governour, than the Languages and learned Sciences, forgets of how much more uſe it is to judge right of Men, and manage his Affairs wiſely with them, than to ſpeak Greek and Latin, or argue in Mood and Figure : Or to have his Head fill'd with the abſtruſe Speculations of Natural Philoſophy, and Metaphyſicks ; nay, than to be well-verſed in Greek and Roman Writers, though that be much better for a Gentleman, than to be a good Peripatetick or Carteſian : Becauſe thoſe antient Authors obſerv'd and painted Mankind well, and give the beſt Light into that kind of Knowledge. He that goes into the Eaſtern Parts of *Aſia*, will find able and acceptable Men without any of theſe : But without Vertue, Knowledge of the World and Civility, an accompliſhed and valuable Man can be found no where.

A great part of the Learning now in faſhion in the Schools of *Europe*, and that goes ordinarily into the Round of Education, a Gentleman may in a good meaſure be unfurniſhed with, without any great Diſparagement to himſelf, or Prejudice to his Affairs. But Prudence and good Breeding are in all the Stations and Occurrences of Life neceſſary ; and moſt young Men ſuffer in the want of them ; and come rawer and more awkward into the World than they ſhould, for this very Reaſon ; becauſe theſe Qualities, which are of all other the moſt neceſſary to be taught, and ſtand moſt in need of the aſſiſtance and help of a Teacher, are generally neglected, and thought but a Slight, or no part of a *Tutour*'s Buſineſs. Latin and Learning make all the Noiſe : And the main Streſs is laid upon his Proficiency in Things, a great part whereof belong not to a Gentleman's Calling ; which is to have the Knowledge of a Man of Buſineſs, a Carriage ſuitable to his Rank, and to

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Tutour. be Eminent and Uſeful in his Country, according to his Station. Whenever either ſpare Hours from that, or an Inclination to perfect himſelf in ſome parts of Knowledge, which his *Tutour* did but juſt enter him in, ſet him upon any Study; the firſt Rudiments of it, which he learn'd before, will open the way enough for his own Induſtry to carry him as far as his Fancy will prompt, or his Parts enable him to go. Or, if he thinks it may ſave his Time and Pains, to be help'd over ſome Difficulties by the Hand of a Maſter, he may then take a Man that is perfectly well skill'd in it, or chooſe ſuch an one as he thinks fitteſt for his purpoſe. But to initiate his Pupil in any part of Learning, as far as is neceſſary for a young Man in the ordinary courſe of his Studies, an ordinary Skill in the *Governour* is enough. Nor is it requiſite, that he ſhould be a thorough Scholar, or poſſeſs in perfection all thoſe Sciences, which 'tis convenient a young Gentleman ſhould have a taſte of in ſome general View, or ſhort Syſtem. A Gentleman, that would penetrate deeper, muſt do it by his own Genius and Induſtry afterwards: For no Body ever went far in Knowledge, or became Eminent in any of the Sciences by the Diſcipline and Conſtraint of a Maſter.

The great Work of a *Governour* is to faſhion the Carriage, and form the Mind; to ſettle in his Pupil good Habits, and the Principles of Vertue and Wiſdom; to give him by little and little a view of Mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is Excellent and Praiſe-worthy; and in the Proſecution of it to give him Vigour, Activity, and Induſtry. The Studies which he ſets him upon, are but as it were the Exerciſes of his Faculties, and Imployment of his Time, to keep him from Sauntering and Idleneſs, to teach him Application, and accuſtom him to take Pains, and to give him ſome little taſte of what his own Induſtry muſt perfect. For who expects, that under a *Tutour* a young Gentleman ſhould be an accompliſhed Critick, Oratour, or Logician; Go to the bottom of Metaphyſicks, Natural Philoſophy or Mathematicks; Or be a Maſter in Hiſtory or Chronology? Though ſomething of each of theſe is to be taught him: But it is only to open the Door, that he may look in, and as it were begin an Acquaintance, but not to dwell there: And a *Governour* would be much to be blam'd, that ſhould keep his Pupil too long, and lead him too far in moſt of them. But of good Breeding, Knowledge of the World, Vertue, Induſtry, and a love of Reputation, he cannot have too much: And if he have theſe, he will not long want what he needs, or deſires of the other.

And ſince it cannot be hoped, he ſhould have Time and Strength to learn all Things, moſt Pains ſhould be taken about that which is moſt neceſſary; and that principally look'd after, which will be of moſt and frequenteſt Uſe to him in the World.

Seneca complains of the contrary Practice in his time: And yet the *Burgerſdicius*'s and the *Scheiblers* did not ſwarm in thoſe Days, as they do now in theſe. What would he have thought, if he had lived now, when the *Tutours* think it their great Buſineſs to fill the Studies and Heads of their Pupils with ſuch Authors as theſe? He would have had much more Reaſon to ſay, as he does, *Non Vitæ ſed Scholæ diſcimus*, we learn not to live, but to Diſpute; and our Education fits us rather for the Univerſity than the World. But 'tis no Wonder if thoſe who make the Faſhion, ſuit it to what they have, and not to what their Pupils want. The Faſhion being once eſtabliſh'd, who can think it ſtrange, that in this, as well as in all other things it ſhould prevail; and that the greateſt part of thoſe, who find their Account in an eaſie Submiſſion to it, ſhould be ready to cry out *Hereſie*, when any one departs from it? Tis nevertheleſs Matter of Aſtoniſhment, that Men of Quality, and Parts, ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be ſo far miſled by Cuſtom and Implicit Faith. Reaſon, if conſulted with, would adviſe, that their Childrens time ſhould be ſpent in acquiring what might be uſeful to them when they come to be Men, rather than to have their Heads ſtuff'd with a deal of Traſh, a great part whereof they uſually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and ſo much of it as does ſtick by them they are only the worſe for. This is ſo well known, that I appeal to Parents themſelves, who have been at Coſt to have their young Heirs taught

taught it, whether it be not Ridiculous for their Sons to have any Tincture of that ſort of Learning, when they come abroad into the World; whether any appearance of it would not leſſen and diſgrace them in Company. And that certainly muſt be an admirable Acquiſition, and deſerves well to make a part in Education, which Men are aſham'd of where they are moſt concern'd to ſhew their Parts and Breeding. *Tutour.*

There is yet another Reaſon, why Politeneſs of Manners, and Knowledge of the World ſhould principally be look'd after in a *Tutour:* And that is, becauſe a Man of Parts, and Years, may enter a Lad far enough in any of thoſe Sciences which he has no deep inſight into himſelf. Books in theſe will be able to furniſh him, and give him Light, and Precedency enough, to go before a young Follower: But he will never be able to ſet another right in the Knowledge of the World, and above all, in Breeding, who is a Novice in them himſelf.

This is a Knowledge he muſt have about him, worn into him by Uſe, and Converſation, and a long forming himſelf by what he has obſerv'd to be practiſed and allowed in the beſt Company. This, if he has it not of his own, is no where to be borrowed, for the uſe of his Pupil: Or if he could find pertinent Treatiſes of it in Books, that would reach all the Particulars of an Engliſh Gentleman's Behaviour; his own ill-faſhion'd Example, if he be not well-bred himſelf, would ſpoil all his Lectures; it being impoſſible, that any one ſhould come forth well faſhion'd, out of unpoliſh'd, ill-bred Company.

I ſay this, not that I think ſuch a *Tutour* is every Day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary Rates. But that thoſe, who are able, may not be ſparing of Enquiry or Coſt in what is of ſo great moment; and that other Parents, whoſe Eſtates will not reach to greater Salaries, may yet remember, what they ſhou'd principally have an eye to in the Choice of one to whom they would commit the Education of their Children; and what part they ſhould chiefly look after themſelves, whilſt they are under their Care, and as often as they come within their Obſervation; and not think, that all lies in Latin and French, or ſome dry Syſtems of Logick and Philoſophy.

§. 95. But to return to our Method again. Though I have mentioned the Severity of the Father's Brow, and the Awe ſettled thereby in the Mind of Children when young, as one main Inſtrument, whereby their Education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an Opinion, that it ſhould be continued all along to them; whilſt they are under the Diſcipline and Government of Pupilage, I think it ſhould be relaxed, as faſt as their Age, Diſcretion, and Good Behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a Father will do well, as his Son grows up, and is capable of it, to *talk familiarly* with him; nay, *ask his Advice, and Conſult* with him, about thoſe things wherein he has any Knowledge, or Underſtanding. By this, the Father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, That it will put ſerious Conſiderations into his Son's Thoughts, better than any Rules or Advices he can give him. The ſooner you *treat him as a Man*, the ſooner he will begin to be one: And, if you admit him into ſerious Diſcourſes ſometimes with you, you will inſenſibly raiſe his Mind above the uſual Amuſements of Youth, and thoſe trifling Occupations which it is commonly waſted in. For it is eaſie to obſerve, that many young Men continue longer in the Thought and Converſation of School-Boys, than otherwiſe they would, becauſe their Parents keep them at that diſtance, and in that low Rank, by all their Carriage to them. *Familiarity.*

§. 96. Another thing of greater conſequence, which you will obtain by ſuch a way of treating him, will be *his Friendſhip.* Many Fathers, though they proportion to their Sons liberal Allowances, according to their Age and Condition; yet they keep the knowledge of their Eſtates, and Concerns from them, with as much Reſervedneſs, as if they were guarding a ſecret of State from a Spy, or an Enemy. This, if it looks not like Jealouſie, yet it wants thoſe Marks of Kindneſs and Intimacy, which a Father ſhould ſhew to his Son; and, no doubt, often hinders, or abates, that Cheerfulneſs and Satisfaction, wherewith a Son ſhould addreſs himſelf to, and rely upon,

Familiarity. his Father. And I cannot but often wonder to ſee Fathers, who love their Sons very well, yet ſo order the matter by a conſtant Stiffneſs, and a Mein of Authority and Diſtance to them all their Lives, as if they were never to enjoy or have any Comfort from thoſe they love beſt in the World, till they had loſt them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and eſtabliſhes Friendſhip and Good-will, ſo much as *confident Communication* of Concernments and Affairs. Other Kindneſſes without this, leave ſtill ſome Doubts: But when your Son ſees you open your Mind to him, when he finds that you intereſt him in your Affairs, as Things you are willing ſhould in their turn come into his Hands, he will be concerned for them, as for his own; wait his Seaſon with Patience, and love you in the mean time, who keep him not at the Diſtance of a Stranger. This will alſo make him ſee, that the Enjoyment you have is not without Care; which the more he is ſenſible of, the leſs will he envy you the Poſſeſſion, and the more think himſelf Happy under the Management of ſo favourable a Friend, and ſo careful a Father. There is ſcarce any young Man of ſo little Thought, or ſo void of Senſe, that would not be glad of a *ſure Friend*, that he might have recourſe to, and freely Conſult on Occaſion. The Reſervedneſs and Diſtance, that Fathers keep, often deprive their Sons of that Refuge, which would be of more Advantage to them than an hundred Rebukes and Chidings. Would your Son engage in ſome Frolick, or take a Vagary, were it not much better he ſhould do it with, than without your Knowledge? For, ſince Allowances for ſuch Things muſt be made to Young Men, the more you know of his Intriegues and Deſigns, the better will you be able to prevent great Miſchiefs; and, by letting him ſee what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid leſs Inconveniencies. Would you have him open his Heart to you, and ask your Advice? You muſt begin to do ſo with him firſt, and by your Carriage beget that Confidence.

§. 97. But whatever he conſults you about, unleſs it lead to ſome fatal and irremediable Miſchief, be ſure you adviſe only as a Friend of more Experience; but with your Advice mingle nothing of Command or Authority, nor more than you would to your Equal, or a Stranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any farther demanding, or receiving Advantage from your Counſel. You muſt conſider that he is a Young Man, and has Pleaſures and Fancies, which you are paſs'd. You muſt not expect his Inclinations ſhould be juſt as your's, nor that at Twenty he ſhould have the ſame Thoughts you have at Fifty. All that you can wiſh is, That ſince Youth muſt have ſome Liberty, ſome Out-leaps, they might be with the Ingenuity of a Son, and *under the Eye of a Father*, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I ſaid before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your Affairs, propoſe Matters to him *familiarly*, and ask his Advice; and when he ever lights on the Right, follow it as his; and if it ſucceed well, let him have the Commendation. This will not at all leſſen your Authority, but increaſe his Love and Eſteem of you. Whilſt you keep your Eſtate, the Staff will ſtill be in your own Hands; and your Authority the ſurer, the more it is ſtrengthen'd with *Confidence* and *Kindneſs*. For you have not that Power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending ſo good a Friend, than of loſing ſome part of his future Expectation.

§. 98. Familiarity of Diſcourſe, if it can become a Father to his Son, may much more be condeſcended to by a Tutour to his Pupil. All their time together ſhould not be ſpent in Reading of Lectures, and magiſterially dictating to him what he is to obſerve and follow: Hearing him in his turn, and uſing him to reaſon about what is propos'd, will make the Rules go down the eaſier, and ſink the deeper, and will give him a liking to Study and Inſtruction: And he will then begin to value Knowledge when he ſees that it enables him to Diſcourſe; and he finds the Pleaſure, and Credit of bearing a Part in the Converſation, and of having his Reaſons ſometimes approved, and hearken'd to. Particularly in Morality, Prudence, and Breeding, Caſes ſhould be put to him, and his Judgment ask'd: This opens the Underſtanding better than Maxims, how well ſoever explain'd, and ſettles the Rules better in the Memory for

Practice.

Practice. This way lets things into the Mind, which ſtick there, and retain their Evidence with them; whereas Words at beſt are faint Repreſentations, being not ſo much as the true Shadows of Things, and are much ſooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the Foundations and Meaſures of Decency, and Juſtice; and have livelier, and more laſting Impreſſions of what he ought to do, by giving his Opinion on Caſes propoſed, and Reaſoning with his Tutour on fit Inſtances, than by giving a ſilent, negligent, ſleepy Audience to his Tutour's Lectures; and much more than by captious Logical Diſputes, or ſet Declamations of his own, upon any Queſtion. The one ſets the Thoughts upon Wit, and falſe Colours, and not upon Truth: The other teaches Fallacy, Wrangling and Opiniatry: And they are both of them things, that ſpoil the Judgment, and put a Man out of the way of right and fair Reaſoning; and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himſelf, and be acceptable to others. *Familiarity.*

§. 99. When, by making your Son ſenſible that he depends on you, and is in your Power, you have eſtabliſh'd your Authority; and by being inflexibly ſevere in your Carriage to him, when obſtinately perſiſting in any ill-natur'd Trick which you have forbidden, eſpecially Lying, you have imprinted on his Mind that Awe which is neceſſary; and on the other ſide, when (by permitting him the full Liberty due to his Age, and laying no Reſtraint in your Preſence to thoſe childiſh Actions and Gaiety of Carriage, which, whilſt he is very young, is as neceſſary to him as Meat or Sleep) you have reconciled him to your Company, and made him ſenſible of your Care and Love of him by Indulgence and Tenderneſs, eſpecially Careſſing him on all Occaſions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him after a thouſand Faſhions ſuitable to his Age, which Nature teaches Parents better than I can: When, I ſay, by theſe Ways of Tenderneſs and Affection, which Parents never want for their Children, you have alſo planted in him a particular Affection for you, he is then in the State you could deſire, and you have form'd in his Mind that true *Reverence*, which is always afterwards carefully to be continued, and maintain'd in both Parts of it, *Love* and *Fear*, as the great Principles, whereby you will always have hold upon him, to turn his Mind to the Ways of Vertue and Honour. *Reverence.*

§. 100. When this Foundation is once well laid, and you find this Reverence begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to conſider his *Temper*, and the particular Conſtitution of his Mind. Stubbornneſs, Lying, and ill-natur'd Actions are not (as has been ſaid) to be permitted in him from the Beginning, whatever his Temper be: Thoſe Seeds of Vices are not to be ſuffer'd to take any Root, but muſt be carefully weeded out, as ſoon as ever they begin to ſhew themſelves in him; and your Authority is to take place, and influence his Mind from the very Dawning of any Knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural Principle, whereof he never perceived the Beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwiſe. By this, if the *Reverence* he owes you be eſtabliſh'd early, it will always be Sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to reſiſt it, as the Principles of his Nature. *Temper.*

§. 101. Having thus very early ſet up your Authority, and, by the gentler Applications of it, ſhamed him out of what leads towards an immoral Habit; as ſoon as you have obſerv'd it in him (for I would by no means have Chiding uſed, much leſs Blows, till Obſtinacy and Incorrigibleneſs make it abſolutely neceſſary) it will be fit to conſider which way the natural Make of his *Mind inclines* him. Some Men by the unalterable Frame of their Conſtitutions are *Stout*, others *Timorous*; ſome *Confident*, others *Modeſt*, *Tractable* or *Obſtinate*, *Curious* or *Careleſs*, *Quick* or *Slow*. There are not more Differences in Mens Faces, and the outward Lineaments of their Bodies, than there are in the Makes and Tempers of their Minds; only there is this Difference, that the diſtinguiſhing Characters of the Face, and the Lineaments of the Body grow more plain and viſible with Time and Age, but the peculiar *Phyſiognomy of the Mind* is moſt diſcernible in Children, before Art and Cunning have taught them to hide their Deformities, and conceal their ill Inclinations under a diſſembled Outſide.

Temper. §. 102. Begin therefore betimes nicely to obſerve your Son's *Temper*; and that, when he is under leaſt reſtraint, in his Play, and as he thinks out of your ſight. See what are his *predominate Paſſions*, and *prevailing Inclinations*; whether he be Fierce or Mild, Bold or Baſhful, Compaſſionate or Cruel, Open or Reſerv'd, *&c.* For as theſe are different in him, ſo are your Methods to be different, and your Authority muſt hence take meaſures to apply it ſelf different ways to him. Theſe *native Propenſities*, theſe Prevalencies of Conſtitution, are not to be cured by Rules, or a direct Conteſt; eſpecially thoſe of them that are the humbler and meaner ſort, which proceed from fear, and lowneſs of Spirit; though with Art they may be much mended, and turned to good purpoſes. But this, be ſure, after all is done, the Byaſs will always hang on that ſide that Nature firſt placed it: And if you carefully obſerve the Characters of his Mind, now in the firſt Scenes of his Life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his Thoughts lean, and what he aims at, even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the Plot thickens, and he puts on ſeveral Shapes to act it.

Dominion. §. 103. I told you before that Children love *Liberty*; and therefore they ſhould be brought to do the things are fit for them, without feeling any Reſtraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love ſomething more; and that is *Dominion*: And this is the firſt Original of moſt vicious Habits, that are ordinary and natural. This Love of *Power* and Dominion ſhews it ſelf very early, and that in theſe Two Things.

§. 104. 1. We ſee Children (as ſoon almoſt as they are born, I am ſure long before they can ſpeak) cry, grow peeviſh, ſullen, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their *Wills*. They would have their Deſires ſubmitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them; eſpecially from thoſe that ſtand near, or beneath them in Age or Degree, as ſoon as they come to conſider others with thoſe diſtinctions.

§. 105. Another thing wherein they ſhew their Love of Dominion, is their deſire to have things to be their's; they would have *Propriety* and Poſſeſſion, pleaſing themſelves with the Power which that ſeems to give, and the Right they thereby have to diſpoſe of them as they pleaſe. He, that has not obſerv'd theſe two Humours working very betimes in Children, has taken little notice of their Actions: And he, who thinks that theſe two Roots of almoſt all the Injuſtice and Contention, that ſo diſturb Humane Life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary Habits introduced, neglects the proper Seaſon to lay the Foundations of a good and worthy Man. To do this, I imagine, theſe following things may ſomewhat conduce.

Craving. §. 106. 1. That a Child ſhould never be ſuffered to have what he *craves*, much leſs what he *cries for*, I had ſaid, *or ſo much as ſpeaks for*. But, that being apt to be miſ-underſtood, and interpreted as if I meant a Child ſhould never ſpeak to his Parents for any thing; which will perhaps be thought to lay too great Curb on the Minds of Children, to the prejudice of that Love and Affection which ſhould be between them and their Parents; I ſhall explain my ſelf a little more particularly. It is fit that they ſhould have liberty to declare their Wants to their Parents, and that with all Tenderneſs they ſhould be hearken'd to, and ſupplied, at leaſt whilſt they are very little. But 'tis one thing to ſay, I am hungry; another to ſay, I would have Roaſt Meat. Having declared their Wants, their natural Wants, the Pain they feel from Hunger, Thirſt, Cold, or any other neceſſity of Nature; 'tis the Duty of their Parents, and thoſe about them, to relieve them: But Children muſt leave it to the choice and ordering of their Parents, what they think propereſt for them, and how much; and muſt not be permitted to chooſe for themſelves, and ſay, I would have Wine, or White-bread; the very naming of it ſhould make them loſe it.

§. 107. That which Parents ſhould take care of here, is to diſtinguiſh between the Wants of Fancy, and thoſe of Nature, which *Horace* has well taught them to do in this Verſe,

Queis humana ſibi doleat natura negatis.

Thoſe

Thoſe are truly Natural Wants, which Reaſon alone, without ſome other Help, is not able to fence againſt, nor keep from diſturbing us. The Pains of Sickneſs and Hurts, Hunger, Thirſt and Cold; want of Sleep, and Reſt or Relaxation of the Part wearied with Labour, are what all Men feel, and the beſt diſpos'd Minds cannot but be ſenſible of their uneaſineſs: And therefore ought by fit Applications to ſeek their removal, though not with impatience, or over-great haſt, upon the firſt approaches of them, where Delay does not threaten ſome irreparable harm. The Pains that come from the Neceſſities of Nature, are Monitors to us to beware of greater Miſchiefs, which they are the Forerunners of: And therefore they muſt not be wholly neglected, nor ſtrain'd too far. But yet the more Children can be enur'd to Hardſhips of this kind, by a wiſe Care to make them ſtronger in Body and Mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any Caution to keep within the Bounds of doing them good, and to take Care, that what Children are made to ſuffer, ſhould neither break their Spirits, nor injure their Health; Parents being but too apt of themſelves to incline more than they ſhould to the ſofter Side. *Craving.*

But whatever Compliance the Neceſſities of Nature may require, the Wants of Fancy Children ſhould never be gratified in, nor ſuffer'd to *mention*. The very *ſpeaking* for any ſuch thing, ſhould make them loſe it. Cloaths, when they need, they muſt have; but if they *ſpeak* for this Stuff, or that Colour, they ſhould be ſure to go without it: Not that I would have Parents purpoſely croſs the Deſires of their Children in matters of indifferency: On the contrary, where their Carriage deſerves it, and one is ſure it will not corrupt, or effeminate their Minds, and make them fond of Trifles, I think all things ſhould be contrived, as much as could be, to their Satisfaction, that they might find the eaſe and pleaſure of doing well. The beſt for Children is, that they ſhould not place any pleaſure in ſuch things at all, nor regulate their Delight by their Fancies; but be indifferent to all that Nature has made ſo. This is what their Parents and Teachers ſhould chiefly aim at; but till this be obtain'd, all that I oppoſe here, is the liberty of *Asking*; which in theſe things of Conceit ought to be reſtrain'd by a conſtant forfeiture annex'd to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too ſevere by the natural Indulgence of tender Parents: But yet it is no more than neceſſary. For ſince the Method I propoſe, is to baniſh the Rod; this Reſtraint of their Tongues will be of great uſe to ſettle that Awe we have elſewhere ſpoken of, and to keep up in them the Reſpect and Reverence due to their Parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and ſo maſter their Inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the Art of ſtifling their Deſires as ſoon as they riſe up in them, when they are eaſieſt to be ſubdued. For giving vent gives Life and Strength to our Appetites; and he that has the confidence to turn his Wiſhes into Demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This I am ſure, every one can more eaſily bear a denial from himſelf, than from any Body elſe. They ſhould therefore be accuſtomed betimes to conſult, and make uſe of their Reaſon, before they give allowance to their Inclinations. 'Tis a great Step towards the maſtery of our Deſires, to give this ſtop to them, and ſhut them up in Silence. This Habit, got by Children, of ſtaying the forwardneſs of their Fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or no, before they *ſpeak*, will be of no ſmall Advantage to them in Matters of greater Conſequence, in the future courſe of their Lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, That whatever the matter be, about which it is converſant, whether great or ſmall, the main (I had almoſt ſaid only) thing to be conſider'd in every Action of a Child, is, what influence it will have upon his Mind; what Habit it tends to, and is like to ſettle in him; How it will become him when he is bigger; and if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him when he is grown up.

My meaning therefore is not, that Children ſhould purpoſely be made uneaſie: This would reliſh too much of Inhumanity, and ill Nature; and be apt to infect them with it. They ſhould be brought to deny their Appetites; and their Minds, as well as Bodies, be made vigorous, eaſie, and

Craving. ſtrong, by the Cuſtom of having their Inclinations in Subjection, and their Bodies exerciſed with Hardſhips: But all this, without giving them any mark or apprehenſion of ill-will towards them. The conſtant loſs of what they *craved* or *carv'd* to themſelves ſhould teach them Modeſty, Submiſſion, and a Power to forbear: But the rewarding their Modeſty, and Silence, by giving them what they liked, ſhould alſo aſſure them of the love of thoſe, who rigorouſly exacted this Obedience. The contenting themſelves now in the want of what they wiſh'd for is a Vertue, that another time ſhould be rewarded with what is ſuited and acceptable to them; which ſhould be beſtowed on them, as if it were a natural conſequence of their Good-Behaviour, and not a Bargain about it. But you will loſe your Labour, and what is more, their Love and Reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very ſtanch, and carefully to be watched. And here the Servants come again in my way.

Curioſity. §. 108. If this be begun betimes, and they accuſtom themſelves early to ſilence their Deſires, this uſeful Habit will ſettle them; and as they come to grow up in Age and Diſcretion, they may be allowed greater liberty; when Reaſon comes to ſpeak in them, and not Paſſion. For, whenever Reaſon would ſpeak, it ſhould be hearken'd to. But as they ſhould never be heard, when they ſpeak for any particular thing they would *have*, unleſs it be firſt propoſed to them; ſo they ſhould always be heard, and fairly and kindly anſwered, when they ask after any Thing they would *know*, and deſire to be inform'd about. *Curioſity* ſhould be as carefully *cheriſhed* in Children, as other Appetites ſuppreſſed.

Recreation. However ſtrict an Hand is to be kept upon all Deſires of Fancy, yet there is one caſe wherein Fancy muſt be permitted to ſpeak, and be hearken'd to alſo. *Recreation* is as neceſſary as Labour, or Food. But becauſe there can be no *Recreation* without Delight, which depends not only on Reaſon, but oftner on Fancy, it muſt be permitted Children not only to divert themſelves, but to do it after their own Faſhion; provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their Health: And therefore in this caſe they ſhould not be deny'd, if they propos'd any particular kind of *Recreation*. Though, I think, in a well-order'd Education, they will ſeldom be brought to the neceſſity of asking any ſuch liberty. Care ſhould be taken, that what is of Advantage to them they ſhould always do with Delight; and, before they are wearied with one, they ſhould be timely *diverted* to ſome other uſeful Imployment. But if they are not yet brought to that Degree of Perfection, that one way of Improvement can be made a *Recreation* to them, they muſt be let looſe to the childiſh Play they fanſie; which they ſhould be weaned from, by being made ſurfeit of it: But from Things of uſe, that they are imploy'd in, they ſhould always be ſent away with an Appetite; at leaſt be diſmiſſed before they are tired, and grow quite ſick of it; that ſo they may return to it again, as to a Pleaſure that diverts them. For you muſt never think them ſet right, 'till they can find Delight in the Practice of laudable Things; and the uſeful Exerciſes of the Body and Mind, taking their turns, make their Lives and Improvement pleaſant in a continued train of *Recreations*, wherein the wearied part is conſtantly relieved, and refreſh'd. Whether this can be done in every Temper, or whether Tutours and Parents will be at the Pains, and have the Diſcretion, and Patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in moſt Children, if a right courſe be taken to raiſe in them the Deſire of Credit, Eſteem, and Reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have ſo much true Life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what moſt *delights* them, and be directed, or let looſe to it; ſo that they may perceive that they are belov'd and cheriſh'd, and that thoſe under whoſe Tuition they are, are not Enemies to their Satisfaction. Such a Management will make them in love with the Hand that directs them, and the Virtue they are directed to.

Complaints. This farther Advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their *Recreations*, That it will diſcover their natural Tempers, ſhew their Inclinations, and Aptitudes; and thereby direct wiſe Parents in the choice, both of the Courſe of Life, and Imployment they ſhall deſign them for, and

of

of fit Remedies in the mean time to be applied to whatever Bent of Nature they may obſerve moſt likely to miſlead any of their Children. *Complaints.*

§. 109. 2. Children who live together often ſtrive for Maſtery, whoſe Wills ſhall carry it over the reſt: Whoever begins the *Conteſt*, ſhould be ſure to be croſs'd in it. But not only that, but they ſhould be taught to have all the *Deference*, *Complaiſance* and *Civility* one for the other, imaginable. This, when they ſee it procures them Reſpect, Love, and Eſteem, and that they loſe no Superiority by it, they will take more Pleaſure in, than in inſolent Domineering; for ſo plainly is the other.

The Accuſations of Children one againſt another, which uſually are but the Clamours of Anger and Revenge, deſiring Aid, ſhould not be favourably receiv'd, nor hearken'd to. It weakens and effeminates their Minds to ſuffer them to *Complain:* And if they endure ſometimes Croſſing, or Pain from others, without being permitted to think it ſtrange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn Sufferance, and harden them early. But though you give no Countenance to the *Complaints* of the *Querulous*, yet take care to curb the Inſolence and Ill-nature of the Injurious. When you obſerve it your ſelf, reprove it before the injured Party: But if the *Complaint* be of ſomething really worth your Notice, and Prevention another time, then reprove the Offender by himſelf alone, out of ſight of him that complained, and make him go and ask Pardon, and make Reparation. Which coming thus, as it were from himſelf, will be the more cheerfully perform'd, and more kindly receiv'd, the Love ſtrengthen'd between them, and a Cuſtom of Civility grow familiar amongſt your Children.

§. 110. 3. As to having and poſſeſſing of Things, teach them to part with what they have eaſily and freely to their Friends; and let them find by Experience, that the moſt *Liberal* has always moſt Plenty, with Eſteem and Commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practiſe it. This I imagine will make Brothers and Siſters kinder and civiller to one another, and conſequently to others, than twenty Rules about good Manners, with which Children are ordinarily perplex'd and cumber'd. Covetouſneſs, and the Deſire of having in our Poſſeſſion, and under our Dominion, more than we have need of, being the Root of all Evil, ſhould be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary Quality of a Readineſs to impart to others, implanted. This ſhould be encouraged by great Commendation and Credit, and conſtantly taking care, that he loſes nothing by his *Liberality*. Let all the Inſtances he gives of ſuch Freeneſs, be always repaid, and with Intereſt; and let him ſenſibly perceive, that the Kindneſs he ſhews to others is no ill Husbandry for himſelf; but that it brings a Return for Kindneſs both from thoſe that receive it, and thoſe who look on. Make this a Conteſt among Children, Who ſhall out-do one another this way: And by this Means, by a conſtant Practice, Children having made it eaſie to themſelves to part with what they have, good Nature may be ſettled in them into an Habit, and they may take Pleaſure, and pique themſelves in being *Kind*, *Liberal* and *Civil* to others. *Liberality.*

If Liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great Care is to be taken, that Children tranſgreſs not the Rules of *Juſtice:* And whenever they do, they ſhould be ſet right, and, if there be occaſion for it, ſeverely rebuk'd. *Juſtice.*

Our firſt Actions being guided more by Self-love, than Reaſon or Reflection, 'tis no wonder that in Children they ſhould be very apt to deviate from the juſt Meaſures of Right and Wrong; which are in the Mind the Reſult of improved Reaſon and ſerious Meditation. This the more they are apt to miſtake, the more careful Guard ought to be kept over them; and every the leaſt Slip in this great Social Vertue taken notice of and rectified; and that in Things of the leaſt Weight and Moment, both to inſtruct their Ignorance, and prevent ill Habits, which from ſmall Beginnings, in Pins and Cherry-ſtones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher Frauds, and be in danger to end at laſt in down-right harden'd Diſhoneſty. The firſt Tendency to any *Injuſtice* that appears, muſt be ſuppreſs'd with a ſhew of Wonder and Abhorrency in the Parents and Governours. But becauſe Children cannot well comprehend what *Injuſtice* is, till they underſtand Property, and how particular

Juſtice. cular Perſons come by it, the ſafeſt way to ſecure *Honeſty*, is to lay the Foundations of it early in Liberality, and an Eaſineſs to part with to others whatever they have or like themſelves. This may be taught them early, before they have Language and Underſtanding enough to form diſtinct Notions of Property, and to know what is their's by a peculiar Right excluſive of others. And ſince Children ſeldom have any thing but by Gift, and that for the moſt part from their Parents, they may be at firſt taught not to take or keep any thing, but what is given them by thoſe whom they take to have a Power over it. And, as their Capacities enlarge, other Rules and Caſes of *Juſtice*, and Rights concerning *Meum* and *Tuum*, may be propoſed and inculcated. If any Act of *Injuſtice* in them appears to proceed, not from Miſtake, but a Perverſeneſs in their Wills, when a gentle Rebuke and Shame will not reform this irregular and covetous Inclination, rougher Remedies muſt be applied: And 'tis but for the Father or Tutour to take and keep from them ſomething that they value, and think their own; or order ſome Body elſe to do it; and by ſuch Inſtances make them ſenſible, what little Advantage they are like to make, by poſſeſſing themſelves *unjuſtly* of what is another's, whilſt there are in the World ſtronger and more Men than they. But if an ingenuous Deteſtation of this ſhameful Vice, be but carefully and early inſtill'd into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine Method to obviate this Crime; and will be a better Guard againſt *Diſhoneſty*, than any Conſiderations drawn from Intereſt; Habits working more conſtantly, and with greater Facility than Reaſon: Which, when we have moſt need of it, is ſeldom fairly conſulted, and more rarely obey'd.

Crying. §. 111. *Crying* is a Fault that ſhould not be tolerated in Children; not only for the unpleaſant and unbecoming Noiſe it fills the Houſe with, but for more conſiderable Reaſons, in reference to the Children themſelves; which is to be our Aim in Education.

Their *Crying* is of two ſorts; either *Stubborn* and *Domineering*, or *Querulous* and *Whining*.

1. Their *Crying* is very often a Striving for Maſtery, and an open Declaration of their Inſolence, or Obſtinacy: When they have not the Power to obtain their Deſire, they will by their *Clamour* and *Sobbing*, maintain their Title and Right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their Claim, and a ſort of Remonſtrance againſt the Oppreſſion and Injuſtice of thoſe who deny them what they have a mind to.

§. 112. Sometimes their *Crying* is the Effect of Pain or true Sorrow, and a *Bemoaning* themſelves under it.

Theſe two, if carefully obſerved, may, by the Mien, Looks, and Actions, and particularly by the Tone of their Crying, be eaſily diſtinguiſh'd; but neither of them muſt be ſuffer'd, much leſs encourag'd.

1. The obſtinate or *ſtomachful Crying* ſhould by no means be permitted; becauſe it is but another way of flattering their Deſires, and encouraging thoſe Paſſions which 'tis our main Buſineſs to ſubdue: And if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any Correction, it quite defeats all the good Effects of it. For any Chaſtiſement, which leaves them in this declar'd Oppoſition, only ſerves to make them worſe. The Reſtraints and Puniſhments laid on Children are all miſapplied and loſt, as far as they do not prevail over their Wills; teach them to ſubmit their Paſſions, and make their Minds ſupple, and pliant to what their Parent's Reaſon adviſes them now, and ſo prepare them to obey what their own Reaſon ſhall adviſe hereafter. But if, in any thing wherein they are croſſed, they may be ſuffer'd to go away *crying*, they confirm themſelves in their Deſires, and cheriſh the ill Humour, with a Declaration of their Right, and a Reſolution to ſatisfy their Inclination the firſt Opportunity. This therefore is another Argument againſt the frequent Uſe of Blows: For, whenever you come to that Extremity, 'tis not enough to Whip, or Beat them; you muſt do it, till you find you have ſubdued their Minds; till with Submiſſion and Patience they yield to the Correction; which you ſhall beſt diſcover by their *Crying*, and their ceaſing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of Children is but a paſſionate Tyranny over them; and it is meer Cruelty, and not Correction, to put

their

their Bodies in Pain, without doing their Minds any good. As this gives us a Reaſon why Children ſhould ſeldom be corrected, ſo it alſo prevents their being ſo. For if, whenever they are chaſtiſed, it were done thus without Paſſion, ſoberly and yet effectually too, laying on the Blows and Smart not furiouſly and all at once, but ſlowly, with Reaſoning between, and with Obſervation how it wrought, ſtopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielding; they would ſeldom need the like Puniſhment again, being made careful to avoid the Fault that deſerv'd it. Beſides, by this means, as the Puniſhment would not be loſt for being too little and not effectual, ſo it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as ſoon as we perceiv'd that it reach'd the Mind, and that was better'd. For ſince the Chiding or Beating of Children ſhould be always the leaſt that poſſibly may be; that which is laid on in the Heat of Anger, ſeldom obſerves that Meaſure; but is commonly more than it ſhould be, though it prove leſs than enough. *Crying.*

§. 113. 2. Many Children are apt to *Cry*, upon any little Pain they ſuffer; and the leaſt Harm that befalls them puts them into *Complaints* and *Bawling*. This few Children avoid: For it being the firſt and natural way to declare their Sufferings or Wants, before they can ſpeak, the Compaſſion that is thought due to that tender Age, fooliſhly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can ſpeak. 'Tis the Duty, I confeſs, of thoſe about Children to compaſſionate them, whenever they ſuffer any Hurt; but not to ſhew it in pitying them. Help and eaſe them the beſt you can, but by no means bemoan them. This ſoftens their Minds, and makes them yield to the little Harms that happen to them; whereby they ſink deeper into that part which alone feels, and make larger Wounds there, than otherwiſe they would. They ſhould be harden'd againſt all Sufferings, eſpecially of the Body, and have no Tenderneſs but what riſes from an ingenuous Shame, and a quick Senſe of Reputation. The many Inconveniencies this Life is expoſed to, require we ſhould not be too ſenſible of every little Hurt. What our Minds yield not to, makes but a ſlight Impreſſion, and does us but very little harm: 'Tis the Suffering of our Spirits that gives and continues the Pain. This Brawneſs and Inſenſibility of Mind is the beſt Armour we can have, againſt the common Evils and Accidents of Life; and being a Temper that is to be got by Exerciſe and Cuſtom, more than any other way, the Practice of it ſhould be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That Effeminacy of Spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing, that I know, ſo much increaſes in Children as *Crying*; ſo nothing on the other ſide, ſo much checks and reſtrains, as their being hinder'd from that ſort of *Complaining*. In the little Harms they ſuffer from Knocks and Falls, they ſhould not be pitied for falling, but bid do ſo again; which, beſides that it ſtops their *Crying*, is a better way to cure their Heedleſneſs, and prevent their Tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But let the Hurts they receive be what they will, ſtop their *Crying*, and that will give them more Quiet and Eaſe at preſent, and harden them for the future.

§. 114. The former ſort of *Crying* requires Severity to ſilence it, and where a Look or a poſitive Command will not do it, Blows muſt. For it proceeding from Pride, Obſtinacy and Stomach, the Will, where the Fault lies, muſt be bent, and made to comply, by a Rigour ſufficient to maſter it. But this latter, being ordinarily from Softneſs of Mind, a quite contrary Cauſe ought to be treated with a gentler Hand. Perſuaſion, or diverting the Thoughts another Way, or laughing at their *Whining*, may perhaps be at firſt the proper Method. But for this the Circumſtances of the Thing, and the particular Temper of the Child muſt be conſidered: No certain unvariable Rules can be given about it, but it muſt be left to the Prudence of the Parents or Tutour. But this I think I may ſay in general, that there ſhould be a conſtant Diſcountenancing of this ſort of *Crying* alſo; and that the Father, by his Authority, ſhould always ſtop it; mixing a greater Degree of Roughneſs in his Looks or Words, proportionably as the Child is of a greater Age, or a ſturdier Temper: But always let it be enough to ſilence their *Whimpering*, and put an end to the Diſorder.

Fool-hardineſs.

§. 115. *Cowardice* and *Courage* are ſo nearly related to the forementioned Tempers, that it may not be amiſs here to take notice of them. Fear is a Paſſion, that, if rightly govern'd, has it's Uſe. And though Self-love ſeldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an Exceſs on the daring ſide; *Fool-hardineſs* and Inſenſibility of Danger being as little reaſonable, as Trembling and Shrinking at the Approach of every little Evil. Fear was given us as a Monitor to quicken our Induſtry, and keep us upon our Guard againſt the Approaches of Evil: And therefore to have no Apprehenſion of Miſchief at hand; not to make a juſt Eſtimate of the Danger, but heedleſly to run into it, be the Hazard what it will, without conſidering of what Uſe or Conſequence it may be, is not the Reſolution of a rational Creature, but brutiſh Fury. Thoſe, who have Children of this Temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their Reaſon, which Self-preſervation will quickly diſpoſe them to hearken to; unleſs (which is uſually the Caſe) ſome other Paſſion hurries them on head-long, without Senſe, and without Conſideration. A Diſlike of Evil is ſo natural to Mankind, that no Body, I think, can be without Fear of it; Fear being nothing but an Uneaſineſs under the Apprehenſion of that coming upon us which we diſlike. And therefore whenever any one runs into Danger, we may ſay 'tis under the Conduct of Ignorance, or the Command of ſome more imperious Paſſion; No Body being ſo much an Enemy to himſelf, as to come within the reach of Evil out of free Choice, and court Danger for Danger's ſake. If it be therefore Pride, Vain-glory, or Rage, that ſilences a Child's Fear, or makes him not hearken to its Advice, thoſe are by fit means to be abated; that a little Conſideration may allay his Heat, and make him bethink himſelf whether this Attempt be worth the Venture. But this being a Fault that Children are not ſo often guilty of, I ſhall not be more particular in its Cure. Weakneſs of Spirit is the more common Defect, and therefore will require the greater Care.

Fortitude is the Guard and Support of the other Vertues; and without Courage a Man will ſcarce keep ſteady to his Duty, and fill up the Character of a truly worthy Man.

Courage.

Courage, that makes us bear up againſt Dangers that we fear, and Evils that we feel, is of great uſe in an Eſtate, as our's is in this Life, expoſed to Aſſaults on all hands: And therefore it is very adviſeable to get Children into this Armour as early as we can. Natural Temper, I confeſs, does here a great deal: But even where that is defective, and the Heart is in it ſelf weak and timorous, it may, by a right Management, be brought to a better Reſolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking Childrens Spirits by frightful Apprehenſions inſtill'd into them when young, or bemoaning themſelves under every little Suffering, I have already taken notice. How to harden their Tempers, and raiſe their *Courage*, if we find them too much ſubject to Fear, is farther to be conſider'd.

True Fortitude, I take to be the quiet poſſeſſion of a Man's ſelf, and an undiſturb'd doing his Duty, whatever Evil beſets, or Danger lies in his way. This there are ſo few Men attain to, that we are not to expect it from Children. But yet ſomething may be done: And a wiſe Conduct by inſenſible Degrees, may carry them farther than one expects.

The Neglect of this great Care of them whilſt they are young, is the Reaſon, perhaps, why there are ſo few that have this Vertue in its full Latitude when they are Men. I ſhould not ſay this in a Nation ſo naturally Brave, as our's is, did I think, that true Fortitude required nothing but Courage in the Field, and a Contempt of Life in the Face of an Enemy. This, I confeſs, is not the leaſt part of it, nor can be denied the Laurels and Honours always juſtly due to the Valour of thoſe who venture their Lives for their Country. But yet this is not all. Dangers attack us in other Places beſides the Field of Battle; and though Death be the King of Terrours, yet Pain, Diſgrace and Poverty have frightful Looks, able to diſcompoſe moſt Men, whom they ſeem ready to ſeize on: And there are thoſe who contemn ſome of theſe, and yet are heartily frighted with the other. True Fortitude is prepar'd for Dangers of all kinds, and unmoved whatſoever Evil it

be

be that threatens. I do not mean unmov'd with any Fear at all. Where Danger ſhews it ſelf, Apprehenſion cannot without Stupidity be wanting. Where Danger is, Senſe of Danger ſhould be; and ſo much Fear as ſhould keep us awake, and excite our Attention, Induſtry and Vigour; but not diſturb the calm Uſe of our Reaſon, nor hinder the Execution of what that dictates. *Courage.*

The firſt Step to get this noble and manly Steadineſs, is, what I have above mention'd, carefully to keep Children from Frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful Apprehenſions be talked into them, nor terrible Objects ſurprize them. This often ſo ſhatters and diſcompoſes the Spirits, that they never recover it again; but during their whole Life, upon the firſt Suggeſtion, or Appearance of any terrifying Idea, are ſcatter'd and confounded; the Body is enervated, and the Mind diſturb'd, and the Man ſcarce himſelf, or capable of any compoſed or rational Action. Whether this be from an habitual Motion of the Animal Spirits, introduc'd by the firſt ſtrong Impreſſion, or from the Alteration of the Conſtitution by ſome more unaccountable way, this is certain, that ſo it is. Inſtances of ſuch, who in a weak timorous Mind have born, all their whole Lives through, the Effects of a Fright when they were young, are every where to be ſeen; and therefore as much as may be to be prevented. *Cowardice.*

The next thing is by gentle degrees to accuſtom Children to thoſe things they are too much afraid of. But here great Caution is to be uſed, that you do not make too much haſte, nor attempt this Cure too early, for fear leſt you increaſe the Miſchief inſtead of remedying it. Little Ones in Arms may be eaſily kept out of the way of terrifying Objects, and, till they can talk and underſtand what is ſaid to them, are ſcarce capable of that Reaſoning and Diſcourſe, which ſhould be uſed to let them know there is no harm in thoſe frightful Objects, which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpoſe, by gentle degrees bring nearer and nearer to them. And therefore 'tis ſeldom, there is need of any Application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it ſhould happen, that Infants ſhould have taken offence at any thing which cannot be eaſily kept out of their way; and that they ſhew Marks of Terrour as often as it comes in ſight; all the Allays of Fright, by diverting their Thoughts, or mixing pleaſant and agreeable Appearances with it, muſt be uſed, till it be grown familiar and inoffenſive to them.

I think we may obſerve, That, when Children are firſt born, all Objects of ſight, that do not hurt the Eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a Blackamore, or a Lion, than of their Nurſe, or a Cat. What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of Shape and Colour, comes to affright them? Nothing but the Apprehenſions of Harm, that accompanies thoſe things. Did a Child ſuck every Day a new Nurſe, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the Change of Faces at ſix Months old than at Sixty. The Reaſon then, why it will not come to a Stranger, is, becauſe having been accuſtomed to receive its Food and kind Uſage only from one or two that are about it, the Child apprehends, by coming into the Arms of a Stranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment ſupplies its Wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the Nurſe is away.

The only thing we naturally are afraid of, is Pain or Loſs of Pleaſure. And becauſe theſe are not annex'd to any Shape, Colour, or Size of viſible Objects, we are frighted with none of them, till either we have felt Pain from them, or have Notions put into us, that they will do us harm. The pleaſant Brightneſs, and Luſtre of Flame, and Fire, ſo delights Children, that at firſt they always deſire to be handling of it: But when conſtant Experience has convinced them, by the exquiſite Pain it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the Ground of Fear, 'tis not hard to find whence it ariſes, and how it is to be cured in all miſtaken Objects of Terrour. And when the Mind is confirm'd againſt them, and has got a Maſtery over it ſelf, and its' uſual Fears, in lighter Occaſions, it is in good Preparation to meet more real Dangers. *Timorouſneſs.*

Your

Timorouſneſs. Your Child ſhrieks, and runs away at the ſight of a Frog; let another catch it, and lay it down at a good diſtance from him: At firſt accuſtom him to look upon it; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and ſee it leap without Emotion; then to touch it lightly when it is held faſt in another's Hand; and ſo on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a Butter-fly, or a Sparrow. By the ſame way any other vain Terrours may be remov'd; if Care be taken, that you go not too faſt, and puſh not the Child on to a new degree of Aſſurance, 'till he be thoroughly confirm'd in the former. And thus the young Soldier is to be train'd on to the Warfare of Life; wherein Care is to be taken, that more things be not repreſented as dangerous, than really are ſo; and then, that whatever you obſerve him to be more frighted at than he ſhould, you be ſure to tole him on to by inſenſible Degrees, till he at laſt, quitting his Fears, maſters the Difficulty, and comes off with Applauſe. Succeſſes of this kind often repeated, will make him find, that Evils are not always ſo certain, or ſo great, as our Fears repreſent them; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be diſcompos'd, dejected, and deterr'd by Fear, where either our Credit or Duty requires us to go on.

Hardineſs. But ſince the great Foundation of Fear in Children, is Pain, the way to harden, and fortifie Children againſt Fear and Danger, is to accuſtom them to ſuffer Pain. This 'tis poſſible will be thought, by kind Parents, a very unnatural thing towards their Children; and by moſt, unreaſonable, to endeavour to reconcile any one to the ſenſe of Pain, by bringing it upon him. 'Twill be ſaid, it may perhaps give the Child an Averſion for him that makes him ſuffer; but can never recommend to him ſuffering it ſelf. This is a ſtrange Method. You will not have Children whipped and puniſhed for their Faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for Tormenting's ſake. I doubt not but ſuch Objections as theſe will be made, and I ſhall be thought inconſiſtent with my ſelf, or phantaſtical, in propoſing it. I confeſs, it is a Thing to be managed with great Diſcretion, and therefore it falls not out amiſs, that it will not be received and reliſh'd, but by thoſe who conſider well, and look into the Reaſon of Things. I would not have Children much beaten for their Faults, becauſe I would not have them think bodily Pain the greateſt Puniſhment: And I would have them, when they do well, be ſometimes put in Pain, for the ſame Reaſon, that they might be accuſtom'd to bear it without looking on it as the greateſt Evil. How much Education may reconcile young People to Pain, and Sufferance, the Examples of *Sparta* do ſufficiently ſhew: And they, who have once brought themſelves not to think bodily Pain the greateſt of Evils, or that which they ought to ſtand moſt in fear of, have made no ſmall advance towards Vertue. But I am not ſo fooliſh to propoſe the *Lacedæmonian* Diſcipline in our Age, or Conſtitution. But yet I do ſay, that enuring Children gently to ſuffer ſome degrees of Pain without ſhrinking, is a way to gain firmneſs to their Minds, and lay a foundation for Courage and Reſolution, in the future part of their Lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themſelves, on every little Pain they ſuffer, is the firſt Step to be made. But of this I have ſpoken elſewhere.

The next thing is, ſometimes deſignedly to put them in Pain: But care muſt be taken, that this be done when the Child is in good Humour, and ſatisfied of the good Will and Kindneſs of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There muſt no marks of Anger, or Diſpleaſure, on the one ſide; nor Compaſſion, or Repenting, on the other, go along with it: And it muſt be ſure to be no more than the Child can bear without repining or taking it amiſs, or for a Puniſhment. Managed by theſe Degrees, and with ſuch Circumſtances, I have ſeen a Child run away laughing, with good ſmart Blows of a Wand on his Back, who would have cried for an unkind Word, and have been very ſenſible of the Chaſtiſement of a cold Look, from the ſame Perſon. Satisfie a Child, by a conſtant Courſe of your Care and Kindneſs, that you perfectly love him: And he may by Degrees be accuſtom'd to bear very painful, and rough Uſage from you, without flinching or complaining:

And

And this we ſee Children do every Day in play one with another. *Hardineſs.* The ſofter you find your Child is, the more you are to ſeek Occaſions at fit times thus to harden him. The great Art in this is to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by inſenſible Degrees, when you are playing, and in good Humour with him, and ſpeaking well of him; and when you have once got him, to think himſelf made amends for his Suffering, by the Praiſe is given him for his Courage; when he can take a Pride in giving ſuch Marks of his Manlineſs; and can prefer the Reputation of being Brave and Stout, to the avoiding a little Pain, or the Shrinking under it; you need not deſpair in time, and, by the Aſſiſtance of his growing Reaſon, to maſter his Timorouſneſs, and mend the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be ſet upon bolder Attempts than his natural Temper carries him to, and whenever he is obſerv'd to flinch from what one has reaſon to think he would come off well in, if he had but Courage to undertake; that he ſhould be aſſiſted in at firſt, and by Degrees ſhamed to, till at laſt Practice has given more Aſſurance, and with it a Maſtery; which muſt be rewarded with great Praiſe, and the good Opinion of others, for his Performance. When by theſe Steps he has got Reſolution enough not to be deterr'd from what he ought to do, by the Apprehenſion of Danger; when Fear does not, in ſudden or hazardous Occurrences, diſcompoſe his Mind, ſet his Body a trembling, and make him unfit for Action, or run away from it, he has then the Courage of a rational Creature: And ſuch an Hardineſs we ſhould endeavour by Cuſtom and Uſe to bring Children to, as proper Occaſions come in our way.

§. 116. One thing I have frequently obſerved in Children, that when they *Cruelty.* have got Poſſeſſion of any poor Creature, they are apt to uſe it ill: They often *torment*, and treat very roughly young Birds, Butterflies, and ſuch other poor Animals, which fall into their Hands, and that with a ſeeming kind of Pleaſure. This, I think, ſhould be watched in them, and if they incline to any ſuch *Cruelty*, they ſhould be taught the contrary Uſage. For the Cuſtom of Tormenting and Killing of Beaſts, will, by Degrees, harden their Minds even towards Men; and they, who delight in the Suffering and Deſtruction of inferiour Creatures, will not be apt to be very compaſſionate, or benign to thoſe of their own kind. Our Practice takes notice of this in the Excluſion of *Butchers* from Juries of Life and Death. Children ſhould from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of *killing*, or tormenting any living Creature; and be tought not to *ſpoil* or deſtroy any thing, unleſs it be for the Preſervation or Advantage of ſome other that is Nobler. And truly, if the Preſervation of all Mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one's Perſuaſion, as indeed it is every one's Duty, and the true Principle to regulate our Religion, Politicks and Morality by, the World would be much quieter, and better natur'd than it is. But to return to our preſent Buſineſs; I cannot but commend both the Kindneſs and Prudence of a Mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her Daughters, when any of them deſired Dogs, Squirrels, Birds, or any ſuch things, as young Girls uſe to be delighted with: But then, when they had them, they muſt be ſure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill uſed. For, if they were negligent in their Care of them, it was counted a great Fault, which often forfeited their Poſſeſſion, or at leaſt they fail'd not to be rebuked for it; whereby they were early taught Diligence and good Nature. And indeed, I think People ſhould be accuſtomed, from their Cradles, to be tender of all ſenſible Creatures, and to ſpoil or *waſte* nothing at all.

This Delight they take in *doing of Miſchief*, whereby I mean ſpoiling of any thing to no purpoſe; but more eſpecially the Pleaſure they take to put any thing in Pain, that is capable of it, I cannot perſuade my ſelf to be any other than a foreign and introduced Diſpoſition, an Habit borrowed from Cuſtom and Converſation. People teach Children to ſtrike, and laugh, when they hurt, or ſee Harm come to others: And they have the Examples of moſt about them to confirm them in it. All the Entertainment and Talk of Hiſtory is of nothing almoſt but Fighting and Killing: And the Honour and Renown, that is beſtowed on Conquerours (who for the moſt

Cruelty. part are but the great Butchers of Mankind) farther miſlead growing Youth, who by this means come to think Slaughter the laudable Buſineſs of Mankind, and the moſt Heroick of Vertues. By theſe Steps unnatural Cruelty is planted in us; and what Humanity abhors, Cuſtom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to Honour. Thus, by Faſhion and Opinion, that comes to be a Pleaſure, which in it ſelf neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied, ſo as to ſettle and cheriſh the contrary, and more natural Temper of Benignity and *Compaſſion* in the room of it: But ſtill by the ſame gentle Methods, which are to be applied to the other two Faults before-mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreaſonable here to add this farther Caution, *viz.* That the Miſchiefs, or Harms, that come by Play, Inadvertency, or Ignorance, and were not known to be Harms, or deſigned for Miſchief's ſake, though they may perhaps be ſome times of conſiderable Damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, That whatever Miſcarriage a Child is guilty of, and whatever be the Conſequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what Root it ſprings from, and what Habit it is like to eſtabliſh; And to that the Correction ought to be directed, and the Child not to ſuffer any Puniſhment, for any Harm which may have come by his Play or Inadvertency. The Faults to be amended lie in the Mind; and if they are ſuch, as either Age will cure, or no ill Habits will follow from; The preſent Action, whatever diſpleaſing Circumſtances it may have, is to be paſſed by, without any Animadverſion.

§. 117. Another way to inſtill Sentiments of Humanity, and to keep them lively in young Folks, will be, to accuſtom them to Civility in their Language and Deportment towards their Inferiours and the meaner ſort of People, particularly Servants. It is not unuſual to obſerve the Children, in Gentlemens Families, treat the Servants of the Houſe with domineering Words, Names of Contempt, and an imperious Carriage; as if they were of another Race, and Species beneath them. Whether ill Example, the Advantage of Fortune, or their natural Vanity, inſpire this Haughtineſs, it ſhould be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, affable Carriage towards the lower Ranks of Men, placed in the room of it. No part of their Superiority will be hereby loſt; but the Diſtinction increaſed, and their Authority ſtrengthen'd; when Love in Inferiours is joyn'd to outward Reſpect; and an Eſteem of the Perſon has a Share in their Submiſſion: And Domeſticks will pay a more ready and cheerful Service, when they find themſelves not ſpurn'd, becauſe Fortune has laid them below the Level of others at their Maſter's Feet. Children ſhould not be ſuffer'd to loſe the Conſideration of Humane Nature, in the Shufflings of outward Conditions. The more they have, the better humour'd they ſhould be taught to be; and the more compaſſionate, and gentle to thoſe of their Brethren, who are placed lower, and have ſcantier Portions. If they are ſuffer'd from their Cradles to treat Men ill and rudely, becauſe by their Father's Title, they think they have a little Power over them, at beſt it is ill bred, and if Care be not taken, will, by degrees, nurſe up their natural Pride into an habitual Contempt of thoſe beneath them. And where will that probably end, but in Oppreſſion and Cruelty?

Curioſity. §. 118. Curioſity in Children (which I had occaſion juſt to mention, §. 103.) is but an Appetite after Knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good Sign, but as the great Inſtrument Nature has provided, to remove that Ignorance they were born with; and which, without this buſie *Inquiſitiveneſs*, will make them dull and uſeleſs Creatures. The ways to encourage it, and keep it active and buſie, are, I ſuppoſe, theſe following.

1. Not to check or diſcountenance any *Enquiries* he ſhall make, nor ſuffer them to be laughed at; but to *anſwer* all his *Queſtions*, and *explain* the Matters, he deſires to know, ſo as to make them as much intelligible to him, as ſuits the Capacity of his Age and Knowledge. But confound not his Underſtanding with Explications or Notions, that are above it: Or with the

the Variety or Number of things, that are not to his preſent purpoſe. Mark what 'tis his Mind aims at in the *Queſtion*, and not what Words he expreſſes it in: And when you have informed and ſatisfied him in that, you ſhall ſee how his Thoughts will enlarge themſelves, and how by fit Anſwers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For Knowledge is grateful to the Underſtanding, as Light to the Eyes: Children are pleaſed and delighted with it exceedingly, eſpecially if they ſee that their *Enquiries* are regarded, and that their Deſire of Knowing is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great Reaſon, why many Children abandon themſelves wholly to ſilly Sports, and trifle away all their time inſipidly, is, becauſe they have found their *Curioſity* baulk'd, and their *Enquiries* neglected. But had they been treated with more Kindneſs and Reſpect, and their *Queſtions* anſwered, as they ſhould, to their Satisfaction; I doubt not but they would have taken more Pleaſure in Learning and Improving their Knowledge, wherein there would be ſtill Newneſs and Variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the ſame Play, and Play-things. *Curioſity.*

§. 119. 2. To this ſerious Anſwering their *Queſtions*, and informing their Underſtandings in what they deſire, as if it were a Matter that needed it, ſhould be added ſome peculiar ways of *Commendation*. Let others whom they eſteem, be told before their Faces of the Knowledge they have in ſuch and ſuch things; and ſince we are all, even from our Cradles, vain and proud Creatures, let their Vanity be flatter'd with Things that will do them good; and let their Pride ſet them on work on ſomething which may turn to their Advantage. Upon this ground you ſhall find, that there cannot be a greater Spur to the attaining what you would have the Eldeſt learn, and know himſelf, than to ſet him upon *teaching* it his *younger Brothers* and Siſters.

§. 120. 3. As Children's *Enquiries* are not to be ſlighted; ſo alſo great care is to be taken, that they *never* receive *Deceitful* and *Eluding Anſwers*. They eaſily perceive when they are ſlighted, or deceived; and quickly learn the Trick of Neglect, Diſſimulation and Falſhood, which they obſerve others to make uſe of. We are not to intrench upon Truth in any Converſation, but leaſt of all with Children; ſince if we play falſe with them, we not only deceive their Expectation, and hinder their Knowledge, but corrupt their Innocence, and teach them the worſt of Vices. They are Travellers newly arrived in a ſtrange Country, of which they know nothing: We ſhould therefore make Conſcience not to miſ-lead them. And though their *Queſtions* ſeem ſometimes not very material, yet they ſhould be ſeriouſly anſwer'd: For however they may appear to us (to whom they are long ſince known) *Enquiries* not worth the making; they are of Moment to thoſe who are wholly ignorant. Children are Strangers to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with, are at firſt unknown to them, as they once were to us: And happy are they who meet with civil People, that will comply with their Ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now ſhould be ſet down in *Japan*, with all our Prudence and Knowledge about us, a Conceit whereof makes us perhaps ſo apt to ſlight the Thoughts and *Enquiries* of Children; ſhould we, I ſay, be ſet down in *Japan*, we ſhould, no doubt (if we would inform our ſelves of what is there to be known) ask a Thouſand Queſtions, which, to a ſupercilious or inconſiderate *Japaneſe*, would ſeem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of Importance to be reſolv'd; and we ſhould be glad to find a Man ſo complaiſant and courteous, as to ſatisfie our Demands, and inſtruct our Ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, Children uſually ask, the common *Queſtion* of a Stranger: *What is it?* Whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the Name; and therefore to tell them how it is call'd, is uſually the proper Anſwer to that Demand. The next Queſtion uſually is: *What is it for?* And to this it ſhould be anſwered truly and directly: The uſe of the thing ſhould be told, and the way explained, how it ſerves to ſuch a Purpoſe, as far as their Capacities can comprehend it. And ſo of any other Circumſtances they ſhall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given

Curiosity. given them all the Satisfaction they are capable of; and so leading them by your Answers, into farther Questions. And perhaps to a grown Man, such Conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant, as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught Suggestions of inquisitive Children, do often offer things that may set a considering Man's Thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learn'd from the unexpected Questions of a Child, than the Discourses of Men, who talk in a road, according to the Notions they have borrow'd, and the Prejudices of their Education.

§. 121. 4. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their Curiosity, by bringing strange and new things in their way, on purpose to engage their Enquiry, and give them Occasion to inform themselves about them: And if by chance their Curiosity leads them to ask what they should not know; it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, That it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a Falshood, or a frivolous Answer.

§. 122. *Pertness*, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a Principle, that seldom accompanies a strong Constitution of Body, or ripens into a strong Judgment of Mind. If it were desirable to have a Child a more brisk Talker, I believe there might be ways found to make him so: But, I suppose a wise Father had rather that his Son should be able and useful, when a Man, than pretty Company, and a Diversion to others, whilst a Child: Though if that too were to be consider'd, I think I may say, there is not so much Pleasure to have a Child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage therefore his *Inquisitiveness* all you can, by satisfying his Demands, and informing his Judgment as far as it is capable. When his Reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the Credit and Commendation of them: And when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laugh'd at for his Mistake, be gently put into the right; And if he shew a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care as much as you can, that no body check this Inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him. For when all is done, this, as the highest and most important Faculty of our Minds, deserves the greatest Care and Attention in cultivating it; The right improvement, and exercise of our Reason, being the highest Perfection that a Man can attain to in this Life.

Sauntring. §. 123. Contrary to this busie inquisitive Temper, there is sometimes observable in Children a *listless Carelessness*, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of *trifling* even at their Business. This *Sauntring* Humour I look on, as one of the worst Qualities can appear in a Child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some Cases, care must be taken to make a right Judgment concerning that *trifling* at their Books or Business, which may sometimes be complained of in a Child. Upon the first suspicion a Father has, that his Son is of a *Sauntring* Temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be *listless* and *indifferent* in all his Actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager. For though he find that he does loiter at his Book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his Chamber or Study, run idly away; he must not presently conclude, that this is from a *Sauntring* Humour in his Temper. It may be childishness, and a preferring something to his Study, which his Thoughts run on: And he dislikes his Book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a Task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at Play, when he is out of his Place and Time of Study, following his own Inclinations; and see there, whether he be stirring and active; whether he designs any thing, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished what he aimed at: or whether he *lazily* and *listlessly dreams away his time.* If this Sloth be only when he is about his Book, I think it may be easily cured. If it be in his Temper, it will require a little more Pains and Attention to remedy it.

§. 124. If you are satisfied, by his earnestness at Play, or any thing else he sets his Mind on, in the intervals between his Hours of Business, that he is not of himself inclin'd to *laziness*, but that only want of relish of his Book

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makes him negligent, and *ſluggiſh* in his application to it. The firſt ſtep is to try by talking to him kindly of the Folly and Inconvenience of it, whereby he loſes a good part of his time, which he might have for his Diverſion: But be ſure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at firſt, but only theſe plain Reaſons in ſhort. If this prevails, you have gain'd the point in the moſt deſirable way, which is that of Reaſon and Kindneſs. If this ſofter application prevails not, try to ſhame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to Table, if there be no Strangers there, How long he was that Day about his Buſineſs? And if he has not done it, in the time he might be well ſuppoſed to have diſpatch'd it, expoſe and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding; only put on a pretty cold Brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his Mother, Tutour, and all about him do ſo too. If this work not the Effect you deſire, then tell him he ſhall be no longer troubled with a Tutour to take Care of his Education, you will not be at the Charge to have him ſpend his Time idly with him; but ſince he prefers This or That [whatever Play he delights in] to his Book, that only he ſhall do; and ſo in earneſt ſet him to work on his beloved Play, and keep him ſteadily, and in earneſt, to it Morning and Afternoon, till he be fully ſurfeited, and would, at any Rate, change it for ſome Hours at his Book again. But when you thus ſet him his Task of Play, you muſt be ſure to look after him your ſelf, or ſet ſomebody elſe to do it, that may conſtantly ſee him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I ſay, your ſelf look after him; for it is worth the Father's while, whatever Buſineſs he has, to beſtow two or three Days upon his Son, to cure ſo great a Miſchief as his *ſauntring* at his Buſineſs. *Saun-tring.*

§. 125. This is what I propoſe, if it be *Idleneſs* not from his general Temper, but a peculiar or acquir'd Averſion to Learning, which you muſt be careful to examine and diſtinguiſh. But though you have your Eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the Time which he has at his own Diſpoſal, yet you muſt not let him perceive that you or any Body elſe do ſo; for that may hinder him from following his own Inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to proſecute what his Head and Heart are ſet upon, he may neglect all other Things, which then he reliſhes not, and ſo may ſeem to be idle and liſtleſs, when in truth it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your Eye or Knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this Point, the Obſervation muſt be made when you are out of the Way, and he not ſo much as under the Reſtraint of a Suſpicion that any Body has an Eye upon him. In thoſe Seaſons of perfect Freedom, let Some-body you can truſt mark how he ſpends his Time, whether he unactively loiters it away, when, without any Check, he is left to his own Inclination. Thus, by his employing of ſuch Times of Liberty, you will eaſily diſcern whether it be *Liſtleſsneſs* in his Temper, or Averſion to his Book, that makes him *ſaunter* away his Time of Study.

§. 126. If ſome Defect in his Conſtitution has caſt a Damp on his Mind, and he be naturally liſtleſs and dreaming, this unpromiſing Diſpoſition is none of the eaſieſt to be dealt with, becauſe, generally carrying with it an Unconcernedneſs for the future, it wants the Two great Springs of Action, *Foreſight* and *Deſire*; which, how to plant and increaſe, where Nature has given a cold and contrary Temper, will be the Queſtion. As ſoon as you are ſatisfied that this is the Caſe, you muſt carefully enquire whether there be nothing he delights in: Inform your ſelf, what it is he is moſt pleaſed with; and if you can find any particular Tendency his Mind hath, increaſe it all you can, and make uſe of that to ſet him on work, and to excite his Induſtry. If he loves Praiſe, or Play, or fine Cloaths, *&c.* or, on the other ſide, dreads Pain, Diſgrace, or your Diſpleaſure, *&c.* whatever it be that he loves moſt, except it be Sloth (for that will never ſet him on work) let that be made uſe of to quicken him, and make him beſtir himſelf. For in this *liſtleſs Temper* you are not to fear an Exceſs of Appetite (as in all other Caſes) by cheriſhing it. 'Tis that which you want, and therefore muſt labour to raiſe and increaſe; for where there is no Deſire, there will be no Induſtry.

Saun-tring. §. 127. If you have not Hold enough upon him this Way to ſtir up Vigour and Activity in him, you muſt employ him in ſome conſtant bodily Labour, whereby he may get an Habit of doing ſomething. The keeping him hard to ſome Study were the better Way to get him an Habit of exerciſing and applying his Mind. But becauſe this is an inviſible Attention, and no Body can tell when he is, or is not Idle at it, you muſt find bodily Employments for him, which he muſt be conſtantly buſied in, and kept to; and if they have ſome little Hardſhip and Shame in them, it may not be the worſe, that they may the ſooner weary him, and make him deſire to return to his Book. But be ſure, when you exchange his Book for his other Labour, ſet him ſuch a Task, to be done in ſuch a Time, as may allow him no Opportunity to be idle. Only after you have by this Way brought him to be attentive and induſtrious at his Book, you may, upon his diſpatching his Study within the Time ſet him, give him, as a Reward, ſome Reſpit from his other Labour; which you may diminiſh as you find him grow more and more ſteady in his Application, and, at laſt, wholly take off, when his *ſauntring* at his Book is cured.

Compulſion. §. 128. We formerly obſerv'd, that Variety and Freedom was That that delighted Children, and recommended their Plays to them; and that therefore their Book, or any Thing we would have them learn, ſhould not be enjoined them as *Buſineſs*. This their Parents, Tutours, and Teachers are apt to forget; and their Impatience to have them buſied in what is fit for them to do, ſuffers them not to deceive them into it: But by the repeated Injunctions they meet with, Children quickly diſtinguiſh between what is required of them, and what not. When this Miſtake has once made his Book uneaſie to him, the Cure is to be applied at the other End. And ſince it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a Play to him, you muſt take the contrary Courſe; obſerve what Play he is moſt delighted with; enjoyn that, and make him play ſo many Hours every Day, not as a Puniſhment for playing, but as if it were the Buſineſs required of him. This, if I miſtake not, will, in a few Days, make him ſo weary of his moſt beloved Sport, that he will prefer his Book, or any Thing, to it, eſpecially if it may redeem him from any Part of the Task of Play is ſet him, and he may be ſuffer'd to employ ſome Part of the Time deſtined to his *Task of Play* in his Book, or ſuch other Exerciſe as is really uſeful to him. This I at leaſt think a better Cure than that Forbidding (which uſually increaſes the Deſire) or any other Puniſhment ſhould be made uſe of to remedy it: For, when you have once glutted his Appetite (which may ſafely be done in all Things but eating and drinking) and made him ſurfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a Principle of Averſion, and you need not ſo much fear afterwards his longing for the ſame Thing again.

§. 129. This, I think, is ſufficiently evident, That Children generally hate to be idle. All the Care then is, that their buſie Humour ſhould be conſtantly employ'd in ſomething of uſe to them; which, if you will attain, you muſt make what you would have them do, a Recreation to them, and not a *Buſineſs*. The Way to do this, ſo that they may not perceive you have any Hand in it, is this propoſed here; *viz.* To make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoyning and making them, under ſome Pretence or other, do it till they are ſurfeited. For Example: Does your Son play at Top and Scourge too much? Enjoin him to play ſo many Hours every Day, and look that he do it; and you ſhall ſee he will quickly be ſick of it, and willing to leave it. By this Means making the Recreations you diſlike a *Buſineſs* to him, he will of himſelf with Delight betake himſelf to thoſe things you would have him do, eſpecially if they be propoſed as Rewards for having perform'd his *Task* in that Play which is commanded him. For, if he be order'd every Day to whip his Top, ſo long as to make him ſufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himſelf with Eagerneſs to his Book, and wiſh for it, if you promiſe it him as a Reward of having whipped his Top luſtily, quite out all the time that is ſet him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their Age, find little Difference ſo they may be doing: The Eſteem they have for one Thing above another they borrow from others;

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ſo that what thoſe about them make to be a Reward to them, will really be ſo. By this Art it is in their Governour's Choice, whether *Scotch-hoppers* ſhall reward their *Dancing*, or *Dancing* their *Scotch-hoppers*; whether Peg-top, or Reading; playing at Trap, or ſtudying the Globes, ſhall be more acceptable and pleaſing to them; all that they deſire being to be buſy; and buſy, as they imagine, in Things of their own Choice, and which they receive as Favours from their Parents, or others for whom they have a reſpect, and with whom they would be in Credit. A Set of Children thus ordered, and kept from the ill Example of others, would All of them, I ſuppoſe, with as much Earneſtneſs and Delight, learn to read, write, and what elſe one would have them, as others do their ordinary Plays: And the Eldeſt being thus enter'd, and this made the Faſhion of the Place, it would be as impoſſible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other. *Compulſion.*

§. 130. Play-things, I think, Children ſhould have, and of divers ſorts; but ſtill to be in the Cuſtody of their Tutours, or ſome Body elſe, whereof the Child ſhould have in his Power but one at once, and ſhould not be ſuffered to have another but when he reſtored that. This teaches them betimes to be careful of not loſing or ſpoiling the Things they have; whereas Plenty and Variety in their own keeping makes them wanton and careleſs, and teaches them from the Beginning to be Squanderers and Waſters. Theſe, I confeſs, are little things, and ſuch as will ſeem beneath the Care of a Governour; but nothing that may form Children's Minds is to be over-look'd and neglected, and whatſoever introduces Habits and ſettles Cuſtoms in them, deſerves the Care and Attention of their Governours, and is not a ſmall Thing in its Conſequences. *Play-games.*

One thing more about Childrens Play-things may be worth their Parent's Care: Though it be agreed they ſhould have of ſeveral Sorts, yet, I think, they ſhould have none bought for them. This will hinder that great Variety they are often over-charged with, which ſerves only to teach the Mind to wander after Change and Superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually ſtretching it ſelf after ſomething more ſtill, though it knows not what, and never to be ſatisfied with what it hath. The Court that is made to People of Condition in ſuch kind of Preſents to their Children, does the little one great harm. By it they are taught Pride, Vanity and Covetouſneſs almoſt before they can ſpeak: And I have known a young Child ſo diſtracted with the Number and Variety of his Play-games, that he tired his Maid every Day to look them over; and was ſo accuſtomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? What more? What new Thing ſhall I have? A good Introduction to moderate Deſires, and the ready Way to make a contented happy Man!

How then ſhall they have the Play-Games you allow them, if none muſt be bought for them? I anſwer, They ſhould make them themſelves, or at leaſt endeavour it, and ſet themſelves about it; till then they ſhould have none, and till then they will want none of any great Artifice. A ſmooth Pebble, a piece of Paper, the Mother's Bunch of Keys, or any Thing they cannot hurt themſelves with, ſerves as much to divert little Children as thoſe more chargeable and curious Toys from the Shops, which are preſently put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of Humour for want of ſuch Play-things, unleſs they have been uſed to them. When they are little, whatever occurs ſerves the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not ſtored by the expenſive Folly of others, they will make them themſelves. Indeed, when they once begin to ſet themſelves to work about any of their Inventions, they ſhould be taught and aſſiſted; but ſhould have nothing whilſt they lazily ſit ſtill, expecting to be furniſh'd from other Hands without imploying their own. And if you help them where they are at a Stand, it will more endear you to them than any chargeable Toys you ſhall buy for them. Play-things which are above their Skill to make, as Tops, Gigs, Battledors, and the like, which are to be uſed with Labour, ſhould indeed be procured them: Theſe 'tis convenient they ſhould have, not for Variety but Exerciſe; but theſe too ſhould be given them as bare as might be. If they had a Top, the Scourge-ſtick and Leather-ſtrap ſhould be left to their own making

Play-games. making and fitting. If they ſit gaping to have ſuch Things drop into their Mouths, they ſhould go without them. This will accuſtom them to ſeek for what they want in themſelves, and in their own Endeavours; whereby they will be taught Moderation in their Deſires, Application, Induſtry, Thought, Contrivance, and good Husbandry; Qualities that will be uſeful to them when they are Men, and therefore cannot be learn'd too ſoon, nor fix'd too deep. All the Plays and Diverſions of Children ſhould be directed towards good and uſeful Habits, or elſe they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves ſome Impreſſion on that tender Age, and from thence they receive a Tendency to Good or Evil: And whatever hath ſuch an Influence, ought not to be neglected.

Lying. §. 131. *Lying* is ſo ready and cheap a Cover for any Miſcarriage, and ſo much in faſhion amongſt all ſorts of People, that a Child can hardly avoid obſerving the Uſe is made of it on all Occaſions, and ſo can ſcarce be kept, without great Care, from getting into it. But it is ſo ill a Quality, and the Mother of ſo many ill ones that ſpawn from it, and take ſhelter under it, that a Child ſhould be brought up in the greateſt Abhorrence of it imaginable. It ſhould be always (when occaſionally it comes to be mentioned) ſpoke of before him with the utmoſt Deteſtation, as a Quality ſo wholly inconſiſtent with the Name and Character of a Gentleman, that no Body of any Credit can bear the Imputation of a Lye; a Mark that is judg'd the utmoſt Diſgrace, which debaſes a Man to the loweſt Degree of a ſhameful Meanneſs, and ranks him with the moſt contemptible Part of Mankind, and the abhorred Raſcality; and is not to be endured in any one who would converſe with People of Condition, or have any Eſteem or Reputation in the World. The firſt Time he is found in a *Lye*, it ſhould rather be wonder'd at as a monſtrous Thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary Fault. If that keeps him not from relapſing, the next Time he muſt be ſharply rebuked, and fall into the State of great Diſpleaſure of his Father and Mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this Way work not the Cure, you muſt come to Blows; for after he has been thus warned, a premeditated *Lye* muſt always be looked upon as Obſtinacy, and never be permitted to eſcape unpuniſhed.

Excuſes. §. 132. Children, afraid to have their Faults ſeen in their naked Colours, will, like the reſt of the Sons of *Adam*, be apt to make *Excuſes*. This is a Fault uſually bordering upon, and leading to Untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet it ought to be cured rather with Shame than Roughneſs. If therefore, when a Child is queſtioned for any Thing, his firſt Anſwer be an *Excuſe*, warn him ſoberly to tell the Truth; and then if he perſiſts to ſhuffle it off with a *Falſhood*, he muſt be chaſtiſed; but if he directly confeſs, you muſt commend his Ingenuity, and pardon the Fault be it what it will, and pardon it ſo, that you never ſo much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: For if you would have him in love with Ingenuity, and by a conſtant Practice make it habitual to him, you muſt take care that it never procure him the leaſt Inconvenience; but on the contrary, his own Confeſſion bringing always with it perfect Impunity, ſhould be beſides encouraged by ſome Marks of Approbation. If his *Excuſe* be ſuch at any time, that you cannot prove it to have any Falſhood in it, let it paſs for true, and be ſure not to ſhew any Suſpicion of it. Let him keep up his Reputation with you as high as is poſſible; for when once he finds he has loſt that, you have loſt a great and your beſt hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the Character of a Liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus ſome Slips in Truth may be over-look'd. But after he has once been corrected for a *Lye*, you muſt be ſure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him, that he is guilty of it: For it being a Fault which he has been forbid, and may, unleſs he be wilful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect Perverſeneſs, and muſt have the Chaſtiſement due to that Offence.

§. 133. This is what I have thought concerning the general Method of Educating a young Gentleman; which, though I am apt to ſuppoſe may have ſome Influence on the whole Courſe of his Education, yet I am far from imagining

ginning it contains all thoſe Particulars which his growing Years or peculiar Temper may require. But this being premiſed in general, we ſhall, in the next place, deſcend to a more particular Conſideration of the ſeveral Parts of his Education. *Excuſes.*

§. 134. That which every Gentleman (that takes any Care of his Education) deſires for his Son, beſides the Eſtate he leaves him, is contain'd (I ſuppoſe) in theſe Four Things, *Vertue*, *Wiſdom*, *Breeding*, and *Learning*. I will not trouble my ſelf whether theſe Names do not ſome of them ſometimes ſtand for the ſame thing, or really include one another. It ſerves my Turn here to follow the popular Uſe of theſe Words; which, I preſume, is clear enough to make me be underſtood, and I hope there will be no Difficulty to comprehend my Meaning.

§. 135. I place *Vertue* as the firſt and moſt neceſſary of thoſe Endowments, that belong to a Man or a Gentleman; as abſolutely requiſite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himſelf. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other World.

§. 136. As the Foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted on his Mind a true Notion of *God*, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all Things, from whom we receive all our Good, who loves us, and gives us all Things. And conſequent to this, inſtill into him a Love and Reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther; for fear, leſt by talking too early to him of Spirits, and being unſeaſonably forward to make him underſtand the incomprehenſible Nature of that Infinite Being, his Head be either filled with falſe, or perplexed with unintelligible Notions of him. Let him only be told upon occaſion, that *God* made and governs all things, hears and ſees every thing, and does all manner of Good to thoſe that love and obey him. You will find that being told of ſuch a *God*, other Thoughts will be apt to riſe up faſt enough in his Mind about him; which, as you obſerve them to have any Miſtakes, you muſt ſet right. And I think it would be better, if Men generally reſted in ſuch an Idea of *God*, without being too Curious in their Nations about a Being, which all muſt acknowledge Incomprehenſible: whereby many, who have not Strength and Clearneſs of Thought, to diſtinguiſh between what they can and what they cannot know, run themſelves into Superſtition or Atheiſm, making *God* like themſelves, or (becauſe they cannot comprehend any thing elſe) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping Children conſtantly Morning and Evening to Acts of Devotion to God, as to their Maker, Preſerver and Benefactor, in ſome plain and ſhort Form of Prayer, ſuitable to their Age and Capacity, will be of much more uſe to them in Religion, Knowledge and Vertue, than to diſtract their Thoughts with curious Enquiries into his inſcrutable Eſſence and Being. *God.*

§. 137. Having by gentle Degrees, as you find him capable of it, ſettled ſuch an Idea of God in his Mind, and taught him to *pray* to him, and *praiſe* him as the Author of his Being, and of all the Good he does or can enjoy; forbear any Diſcourſe of other *Spirits*, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occaſion hereafter to be ſet down, and his Reading the Scripture-Hiſtory, put him upon that Enquiry. *Spirits.*

§. 138. But even then, and always whilſt he is young, be ſure to preſerve his tender Mind from all Impreſſions and Notions of *Spirits* and *Goblins*, or any fearful Apprehenſions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the Indiſcretion of Servants, whoſe uſual Method is to awe Children, and keep them in Subjection, by telling them of *Raw-Head* and *Bloody Bones*, and ſuch other Names, as carry with them the Idea's of ſome thing terrible and hurtful, which they have reaſon to be afraid of, when alone, eſpecially in the Dark. This muſt be carefully prevented: For though by this fooliſh way, they may keep them from little Faults, yet the Remedy is much worſe than the Diſeaſe; and there are ſtamped upon their Imaginations, Ideas that follow them with Terrour and Affrightment. Such *Bug-bear* Thoughts, once got into the tender Minds of Children, and being ſet on with a ſtrong Impreſſion, from the Dread that accompanies ſuch Apprehenſions, ſink deep, *Goblins.*

Goblins. and fasten themselves so as not easily, if ever, to be got out again; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange Visions, making Children Dastards when alone, and afraid of their Shadows and Darkness all their Lives after. I have had those complain to me, when Men, who had been thus used when young; that though their Reason corrected the wrong Idea's they had taken in, and they were satisfied, that there was no cause to fear invisible Beings more in the Dark than in the Light, yet that these Notions were apt still upon any occasion to start up first in their prepossess'd Fancies, and not to be removed without some Pains. And to let you see, how lasting frightful Images are, that take place in the Mind early, I shall here tell you a pretty remarkable, but true Story. There was in a Town in the West, a Man of a disturb'd Brain, whom the Boys used to tieze, when he came in their way: This Fellow one Day seeing in the Street one of those Lads that used to vex him, step'd into a *Cutler*'s Shop he was near; and there seizing on a naked Sword, made after the Boy; who seeing him coming so armed, betook himself to his Feet, and ran for his Life; and by good luck, had Strength and Heels enough to reach his Father's House, before the Madman could get up to him. The Door was only latch'd; and when he had the Latch in his Hand, he turn'd about his Head to see how near his Pursuer was, who was at the enterance of the Porch with his Sword up, ready to strike, and he had just time to get in and clap-to the Door to avoid the Blow, which though his Body escaped, his Mind did not. This frightening Idea made so deep an Impression there, that it lasted many Years, if not all his Life after. For, telling this Story when he was a Man, he said, That after that time till then, he never went in at that Door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever Business he had in his Head, or how little soever, before he came thither, he thought of this Madman.

If Children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the Dark, than in broad Sun-shine: They would in their turns as much welcome the one for Sleep, as the other to Play in. There should be no distinction made to them, by any Discourse, of more danger, or *terrible Things* in the one than the other: But if the folly of any one about them should do them this Harm, and make them think, there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you must get it out of their Minds as soon as you can; and let them know, That God, who made all things good for them, made the Night that they might sleep the better and the quieter; and that they being under his Protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good Spirits, is to be deferr'd till the time we shall hereafter mention; and of Evil Spirits, 'twill be well if you can keep him from wrong Fancies about them, till he is ripe for that sort of Knowledge.

Truth. §. 139. Having laid the Foundations of Vertue in a true Notion of a God, such as the Creed wisely teaches, as far as his Age is capable, and by accustoming him to pray to him; The next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to speaking of *Truth*, and by all the ways imaginable incli-

Good nature. ning him to be *good natur'd*. Let him know that Twenty Faults are sooner to be forgiven, than the *straining of Truth*, to cover any one *by an Excuse*. And to teach him betimes to love, and be *good natur'd* to others, is to lay early the true Foundation of an honest Man: All Injustice generally springing from too great Love of our selves, and too little of others.

This is all I shall say of this Matter in general, and is enough for laying the first Foundations of Vertue in a Child; as he grows up, the Tendency of his natural Inclination must be observed; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or t'other side, from the right Path of Vertue, ought to have proper Remedies applied. For few of *Adam*'s Children are so happy, as not to be born with some Byas in their natural Temper, which it is the Business of Education either to take off, or counterbalance: But to enter into Particulars of this, would be beyond the Design of this short Treatise of Education. I intend not a Discourse of all the Vertues and Vices,

and

and how each Vertue is to be attained, and every particular Vice by its peculiar Remedies cured. Though I have mention'd ſome of the moſt ordinary Faults, and the ways to be uſed in correcting them. *Good nature.*

§. 140. *Wiſdom* I take, in the popular acceptation, for a Man's managing his Buſineſs ably, and with fore-ſight, in this World. This is the product of a good natural Temper, Application of Mind and Experience together, and ſo above the reach of Children. The greateſt Thing that in them can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being *Cunning*; which, being the Ape of *Wiſdom*, is the moſt diſtant from it that can be: And, as an Ape, for the likeneſs it has to a Man, wanting what really ſhould make him ſo, is by ſo much the uglier; *Cunning* is only the want of Underſtanding; which, becauſe it cannot compaſs its ends by direct ways, would do it by a Trick, and Circumvention; and the Miſchief of it is, a *cunning* Trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either ſo big, or ſo fine as to hide its ſelf. No Body was ever ſo *cunning* as to conceal their being ſo: And when they are once diſcovered, every Body is ſhie, every Body diſtruſtful of *crafty* Men; and all the World forwardly joyn to oppoſe and defeat them: Whilſt the open, fair, *wiſe* Man has every Body to make way for him, and goes directly to his Buſineſs. To accuſtom a Child to have true Notions of things, and not to be ſatisfied till he has them; To raiſe his Mind to great and worthy Thoughts; and to keep him at a diſtance from Falſhood; and Cunning which has always a broad mixture of Falſhood in it; is the fitteſt preparation of a Child for *Wiſdom*. The reſt, which is to be learn'd from Time, Experience, and Obſervation, and an Acquaintance with Men, their Tempers, and Deſigns, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of Childhood, or the inconſiderate heat and unwarineſs of Youth: All that can be done towards it, during this unripe Age, is as I have ſaid, to accuſtom them to Truth and Sincerity; to a ſubmiſſion to Reaſon; and as much as may be, to Reflection on their own Actions. *Wiſdom.*

§. 141. The next good Quality belonging to a Gentleman, is *good Breeding*. There are Two Sorts of *ill Breeding*: The one a *ſheepiſh Baſhfulneſs*: And the other a *miſbecoming Negligence and Diſreſpect* in our Carriage; both which are avoided by duly obſerving this one Rule, *Not to think meanly of our ſelves, and not to think meanly of others.* *Breeding.*

§. 142. The firſt part of this Rule muſt not be underſtood in oppoſition to Humility, but to Aſſurance. We ought not to think ſo well of our ſelves, as to ſtand upon our own Value; and aſſume to our ſelves a Preference before others, becauſe of any Advantage we may imagine we have over them; but modeſtly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think ſo well of our ſelves, as to perform thoſe Actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without diſcompoſure, or diſorder; in whoſe preſence ſoever we are; keeping that reſpect and diſtance, which is due to every one's Rank and Quality. There is often in People, eſpecially Children, a clowniſh Shamefac'dneſs, before Strangers, or thoſe above them: They are confounded in their Thoughts, Words, and Looks; and ſo loſe themſelves, in that confuſion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at leaſt not do with that freedom and gracefulneſs, which pleaſes, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other Miſcarriage, is by uſe to introduce the contrary Habit. But ſince we cannot accuſtom our ſelves to converſe with Strangers, and Perſons of Quality, without being in their Company; nothing can cure this part of *Ill-Breeding*, but Change and Variety of Company, and that of Perſons above us.

§. 143. As the before-mention'd conſiſts in too great a concern how to behave our ſelves towards others; ſo the other part of *Ill-Breeding*, lies in the appearance of too *little care* of pleaſing, or *ſhewing reſpect* to thoſe we have to do with. To avoid this, theſe two things are requiſite: Firſt, a diſpoſition of the Mind not to offend others; and, Secondly, the moſt acceptable and agreeable way of expreſſing that Diſpoſition. From the one, Men are called *Civil*; from the other, *Well-faſhion'd*. The latter of theſe is that decency and gracefulneſs of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Geſtures, and of all the whole

Breeding. whole outward Demeanour, which takes in Company, and makes thoſe with whom we may converſe, eaſie and well pleaſed. This is, as it were, the Language whereby that internal Civility of the Mind is expreſſed; which, as other Languages are, being very much governed by the Faſhion and Cuſtom of every Country, muſt, in the Rules and Practice of it, be learn'd chiefly from Obſervation, and the Carriage of thoſe who are allow'd to be exactly *well-bred.* The other part, which lies deeper than the Out-ſide, is that general Good-will and Regard for all People, which makes any one have a care not to ſhew, in his Carriage, any contempt, diſreſpect, or neglect of them; but to expreſs, according to the Faſhion and way of that Country, a reſpect and value for them, according to their Rank and Condition. It is a diſpoſition of the Mind that ſhews it ſelf in the carriage, whereby a Man avoids making any one uneaſie in Converſation.

I ſhall take notice of four qualities that are moſt directly oppoſite to this firſt, and moſt taking of all the Social Vertues. And from ſome one of theſe four it is that Incivility commonly has its Riſe. I ſhall ſet them down, that Children may be preſerv'd or recover'd from their ill influence.

Roughneſs. 1. The Firſt is, a Natural *Roughneſs*, which makes a Man uncomplaiſant to others, ſo that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. 'Tis the ſure badge of a Clown not to mind what pleaſes or diſpleaſes thoſe he is with; and yet one may often find a Man in faſhionable Cloaths, give an unbounded ſwing to his own humour, and ſuffer it to juſtle or over-run any one that ſtands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a Brutality that every one ſees and abhors, and no body can be eaſie with. And therefore this finds no place in any one who would be thought to have the leaſt tincture of *Good-breeding.* For the very end and buſineſs of *Good-breeding*, is to ſupple the natural ſtiffneſs, and ſo ſoften Mens Tempers that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themſelves to thoſe they have to do with.

Contempt. 2. Contempt or want of due Reſpect, diſcovered either in looks, words, or geſture: This from whomſoever it comes, brings always uneaſineſs with it. For no body can contentedly bear being ſlighted.

Cenſoriouſneſs. 3. *Cenſoriouſneſs*, and finding fault with others, has a direct oppoſition to *Civility.* Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults diſplay'd, and ſet in open view and broad day-light, before their own or other Peoples Eyes. Blemiſhes affixed to any one always carry Shame with them: And the diſcovery, or even bare imputation of any de-

Rallery. fect, is not borne without ſome uneaſineſs. *Rallery* is the moſt refined way of expoſing the faults of others. But becauſe it is uſually done with wit and good Language, and gives entertainment to the Company, People are led into a miſtake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it. And ſo the pleaſantry of this ſort of Converſation often introduces it amongſt People of the better Rank; and ſuch Talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the By-ſtanders on their ſide. But they ought to conſider, that the entertainment of the reſt of the Company is at the Coſt of that one, who is ſet out in their burleſque colours, who therefore is not without uneaſineſs, unleſs the ſubject for which he is rallied, be really in it ſelf matter of Commendation. For then the pleaſant images and repreſentations which make the *Rallery*, carrying praiſe as well as ſport with them, the rallied Perſon alſo finds his account, and takes part in the diverſion. But becauſe the right management of ſo nice and tickle a buſineſs, wherein a little ſlip may ſpoil all, is not every Body's talent, I think thoſe who would ſecure themſelves from provoking others, eſpecially all young People, ſhould carefully abſtain from *Rallery*, which by a ſmall miſtake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the Mind of thoſe who are made uneaſie by it, the laſting memory of having been piquantly, though wittily taunted for ſome thing cenſurable in them.

Contradiction. Beſides Rallery, *Contradiction* is a ſort of Cenſoriouſneſs wherein ill breeding often ſhews it ſelf. Complaiſance does not require that we ſhould always admit all the reaſonings or relations that the company is entertain'd with, no, nor ſilently to let paſs all that is vented in our hearing. The oppoſing

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the Opinions, and rectifying the Miſtakes of others, is what Truth and Charity ſometimes require of us, and Civility does not oppoſe, if it be done with due Caution and Care of Circumſtances. But there are ſome People that one may obſerve, poſſeſſed, as it were, with the Spirit of Contradiction, that ſteadily, and without regard to Right or Wrong, oppoſe ſome one, or perhaps, every one of the Company whatever they ſay. This is ſo viſible and outrageous a way of *Cenſuring*, that no body can avoid thinking himſelf injur'd by it. All Oppoſition to what another Man has ſaid is ſo apt to be ſuſpected of *Cenſoriouſneſs*, and is ſo ſeldom receiv'd without ſome ſort of Humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentleſt manner, and ſofteſt Words can be found; and ſuch as with the whole Deportment may expreſs no forwardneſs to contradict. All Marks of Reſpect and Good-will ought to accompany it, that whilſt we gain the Argument, we may not loſe the Eſteem of thoſe that hear us. *Contradiction.*

4. *Captiouſneſs* is another fault oppoſite to *Civility*, not only becauſe it often produces misbecoming and provoking Expreſſions, and Carriage; but becauſe it is a tacit Accuſation and Reproach of ſome Incivility taken notice of in thoſe whom we are angry with. Such a Suſpicion or Intimation cannot be born by any one without uneaſineſs. Beſides, one angry Body diſcompoſes the whole Company, and the Harmony ceaſes upon any ſuch jarring. *Captiouſneſs.*

The Happineſs that all Men ſo ſteadily purſue, conſiſting in Pleaſure, it is eaſie to ſee why the *Civil* are more acceptable than the uſeful. The Ability, Sincerity, and good Intention, of a Man of weight and worth, or a real Friend, ſeldom atones for the Uneaſineſs that is produced by his grave and ſolid Repreſentations. Power and Riches, nay, Vertue it ſelf, are valued only as conducing to our Happineſs. And therefore he recommends himſelf ill to another as aiming at his Happineſs, who, in the ſervices he does him, makes him uneaſie in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make thoſe he converſes with eaſie, without debaſing himſelf to low and ſervile flattery, has found the true Art of living in the World, and being both welcome and valued every where. *Civility* therefore is what, in the firſt place, ſhould with great care, be made habitual to Children and Young People.

§. 144. There is another Fault in good Manners, and that is, *Exceſs of Ceremony*, and an obſtinate perſiſting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without Folly or Shame. This ſeems rather a Deſign to expoſe than oblige: Or, at leaſt, looks like a Conteſt for Maſtery, and, at beſt, is but troubleſome, and ſo can be no part of *Good-Breeding*, which has no other uſe or end, but to make People eaſie and ſatisfied in their Converſation with us. This is a Fault few young People are apt to fall into; but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are ſuſpected to encline that way, they ſhould be told of it, and warned of this *Miſtaken Civility*. The thing they ſhould endeavour and aim at in Converſation, ſhould be to ſhew Reſpect, Eſteem, and Good-will, by paying to every one that common Ceremony and Regard which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a ſuſpicion of Flattery, Diſſimulation, or Meanneſs, is a great Skill, which good Senſe, Reaſon, and good Company can only teach; but is of ſo much uſe in Civil Life, that it is well worth the ſtudying. *Breeding.*

§. 145. Though the managing our ſelves well in this part of our Behaviour, has the Name of *Good-Breeding*, as if peculiarly the effect of Education; yet, as I have ſaid, young Children ſhould not be much perplexed about it; I mean about putting off their Hats and making Legs modiſhly. Teach them Humility, and to be good-natur'd, if you can, and this ſort of Manners will not be wanting: *Civility* being, in truth, nothing but a Care not to ſhew any Slighting, or Contempt, of any one in Converſation. What are the moſt allow'd and eſteem'd ways of expreſſing this, we have above obſerved. It is as peculiar and different, in ſeveral Countries of the World, as their Languages; and therefore, if it be rightly conſidered, Rules and Diſcourſes, made to Children about it, are as uſeleſs and impertinent, as it would be now and then to give a Rule or Two of the *Spaniſh* Tongue, to one that converſes only with *Engliſh* men. Be as buſie as you pleaſe with Diſcourſes of *Civility* to your Son, ſuch as is his Company, ſuch will be his Manners.

Breeding. A Ploughman of your Neighbourhood, that has never been out of his Pariſh, read what Lectures you pleaſe to him, will be as ſoon in his Language as his Carriage, a Courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite than thoſe he uſes to converſe with: And therefore of this no other Care can be taken, till he be of an Age to have a Tutour put to him, who muſt not fail to be a well-bred Man. And, in good earneſt, if I were to ſpeak my Mind freely, ſo Children do nothing out of Obſtinacy, Pride, and Ill-nature, 'tis no great matter how they put off their Hats, or make Legs. If you can teach them to love and reſpect other People, they will, as their Age requires it, find ways to expreſs it acceptably to every one, according to the Faſhions they have been uſed to: And as to their Motions and Carriage of their Bodies, a Dancing Maſter, as has been ſaid, when it is fit, will teach them what is moſt becoming. In the mean time, when they are young, People expect not that Children ſhould be over mindful of theſe Ceremonies; Careleſneſs is allow'd to that Age, and becomes them as well as Complements do grown People: Or, at leaſt, if ſome very nice People will think it a Fault, I am ſure it is a Fault that ſhould be over-look'd, and left to Time, a Tutour, and Converſation to cure. And therefore, I think it not worth your while to have your Son (as I often ſee Children are) moleſted or chid about it: But where there is *Pride* or *Ill-nature* appearing in his Carriage, there he muſt be perſuaded or ſhamed out of it.

Though Children, when little, ſhould not be much perplex'd with Rules and Ceremonious Parts of *Breeding*; yet there is a ſort of Unmannerlineſs very apt to grow up with young People, if not early reſtrain'd, and that is a *Interruption.* Forwardneſs to *interrupt* others that are ſpeaking, and to ſtop them with ſome *Contradiction.* Whether the Cuſtom of Diſputing, and the Reputation of Parts and Learning uſually given to it, as if it were the only Standard and Evidence of Knowledge, make Young Men ſo forward to watch Occaſions to correct others in their Diſcourſe; and not to ſlip any Opportunity of ſhewing their Talents; So it is, That I have found Scholars moſt blam'd in this Point. There cannot be a greater Rudeneſs, than to *interrupt* another in the Current of his Diſcourſe; for if there be not impertinent Folly in anſwering a Man before we know what he will ſay, yet it is a plain Declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer: And, have a Diſeſteem of what he ſays, which we judging not fit to entertain the Company, deſire them to give audience to us, who have ſomething to produce worth their Attention. This ſhews a very great Diſreſpect, and cannot but be offenſive: And yet, this is what almoſt all *Interruption* conſtantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is uſual, a *correcting* of any Miſtake, or a *Contradiction* of what has been ſaid, 'tis a Mark of yet greater Pride and Self-conceitedneſs, when we thus intrude our ſelves for Teachers, and take upon us, either to ſet another right in his Story, or ſhew the Miſtakes of his Judgment.

I do not ſay this, That I think there ſhould be no Difference of Opinions in Converſation, nor Oppoſition in Men's Diſcourſes: This would be to take away the greateſt Advantage of Society, and the Improvements are to be made by ingenious Company; where the Light is to be got from the Oppoſite Arguings of Men of Parts, ſhewing the different Sides of Things, and their various Aſpects, and Probabilities, would be quite loſt, if every one were obliged to aſſent to, and ſay after the firſt Speaker. 'Tis not the owning one's Diſſent from another, that I ſpeak againſt, but the manner of doing it. Young Men ſhould be taught not to be forward to *interpoſe* their Opinions, unleſs asked, or when others have done and are ſilent; and then only by way of Enquiry, not Inſtruction. The poſitive aſſerting, and the Magiſterial Air ſhould be avoided; and when a general Pauſe of the whole Company affords an Opportunity, they may modeſtly put in their Queſtion as Learners.

This becoming Decency will not cloud their Parts, nor weaken the Strength of their Reaſon; but beſpeak the more favourable Attention, and give what they ſay the greater Advantage. An ill Argument, or ordinary Obſervation thus introduced, with ſome civil Preface of Deference and Reſpect

ſpect to the Opinions of others, will procure them more Credit, and Eſteem, than the ſharpeſt Wit, or profoundeſt Science, with a rough, inſolent, or noiſy Management, which always ſhocks the Hearers, leaves an ill Opinion of the Man, though he get the better of it in the Argument. *Interruption.*

This therefore ſhould be carefully watched in young People, ſtop'd in the Beginning, and the contrary Habit introduced in all their Converſation. And the rather, becauſe forwardneſs to talk, frequent *Interruptions* in arguing, and loud *wrangling*, are too often obſervable amongſt grown People, even of Rank amongſt us. The *Indians*, whom we call Barbarous, obſerve much more Decency and Civility in their Diſcourſes and Converſation, giving one another a fair ſilent Hearing, till they have quite done; and then anſwering them calmly, and without Noiſe or Paſſion. And if it be not ſo in this civilized Part of the World, we muſt impute it to a Neglect in Education, which has not yet reform'd this ancient Piece of Barbarity amongſt us. Was it not, think you, an entertaining Spectacle, to ſee two Ladies of Quality accidentally ſeated on the oppoſite ſides of a Room, ſet round with Company, fall into a Diſpute, and grow ſo eager in it, that in the Heat of their Controverſie, edging by degrees their Chairs forwards, they were in a little time got up cloſe to one another in the middle of the Room; where they for a good while managed the Diſpute as fiercely as two Game-Cocks in the Pit, without minding or taking any Notice of the Circle, which could not all the while forbear ſmiling? This I was told by a Perſon of Quality, who was preſent at the Combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the Indecencies, that warmth in *Diſpute* often runs People into; which ſince Cuſtom makes too frequent, Education ſhould take the more Care of. There is no Body but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themſelves: And many, who are ſenſible of it in themſelves, and reſolve againſt it, cannot yet get rid of an ill Cuſtom, which Neglect in their Education has ſuffered to ſettle into an Habit. *Diſpute.*

§. 146. What has been above-ſaid concerning *Company*, would perhaps, if it were well reflected on, give us a larger Proſpect, and let us ſee how much farther its Influence reaches. 'Tis not the Modes of Civility alone, that are imprinted by *Converſation*: The Tincture of Company ſinks deeper than the out-ſide; and poſſibly, if a true Eſtimate were made of the Morality, and Religions of the World, we ſhould find, that the far greater part of Mankind received even thoſe Opinions and Ceremonies, they would die for, rather from the Faſhions of their Countries, and the conſtant Practice of thoſe about them, than from any Conviction of their Reaſons. I mention this only to let you ſee of what Moment, I think, *Company* is to your Son, in all the parts of his Life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weighed, and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all you can do beſides. *Company.*

§. 147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put *Learning* laſt, eſpecially if I tell you I think it the leaſt part. This may ſeem ſtrange in the Mouth of a Bookiſh Man; and this making uſually the chief, if not only buſtle and ſtir about Children; this being almoſt that alone, which is thought on, when People talk of Education, makes it the greater Paradox. When I conſider, what a-do is made about a little *Latin* and *Greek*, how many Years are ſpent in it, and what a noiſe and buſineſs it makes to no purpoſe, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the Parents of Children ſtill live in fear of the School-maſter's Rod, which they look on as the only Inſtrument of Education; as a Language or two to be its whole Buſineſs. How elſe is it poſſible that a Child ſhould be chain'd to the Oar, Seven, Eight, or Ten of the beſt Years of his Life, to get a Language or two, which I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of Pains and Time, and be learn'd almoſt in playing? *Learning.*

Forgive me therefore, If I ſay, I cannot with Patience think, that a young Gentleman ſhould be put into the Herd, and be driven with a Whip and Scourge, as if he were to run the Gantlet through the ſeveral Claſſes, *ad capiendum ingenii cultum.* What then, ſay you, would you not have him Write and Read? Shall he be more Ignorant than the Clerk of our Pariſh, who takes *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* for the beſt Poets in the World, whom yet he makes worſe, than they are, by his ill Reading? Not ſo, not ſo faſt, I be-

Learning. ſeech you. Reading, and Writing, and *Learning*, I allow to be neceſſary, but yet not the chief Buſineſs. I imagine you would think him a very fooliſh Fellow, that ſhould not value a Vertuous, or a Wiſe Man, infinitely before a great Scholar. Not but that I think *Learning* a great help to both in well diſpos'd Minds; but yet it muſt be confeſs'd alſo, that in others not ſo diſpos'd, it helps them only to be the more fooliſh, or worſe Men. I ſay this, that when you conſider of the Breeding of your Son, and are looking out for a School-Maſter, or a Tutour, you would not have (as is uſual) *Latin* and *Logick* only in your Thoughts. *Learning* muſt be had, but in the ſecond place, as ſubſervient only to greater Qualities. Seek out ſome-body, that may know how diſcreetly to frame his Manners: Place him in Hands, where you may, as much as poſſible ſecure his Innocence, cheriſh and nurſe up the Good, and gently correct and weed out any Bad Inclinations, and ſettle in him good Habits. This is the main Point, and this being provided for, *Learning* may be had in to the Bargain, and that, as I think, at a very eaſie rate, by Methods that may be thought on.

Reading. §. 148. When he can talk, 'tis time he ſhould begin to *learn to read.* But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again what is very apt to be forgotten, *viz.* That a great Care is to be taken, that it be never made as a Buſineſs to him, nor he look on it as a Task. We naturally, as I ſaid, even from our Cradles, love Liberty, and have therefore an Averſion to many Things, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they are injoyn'd us. I have always had a Fancy, that *Learning* might be made a Play and Recreation to Children; and that they might be brought to deſire to be taught, if it were propos'd to them as a thing of Honour, Credit, Delight and Recreation, or as a Reward for doing ſomething elſe; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this Opinion, is, that amongſt the *Portugueſes*, 'tis ſo much a Faſhion, and Emulation, amongſt their Children, to *learn* to *Read*, and Write, that they cannot hinder them from it: They will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a Friend's Houſe, whoſe younger Son, a Child in Coats, was not eaſily *brought* to his Book (being taught *to read* at home by his Mother) I adviſed to try another way, than requiring it of him as his Duty; we therefore, in a Diſcourſe on purpoſe amongſt our ſelves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, That it was the Privilege and Advantage of Heirs and Elder Brothers, to be Scholars; that this made them fine Gentlemen, and beloved by every body: And that for younger Brothers, 'twas a Favour to admit them to Breeding; to be taught to *Read* and Write, was more than came to their ſhare; they might be ignorant Bumpkins and Clowns, if they pleaſed. This ſo wrought upon the Child, that afterwards he deſired to be taught; would come himſelf to his Mother to *learn*, and would not let his Maid be quiet till ſhe heard him his Leſſon. I doubt not but ſome way like this might be taken with other Children; and, when their Tempers are found, ſome thoughts be inſtilled into them, that might ſet them upon deſiring of *Learning* themſelves, and make them ſeek it, as another ſort of Play or Recreation. But then, as I ſaid before, it muſt never be impoſed as a Task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be Dice and Play-things, with the Letters on them, to teach Children the *Alphabet* by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, ſuitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of *Learning a Sport* to them.

§. 149. Thus Children may be cozen'd into a Knowledge of the Letters; be *taught to read*, without perceiving it to be any thing but a Sport, and play themſelves into that which others are whip'd for. Children ſhould not have any thing like Work, or ſerious, laid on them; neither their Minds, nor Bodies will bear it. It injures their Healths; and their being forced and tied down to their Books in an Age at enmity with all ſuch reſtraint, has, I doubt not, been the reaſon, why a great many have hated Books and Learning all their Lives after: 'Tis like a Surfeit, that leaves an Averſion behind not to be removed.

§. 150.

§. 150. I have therefore thought, that if *Play-things* were fitted to this purpoſe, as they are uſually to none, Contrivances might be made *to teach Children to read*, whilſt they thought they were only Playing. For Example, What if an *Ivory-Ball* were made like that of the Royal-Oak Lottery, with Thirty two ſides, or one rather of Twenty four, or Twenty five ſides; and upon ſeveral of thoſe ſides paſted on an A, upon ſeveral others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but theſe four Letters, or perhaps only two at firſt; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and ſo on, till each ſide having one Letter, there be on it the whole Alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a ſort of Play to lay a Stake who ſhall firſt throw an A or B, as who upon Dice ſhall throw Six or Seven. This being a Play amongſt you, tempt him not to it, leſt you make it Buſineſs; for I would not have him underſtand 'tis any thing but a Play of Older People, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himſelf. And that he may have the more Reaſon to think it is a Play, that he is ſometimes in favour admitted to; when the Play is done, the Ball ſhould be laid up ſafe out of his Reach, that ſo it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow ſtale to him. *Reading.*

§. 151. To keep up his Eagerneſs to it, let him think it a Game belonging to thoſe above him: And when, by this means, he knows the Letters, by changing them into Syllables, he may *learn to read*, without knowing how he did ſo, and never have any Chiding or Trouble about it, nor fall out with Books, becauſe of the hard Uſage and Vexation they have caus'd him. Children, if you obſerve them, take abundance of Pains to learn ſeveral Games, which, if they ſhould be enjoin'd them, they would abhor as a Task, and Buſineſs. I know a Perſon of great Quality (more yet to be honoured for his Learning and Vertue, than for his Rank and high Place) who by paſting on the Six Vowels (for in our Language Y is one) on the Six Sides of a Die, and the remaining Eighteen Conſonants on the Sides of Three other Dice; has made this a Play for his Children, that he ſhall win, who, at one Caſt, throws moſt Words on theſe Four Dice; whereby his eldeſt Son, yet in Coats, has *play'd* himſelf *into ſpelling*, with great Eagerneſs, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

§. 152. I have ſeen little Girls exerciſe whole Hours together, and take abundance of Pains to be expert at *Dibſtones*, as they call it: Whilſt I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only ſome good Contrivance to make them employ all that Induſtry about ſomething that might be more uſeful to them; and methinks 'tis only the Fault and Negligence of elder People, that it is not ſo. Children are much leſs apt to be idle than Men; and Men are to be blamed if ſome Part of that buſie Humour be not turn'd to uſeful Things; which might be made uſually as delightful to them as thoſe they are employ'd in, if Men would be but half ſo forward to lead the Way, as theſe little Apes would be to follow. I imagine ſome wiſe *Portugueſe* heretofore began this Faſhion amongſt the Children of his Country, where I have been told, as I ſaid, it is impoſſible to hinder the Children from *learning to read* and write: And in ſome Parts of *France* they teach one another to Sing and Dance from the Cradle.

§. 153. The *Letters* paſted upon the Sides of the Dice, or Polygon, were beſt to be of the Size of thoſe of the Folio Bible to begin with, and none of them Capital Letters; when once he can read what is printed in ſuch Letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: And in the Beginning he ſhould not be perplex'd with Variety. With this Die alſo, you might have a Play juſt like the Royal-Oak, which would be another Variety; and play for Cherries, or Apples, *&c.*

§. 154. Beſides theſe, Twenty other Plays might be invented, depending on *Letters*, which thoſe, who like this way, may eaſily contrive, and get made to this uſe, if they will. But the Four Dice above-mention'd I think ſo eaſie and uſeful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be ſcarce need of any other.

§. 155. Thus much for *learning to read*, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a Buſineſs for

Reading. for him. 'Tis better it be a Year later *before he can read*, than that he ſhould this Way get an Averſion to Learning. If you have any Conteſts with him, let it be in Matters of Moment, of Truth, and good Nature; but lay no Task on him about A B C. Uſe your Skill to make his Will ſupple and pliant to Reaſon: Teach him to love Credit and Commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, eſpecially by You and his Mother, and then the reſt will come all eaſily. But, I think, if you will do that, you muſt not ſhackle and tie him up with Rules about indifferent Matters, nor rebuke him for every little Fault, or perhaps ſome, that to others would ſeem great ones: But of this I have ſaid enough already.

§. 156. When by theſe gentle Ways he begins to be able to *read*, ſome eaſie pleaſant Book ſuited to his Capacity, ſhould be put into his Hands, wherein the Entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his Pains in reading, and yet not ſuch as ſhould fill his Head with perfectly uſeleſs Trumpery, or lay the Principles of Vice and Folly. To this Purpoſe, I think, *Æſop's Fables* the beſt, which being Stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford uſeful Reflections to a grown Man; and if his Memory retain them all his Life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongſt his manly Thoughts and ſerious Buſineſs. If his *Æſop* has *Pictures* in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the Increaſe of Knowledge with it: For ſuch viſible Objects Children hear talked of in vain, and without any Satisfaction, whilſt they have no Idea's of them; thoſe Idea's being not to be had from Sounds, but from the Things themſelves, or their Pictures. And therefore, I think, as ſoon as he begins to ſpell, as many Pictures of Animals ſhould be got him as can be found, with the Printed Names to them, which at the ſame Time will invite him to read, and afford him Matter of Enquiry and Knowledge. *Reynard the Fox* is another Book, I think, may be made uſe of to the ſame Purpoſe. And if thoſe about him will talk to him often about the Stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, beſides other Advantages, add Incouragement and Delight to his *Reading*, when he finds there is ſome Uſe and Pleaſure in it. Theſe Baits ſeem wholly neglected in the ordinary Method; and 'tis uſually long before Learners find any Uſe or Pleaſure in Reading which may tempt them to it, and ſo take Books only for faſhionable Amuſements, or impertinent Troubles, good for nothing.

§. 157. The Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, and Ten Commandments 'tis neceſſary he ſhould learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himſelf in his Primmer, but by Some-body's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and *learning to read*, ſhould not, I think, be mixed, and ſo one made to clog the other. But his *learning to read*, ſhould be made as little Trouble or Buſineſs to him as might be.

What other Books there are in *Engliſh* of the Kind of thoſe above-mentioned, fit to engage the Liking of Children, and tempt them *to read*, I do not know: But am apt to think, that Children, being generally delivered over to the Method of Schools, where the Fear of the Rod is to inforce, and not any Pleaſure of the Employment to invite, them to learn, this ſort of uſeful Books, amongſt the Number of ſilly ones that are of all Sorts, have yet had the Fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been conſidered of this Kind out of the ordinary Road of the Horn-book, Primmer, Pſalter, Teſtament, and Bible.

§. 158. As for the *Bible*, which Children are uſually employ'd in to exerciſe and improve their Talent *in reading*, I think, the promiſcuous reading of it, though by Chapters as they lie in Order, is ſo far from being of any Advantage to Children, either for the perfecting their *Reading*, or principling their Religion, that perhaps a worſe could not be found. For what Pleaſure or Incouragement can it be to a Child to exerciſe himſelf in reading thoſe Parts of a Book where he underſtands nothing? And how little are the Law of *Moſes*, the Song of *Solomon*, the Prophecies in the Old, and the Epiſtles and *Apocalypſe* in the New Teſtament, ſuited to a Child's Capacity? And though the Hiſtory of the Evangeliſts, and the Acts, have ſomething eaſier; yet, taken all together, it is very diſproportional to the Underſtanding of Chil-

Childhood. I grant, that the Principles of Religion are to be drawn from thence, and in the Words of the Scripture; yet none ſhould be propos'd to a Child, but ſuch as are ſuited to a Child's Capacity and Notions. But 'tis far from this to read through *the whole Bible*, and that for reading's ſake. And what an odd jumble of Thoughts muſt a Child have in his Head, if he have any at all, ſuch as he ſhould have concerning Religion, who in his tender Age reads all the Parts of the *Bible* indifferently as the Word of God, without any other Diſtinction. I am apt to think, that this, in ſome Men, has been the very Reaſon why they never had clear and diſtinct Thoughts of it all their Life-time. *Reading.*

§. 159. And now I am by chance fallen on this Subject, give me leave to ſay, that there are ſome Parts of the *Scripture* which may be proper to be put into the Hands of a Child to engage him to read; ſuch as are the Story of *Joſeph* and his Brethren, of *David* and *Goliah*, of *David* and *Jonathan*, &c. and others, that he ſhould be made to read for his Inſtruction, as that, *What you would have others do unto you, do you the ſame unto them*; and ſuch other eaſie and plain moral Rules, which being fitly choſen, might often be made uſe of, both for Reading and Inſtruction together; and ſo often read till they are throughly fixed in the Memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their Turns, on fit Occaſions, be inculcated as the ſtanding and ſacred Rules of his Life and Actions. But the reading of the whole Scripture indifferently, is what, I think, very inconvenient for Children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plaineſt fundamental Parts of it, they have got ſome kind of general View of what they ought principally to believe and practiſe, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very Words of the Scripture, and not in ſuch, as Men prepoſſeſs'd by Syſtems and Analogies, are apt in this Caſe to make uſe of and force upon them. Dr. *Worthington*, to avoid this, has made a Catechiſm, which has all its Anſwers in the preciſe Words of the Scripture, a Thing of good Example, and ſuch a ſound Form of Words as no Chriſtian can except againſt, as not fit for his Child to learn. Of this, as ſoon as he can ſay the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments by Heart, it may be fit for him to learn a Queſtion every Day, or every Week, as his Underſtanding is able to receive, and his Memory to retain them. And when he has this Catechiſm perfectly by Heart, ſo as readily and roundly to anſwer to any Queſtion in the whole Book, it may be convenient to lodge in his Mind the remaining Moral Rules ſcatter'd up and down in the Bible, as the beſt *Exerciſe of his Memory*, and that which may be always a Rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole Conduct of his Life.

§. 160. When he can read *Engliſh* well, it will be ſeaſonable to enter him in *Writing*: And here the firſt Thing ſhould be taught him, is to *hold his Pen right*; and this he ſhould be perfect in, before he ſhould be ſuffer'd to put it to Paper: For not only Children, but any body elſe, that would do any thing well, ſhould never be put upon too much of it at once, or be ſet to perfect themſelves in two Parts of an Action at the ſame time, if they can poſſibly be ſeparated. I think the *Italian* way of holding the Pen between the Thumb and the Fore-finger alone, may be beſt; but in this you ſhould conſult ſome good Writing-Maſter, or any other Perſon who writes well, and quick. When he has learn'd to hold his Pen right, in the next Place he ſhould learn how to *lay his Paper, and place his Arm and Body to it.* Theſe Practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much Trouble, is to get a Plate graved with the Characters of ſuch a Hand as you like beſt: But you muſt remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he ſhould ordinarily write; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a leſs Hand than he at firſt was taught, but never a bigger. Such a Plate being graved, let ſeveral Sheets of good writing-Paper be printed off with red Ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good Pen fill'd with black Ink, which will quickly bring his Hand to the Formation of thoſe Characters, being at firſt ſhewed where to begin, and how to form every Letter. And when he can do that well, he muſt then exerciſe on fair Paper; and ſo may eaſily be brought *to write* the Hand you deſire. *Writing.*

§. 161.

Drawing. §. 161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the Exercise of his Hand in Writing; but also to improve the use of it farther in *Drawing*, a Thing very useful to a Gentleman in several Occasions; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole Sheet of Paper in Writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many Buildings may a Man see, how many Machines and Habits meet with, the Idea's whereof would be easily retain'd and communicated by a little Skill in *Drawing*; which being committed to Words are in Danger to be lost, or, at best, but ill retained in the most exact Descriptions? I do not mean that I would have your Son a *perfect Painter*; to be that to any tolerable Degree, will require more Time than a young Gentleman can spare from his other Improvements of greater Moment: But so much Insight into *Perspective* and Skill in *Drawing*, as will enable him to represent tolerably on Paper any thing he sees, except Faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a Genius to it; but where that is wanting, unless it be in the things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose: And therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the Rule holds, *Nihil invitâ Minervâ.*

Short-hand. § 1. *Short-hand*, an Art, as I have been told, known only in *England*, may perhaps be thought worth the Learning, both for Dispatch in what Men write for their own Memory, and Concealment of what they would not have lie open to every Eye. For he that has once learn'd any Sort of Character, may easily vary it to his own private Use or Fancy, and with more Contraction suited to the Business he would employ it in. Mr. *Rich*'s, the best contriv'd of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers Grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of Writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a Master; it will be early enough when any convenient Opportunity offers it self, at any time after his Hand is well settled in fair and quick Writing. For Boys have but little use of *Short-hand*, and should by no means practise it till they write perfectly well, and have throughly fix'd the Habit of doing so.

French. §. 162. As soon as he can speak *English*, 'tis time for him to learn some other Language: This no Body doubts of, when *French* is propos'd. And the Reason is, because People are accustom'd to the right Way of teaching that Language, which is by talking it into Children in constant Conversation, and not by Grammatical Rules. The *Latin* Tongue would easily be taught the same Way, if his Tutour, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him, and make him answer still in the same Language. But because *French* is a living Language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learn'd, that the yet pliant Organs of Speech might be accustomed to a due Formation of those Sounds, and he get the Habit of pronouncing *French* well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delay'd.

Latin. §. 163. When he can speak and read *French* well, which in this Method is usually in a Year or Two, he should proceed to *Latin*, which 'tis a wonder Parents, when they have had the Experiment in *French*, should not think ought to be learn'd the same Way, by Talking and Reading. Only Care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign Languages, by speaking and reading nothing else with his Tutour, that he do not forget to read *English*, which may be preserved by his Mother, or some Body else, hearing him read some chosen Parts of the Scripture, or other *English* Book, every Day.

§. 164. *Latin* I look upon as absolutely necessary to a Gentleman; and indeed Custom, which prevails over every thing, has made it so much a Part of Education, that even those Children are whip'd to it, and made spend many Hours of their precious time uneasily in *Latin*, who, after they are once gone from School, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a Father should

ſhould waſte his own Money, and his Son's time, in ſetting him to learn the *Latin Roman Language*, when at the ſame time he deſigns him for a Trade, wherein he having no Uſe of *Latin*, fails not to forget that little which he brought from School, and which 'tis Ten to One he abhors for the ill Uſage it procur'd him? Could it be believ'd, unleſs we had every-where amongſt us Examples of it, that a Child ſhould be forced to learn the Rudiments of a Language which he is never to uſe in the Courſe of Life that he is deſigned to, and neglect all the while the writing a good Hand, and caſting Account, which are of great Advantage in all Conditions of Life, and to moſt Trades indiſpenſibly neceſſary? But though theſe Qualifications, requiſite to Trade and Commerce, and the Buſineſs of the World, are ſeldom or never to be had at Grammar-Schools; yet thither, not only Gentlemen ſend their younger Sons, intended for Trades, but even Tradeſmen and Farmers fail not to ſend their Children, though they have neither Intention nor Ability to make them Scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as ſtrange a Queſtion, as if you ſhould ask them, why they go to Church. Cuſtom ſerves for Reaſon, and has, to thoſe who take it for Reaſon, ſo conſecrated this Method, that it is almoſt Religiouſly obſerved by them, and they ſtick to it, as if their Children had ſcarce an Orthodox Education, unleſs they learn'd *Lilly*'s Grammar.

§. 165. But how neceſſary ſoever *Latin* be to ſome, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of Uſe or Service; yet the ordinary way of Learning it in a Grammar-School is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The Reaſons againſt it are ſo evident, and cogent, that they have prevailed with ſome intelligent Perſons, to quit the ordinary Road, not without Succeſs, though the Method made uſe of was not exactly that which I imagine the eaſieſt, and in ſhort is this: To trouble the Child with no *Grammar* at all, but to have *Latin*, as *Engliſh* has been, without the Perplexity of Rules, talked into him; for if you will conſider it, *Latin* is no more unknown to a Child, when he comes into the World, than *Engliſh:* And yet he learns *Engliſh* without Maſter, Rule, or Grammar; and ſo might he *Latin* too, as *Tully* did, if he had ſome Body always to talk to him in this Language. And when we ſo often ſee a *French* Woman teach an *Engliſh* Girl to ſpeak and read *French* perfectly in a Year or Two, without any Rule of Grammar, or any thing elſe but pratling to her; I cannot but wonder, how Gentlemen have been over-ſeen this way for their Sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their Daughters.

§. 166. If therefore a Man could be got, who, himſelf ſpeaking good *Latin*, would always be about your Son, talk conſtantly to him, and ſuffer him to ſpeak or read nothing elſe, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propoſe, not only as the eaſieſt and beſt, wherein a Child might without Pains or Chiding get a Language, which others are wont to be whip'd for at School ſix or ſeven Years together; but alſo as that, wherein at the ſame time he might have his Mind and Manners formed, and he be inſtructed to boot in ſeveral Sciences, ſuch as are a good Part of *Geography*, *Aſtronomy*, *Chronology*, *Anatomy*, beſides ſome Parts of *Hiſtory*, and all other Parts of Knowledge of Things, that fall under the Senſes, and require little more than Memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our Knowledge ſhould begin, and in thoſe Things be laid the Foundation; and not in the abſtract Notions of *Logick* and *Metaphyſicks*, which are fitter to amuſe, than inform the Underſtanding, in its firſt ſetting out towards Knowledge. When Young Men have had their Heads imploy'd a while in thoſe abſtract Speculations without finding the Succeſs and Improvement, or that Uſe of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean Thoughts, either of Learning, or themſelves; they are tempted to quit their Studies, and throw away their Books, as containing nothing but hard Words, and empty Sounds; or elſe to conclude, that if there be any real Knowledge in them, they themſelves have not Underſtandings capable of it. That this is ſo, perhaps I could aſſure you upon my own Experience. Amongſt other Things to be learn'd by a young Gentleman in this Method, whilſt others of his Age are wholly taken up with *Latin* and Languages, I may alſo ſet down *Geometry* for

Latin. one, having known a young Gentleman, bred ſomething after this way, able to demonſtrate ſeveral Propoſitions in *Euclid*, before he was Thirteen.

§. 167. But if ſuch a Man cannot be got, who ſpeaks good *Latin*, and being able to inſtruct your Son in all theſe Parts of Knowledge, will undertake it by this Method; the next beſt is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking ſome eaſie and pleaſant Book, ſuch as *Æſop's Fables*, and writing the *Engliſh* Tranſlation (made as literal as it can be) in one Line, and the *Latin* Words which anſwer each of them, juſt over it in another. Theſe let him read every Day over and over again, till he perfectly underſtands the *Latin*; and then go on to another Fable, till he be alſo perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but ſometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his Memory. And when he comes to Write, let theſe be ſet him for Copies, which with the Exerciſe of his Hand, will alſo advance him in *Latin*. This being a more imperfect way than by *talking Latin* unto him; the Formation of the Verbs firſt, and afterwards the Declenſions of the Nouns and Pronouns perfectly learn'd by Heart, may facilitate his Acquaintance with the Genius and Manner of the *Latin Tongue*, which varies the Signification of Verbs, and Nouns, not as the Modern Languages do by Particles prefix'd, but by changing the laſt Syllables. More than this of Grammar I think he need not have, till he can read himſelf *Sanctii Minerva* with *Scioppius* and *Perizonius's* Notes.

In teaching of Children this too, I think, is to be obſerv'd, that in moſt Caſes, where they ſtick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themſelves; as by asking ſuch Queſtions as theſe, (*viz.*) Which is the Nominative Caſe, in the Sentence they are to conſtrue; or demanding, what *aufero* ſignifies, to lead them to the Knowledge, what *abſtulere* ſignifies, *&c.* when they cannot readily tell. This waſtes time only in diſturbing them: For whilſt they are learning, and apply themſelves with Attention, they are to be kept in good Humour, and every thing made eaſie to them, and as pleaſant as poſſible. Therefore, where ever they are at a ſtand, and are willing to go forwards, help them preſently over the Difficulty, without any Rebuke or Chiding, remembering that where harſher ways are taken, they are the Effect only of Pride and Peeviſhneſs in the Teacher, who expects Children ſhould inſtantly be Maſters of as much as he knows: Whereas he ſhould rather conſider, that his Buſineſs is to ſettle in them Habits, not angrily to inculcate Rules, which ſerve for little in the Conduct of our Lives; at leaſt are of no Uſe to Children, who forget them as ſoon as given. In Sciences where their Reaſon is to be Exerciſed, I will not deny, but this Method may ſometimes be varied, and Difficulties propos'd on purpoſe to excite Induſtry, and accuſtom the Mind to imploy its own Strength and Sagacity in Reaſoning. But yet, I gueſs, this is not to be done to Children whilſt very young; nor at their Entrance upon any ſort of Knowledge: Then every thing of it ſelf is difficult, and the great Uſe and Skill of a Teacher is to make all as eaſy as he can. But particularly in learning of Languages there is leaſt Occaſion for poſing of Children. For Languages, being to be learn'd by Roat, Cuſtom, and Memory, are then ſpoken in greateſt Perfection, when all Rules of Grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the Grammar of a Language is ſomerimes very carefully to be ſtudied; but it is only to be ſtudied by a grown Man, when he applies himſelf to the Underſtanding of any Language critically, which is ſeldom the Buſineſs of any but profeſs'd Scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a Gentleman be to ſtudy any Language, it ought to be that of his own Country, that he may underſtand the Language, which he has conſtant uſe of, with the utmoſt Accuracy.

There is yet a farther Reaſon, why Maſters and Teachers ſhould raiſe no Difficulties to their Scholars; but on the contrary ſhould ſmooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them ſtop. Childrens Minds are narrow and weak, and uſually ſuſceptible but of one Thought at once. Whatever is in a Child's Head fills it for the time, eſpecially if ſet on with any Paſſion. It ſhould therefore be the Skill and Art of the Teacher, to clear their Heads of all other Thoughts, whilſt they are learning of any thing,

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the better to make room for what he would inſtil into them, that it may be *Latin.* receiv'd with Attention and Application, without which it leaves no Impreſſion. The Natural Temper of Children diſpoſes their Minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that preſents, they are preſently eager to have a taſte of, and are as ſoon ſatiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the ſame thing, and ſo have almoſt their whole Delight in Change and Variety. It is a Contradiction to the Natural State of Childhood for them to fix their fleeting Thoughts. Whether this be owing to the Temper of their Brains, or the Quickneſs or Inſtability of their Animal Spirits, over which the Mind has not yet got a full Command; this is viſible, that it is a Pain to Children to keep their Thoughts ſteady to any thing. A laſting continued Attention is one of the hardeſt Tasks can be impoſed on Them: And therefore, he that requires their Application, ſhould endeavour to make what he propoſes as grateful and agreeable as poſſible: At leaſt, he ought to take care not to joyn any diſpleaſing or frightful Idea with it. If they come not to their Books with ſome kind of liking and reliſh, 'tis no wonder their Thoughts ſhould be perpetually ſhifting from what diſguſts them; and ſeek better Entertainment in more pleaſing Objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

'Tis, I know, the uſual Method of Tutours, to endeavour to procure Attention in their Scholars, and to fix their Minds to the Buſineſs in Hand, by Rebukes and Corrections, if they find them ever ſo little wandering. But ſuch Treatment is ſure to produce the quite contrary effect. Paſſionate Words or Blows from the Tutour fill the Child's Mind with Terrour and Affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other Impreſſions. I believe there is no body, that reads this, but may recollect, what Diſorder Haſty or Imperious Words from his Parents or Teachers have caus'd in his Thoughts; how for the time it has turn'd his Brains, ſo that he ſcarce knew what was ſaid by or to him: He preſently loſt the ſight of what he was upon, his Mind was fill'd with Diſorder and Confuſion, and in that ſtate was no longer capable of Attention to any thing elſe.

'Tis true, Parents and Governours ought to ſettle and eſtabliſh their Authority, by an Awe over the Minds of thoſe under their Tuition; and to rule them by that: But when they have got an Aſcendant over them, they ſhould uſe it with great Moderation, and not make themſelves ſuch Scarecrows, that their Scholars ſhould always tremble in their ſight. Such an Auſterity may make their Government eaſie to themſelves, but of very little uſe to their Pupils. 'Tis impoſſible Children ſhould learn any thing whilſt their thoughts are poſſeſſed and diſturb'd with any Paſſion, eſpecially Fear, which makes the ſtrongeſt Impreſſion on their yet tender and weak Spirits. Keep the Mind in an eaſie calm Temper, when you would have it receive your Inſtructions, or any increaſe of Knowledge. 'Tis as impoſſible to draw fair and regular Characters on a trembling Mind as on a ſhaking Paper.

The great Skill of a Teacher is to get and keep the Attention of his Scholar; whilſt he has that, he is ſure to advance as faſt as the Learner's Abilities will carry him: And without that, all his buſtle and pother will be to little or no purpoſe. To attain this, he ſhould make the Child comprehend (as much as may be) the Uſefulneſs of what he teaches him, and let him ſee, by what he has learnt, that he can do ſomething which he could not do before; ſomething, which gives him ſome Power and real Advantage above others, who are ignorant of it. To this he ſhould add Sweetneſs in all his Inſtructions; and by a certain Tenderneſs in his whole Carriage, make the Child ſenſible that he loves him and deſigns nothing but his good, the only way to beget Love in the Child, which will make him hearken to his Leſſons, and reliſh what he teaches him.

Nothing but Obſtinacy ſhould meet with any imperiouſneſs or rough uſage. All other Faults ſhould be corrected with a gentle Hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing Mind, and even prevent a good deal of that Perverſeneſs, which rough and imperious uſage often produces in well diſpoſed and generous Minds. 'Tis true,

Latin. Obſtinacy and wilful Neglects muſt be maſter'd, even though it coſt blows to do it: But I am apt to think Perverſeneſs in the Pupils is often the effect of Frowardneſs in the *Tutour*; and that moſt Children would ſeldom have deſerv'd Blows, if needleſs and miſapplied Roughneſs had not taught them Ill-Nature, and given them an Averſion for their Teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, Forgetfulneſs, Unſteadineſs, and Wandering of Thought, are the natural Faults of Childhood: And therefore, where they are not obſerv'd to be wilful, are to be mention'd ſoftly, and gain'd upon by time. If every ſlip of this kind produces Anger and Rating, the occaſions of Rebuke and Corrections will return ſo often, that the Tutour will be a conſtant terrour and uneaſineſs to his Pupils. Which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his Leſſons, and to defeat all his Methods of Inſtructions.

Let the Awe he has got upon their Minds be ſo tempered with the conſtant Marks of Tenderneſs and good Will, that Affection may ſpur them to their Duty, and make them find a Pleaſure in complying with his Dictates. This will bring them with Satisfaction to their Tutour; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their Friend, that cheriſhes them, and takes pains for their Good: This will keep their Thoughs eaſie and free whilſt they are with him, the only temper wherein the Mind is capable of receiving new Informations, and of admitting into it ſelf thoſe Impreſſions, which, if not taken and retain'd, all that they and their Teacher do together is loſt labour; there is much Uneaſineſs and little Learning.

§. 168. When, by this way of interlining *Latin* and *Engliſh* one with another, he has got a moderate Knowledge of the *Latin Tongue*, he may then be advanc'd a little farther to the reading of ſome other eaſie *Latin* Book, ſuch as *Juſtin* or *Eutropius*, and to make the reading and underſtanding of it the leſs tedious and difficult to him, let him help himſelf, if he pleaſe, with the *Engliſh* Tranſlation. Nor let the Objection, that he will then know it only by roat, fright any one. This when well conſidered, is not of any moment againſt, but plainly for this way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learn'd by roat; and a Man who does not ſpeak *Engliſh* or *Latin* perfectly by roat, ſo that having thought of the thing he would ſpeak of, his Tongue of courſe without thought of Rule or Grammar, falls into the proper Expreſſion and Idiom of that Language, does not ſpeak it well, nor is Maſter of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that Tongue, that any one can learn, or ſpeak as he ſhould do, by the Rules of Grammar. Languages were made not by Rules or Art, but by Accident, and the common uſe of the People. And he that will ſpeak them well, has no other Rule but that; nor any thing to truſt to but his Memory, and the habit of ſpeaking after the Faſhion learn'd from thoſe that are allow'd to ſpeak properly, which in other Words is only to ſpeak by roat.

Grammar. It will poſſibly be asked here, Is *Grammar* then of no uſe? And have thoſe who have taken ſo much pains in reducing ſeveral Languages to Rules and Obſervations; who have writ ſo much about *Declenſions* and *Conjugations*, about *Concords* and *Syntaxis*, loſt their labour, and been learn'd to no purpoſe? I ſay not ſo, *Grammar* has its place too. But this I think I may ſay, There is more Stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and thoſe are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong: I mean Children, at the Age wherein they are uſually perplex'd with it in Grammar-Schools.

There is nothing more evident, than that Languages learn'd by roat ſerve well enough for the common Affairs of Life and ordinary Commerce. Nay, Perſons of Quality of the Softer Sex, and ſuch of them, as have ſpent their Time in Well-bred Company, ſhew us, that this plain Natural way, without the leaſt Study or Knowledge of *Grammar*, can carry them to a great Degree of Elegancy and Politeneſs in their Language: And there are Ladies, who, without Knowing what *Tenſes* and *Participles*, *Adverbs* and *Prepoſitions* are, ſpeak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill Compliment, if I ſaid as any Country School-Maſter) as moſt Gentlemen who have been Bred up in the ordinary Methods of Grammar-Schools. Grammar therefore

fore we ſee may be ſpared in ſome Caſes. The queſtion then will be, To whom ſhould it be Taught, and when? To this I Anſwer: *Grammar.*

1. Men learn Languages for the ordinary intercourſe of Society and Communication of thoughts in common Life, without any farther deſign in their uſe of them. And for this purpoſe, the Original way of Learning a Language by Converſation, not only ſerves well enough, but is to be prefer'd as the moſt Expedite, Proper, and Natural. Therefore, to this uſe of Language one may Anſwer, That Grammar is not neceſſary. This ſo many of my Readers muſt be forced to allow, as underſtand what I here ſay, and who, converſing with others, underſtand them without having ever been taught the Grammar of the *Engliſh* Tongue. Which I ſuppoſe is the Caſe of incomparably the greateſt part of *Engliſh* Men; of whom I have never yet known any one who learn'd his Mother-Tongue by Rules.

2. Others there are, the greateſt part of whoſe Buſineſs in this World, is to be done with their Tongues, and with their Pens; and to thoſe it is convenient, if not neceſſary, that they ſhould ſpeak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their Thoughts into other Mens Minds the more eaſily, and with the greater Impreſſion. Upon this Account it is, that any ſort of ſpeaking, ſo as will make him be underſtood, is not thought enough for a Gentleman. He ought to ſtudy Grammar amongſt the other Helps of ſpeaking well, but it muſt be the Grammar of his own Tongue, of the Language he uſes, that he may underſtand his own Country Speech nicely, and ſpeak it properly without ſhocking the Ears of thoſe it is addreſſed to with Soleciſms and offenſive Irregularities. And to this purpoſe Grammar is neceſſary. But it is the Grammar only of their own proper Tongues, and to thoſe only who would take Pains in cultivating their Language, and in perfecting their Stiles. Whether all Gentlemen ſhould not do this, I leave to be conſidered, ſince the Want of Propriety and Grammatical Exactneſs, is thought very misbecoming one of that Rank, and uſually draws on one guilty of ſuch Faults, the Cenſure of having had a lower Breeding and worſe Company than ſuits with his Quality. If this be ſo (as I ſuppoſe it is) it will be Matter of Wonder why young Gentlemen are forced to learn the Grammars of foreign and dead Languages, and are never once told of the Grammar of their own Tongues: They do not ſo much as know there is any ſuch Thing, much leſs is it made their Buſineſs to be inſtructed in it. Nor is their own Language ever propoſed to them as worthy their Care and Cultivating, though they have daily Uſe of it, and are not ſeldom in the future Courſe of their Lives judg'd of by their handſome or aukward way of expreſſing themſelves in it. Whereas the Languages, whoſe Grammars they have been ſo much imployed in, are ſuch as probably they ſhall ſcarce ever ſpeak or write; or if upon Occaſion this ſhould happen, they ſhall be excuſed for the Miſtakes and Faults they make in it. Would not a *Chineſe*, who took notice of this way of Breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young Gentlemen were deſign'd to be Teachers and Profeſſors of the dead Languages of foreign Countries, and not to be Men of Buſineſs in their own?

3. There is a third ſort of Men, who apply themſelves to two or three foreign, dead, (and which amongſt us are called the) learned Languages; make them their Study, and pique themſelves upon their Skill in them. No doubt thoſe who propoſe to themſelves the learning of any Language with this View, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to ſtudy the Grammar of it. I would not be miſtaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin: I grant theſe are Languages of great Uſe and Excellency, and a Man can have no Place amongſt the Learned in this Part of the World, who is a Stranger to them. But the Knowledge a Gentleman would ordinarily draw for his Uſe out of the *Roman* and *Greek* Writers, I think he may attain without ſtudying the Grammars of thoſe Tongues, and, by bare reading, may come to underſtand them ſufficiently for all his Purpoſes. How much farther he ſhall at any time be concerned to look into the Grammar and critical Niceties of either of theſe Tongues, he himſelf will be able to determine, when he comes to propoſe to himſelf the

Study

Grammar. Study of any Thing that ſhall require it. Which brings me to the other Part of the Enquiry, *viz.*

When Grammar ſhould be Taught?

To which, upon the premiſed Grounds, the Anſwer is obvious, *viz.*

That if Grammar ought to be taught at any time, it muſt be to one that can ſpeak the Language already, how elſe can he be taught the Grammar of it? This at leaſt is evident from the Practice of the Wiſe and Learned Nations amongſt the Antients. They made it a Part of Education to cultivate their own, not foreign Tongues. The *Greeks* counted all other Nations Barbarous, and had a Contempt for their Languages. And though the Greek-Learning grew in Credit amongſt the *Romans* towards the End of their Common-wealth, yet it was the *Roman* Tongue that was made the Study of their Youth: Their own Language they were to make uſe of, and therefore it was their own Language they were inſtructed and exerciſed in.

But more particularly to determine the proper Seaſon for Grammar: I do not ſee how it can reaſonably be made any one's Study, but as an Introduction to Rhetorick; when it is thought Time to put any one upon the Care of poliſhing his Tongue, and of ſpeaking better than the Illiterate, then is the Time for him to be inſtructed in the Rules of Grammar, and not before. For Grammar being to teach Men not to ſpeak, but to ſpeak correctly, and according to the exact Rules of the Tongue, which is one Part of Elegancy, there is little uſe of the one to him that has no need of the other; where Rhetorick is not neceſſary, Grammar may be ſpared. I know not why any one ſhould waſte his Time, and beat his Head about the Latin Grammar, who does not intend to be a Critick, or make Speeches, and write Diſpatches in it. When any one finds in himſelf a Neceſſity or Diſpoſition to ſtudy any foreign Language to the Bottom, and to be nicely exact in the Knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a Grammatical Survey of it. If his Uſe of it be only to underſtand ſome Books writ in it, without a critical Knowledge of the Tongue it ſelf, Reading alone, as I have ſaid, will attain this End, without charging the Mind with the multiplied Rules and Intricacies of Grammar.

§. 169. For the Exerciſe of his Writing, let him ſometimes tranſlate *Latin* into *Engliſh:* But the learning of *Latin* being nothing but the learning of Words, a very unpleaſant Buſineſs both to Young and Old, join as much other real Knowledge with it as you can, beginning ſtill with that which lies moſt obvious to the Senſes; ſuch as is the Knowledge of *Minerals*, *Plants*, and *Animals*; and particularly Timber and Fruit-Trees, their Parts, and Ways of Propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a Child, which will not be uſeleſs to the Man. But more eſpecially *Geography*, *Aſtronomy*, and *Anatomy*. But whatever you are teaching him, have a Care ſtill that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any Thing his Buſineſs, but downright Vertue, or reprove him for any Thing but Vice, or ſome apparent Tendency to it.

§. 170. But if, after all, his Fate be to go to School to get the *Latin Tongue*, 'twill be in vain to talk to you concerning the Method I think beſt to be obſerved in Schools; you muſt ſubmit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your Son; but yet by all Means obtain, if you can, that he be not employ'd in making *Latin Themes* and *Declamations*, and leaſt of all *Verſes* of any kind. You may inſiſt on it, if it will do any Good, that you have no Deſign to make him either a *Latin* Oratour, or Poet, but barely would have him underſtand perfectly a *Latin* Authour; and that you obſerve, thoſe who teach any of the modern Languages, and that with Succeſs, never amuſe their Scholars to make Speeches or Verſes either in *French* or *Italian*, their Buſineſs being *Language barely*, and not Invention.

Themes. §. 171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercis'd in making of *Themes* and *Verſes*. 1. As to *Themes*, they have, I confeſs, the Pretence of ſomething uſeful, which is to teach People to ſpeak handſomly and well on any Subject; which, if it could be attained this Way, I own, would be a great Advantage, there being nothing more becoming a Gentleman,

Gentleman, nor more useful in all the Occurrences of Life, than to be able, on any Occasion, to speak well, and to the Purpose. But this I say, that the making of *Themes*, as is usual in Schools, helps not one Jot toward it: For do but consider what 'tis, in making a *Theme*, that a young Lad is employ'd about; 'tis to make a Speech on some *Latin* Saying; as, *Omnia vincit amor*, or *Non licet in Bello bis peccare*, &c. And here the poor Lad, who wants Knowledge of those Things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from Time and Observation, must set his Invention on the Rack to say something where he knows nothing; which is a sort of *Egyptian* Tyranny, to bid them make Bricks, who have not yet any of the Materials. And therefore it is usual, in such Cases, for the poor Children to go to those of higher Forms with this Petition, *Pray give me a little Sense*; which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easie to determine. Before a Man can be in any Capacity to speak on any Subject, 'tis necessary he be acquainted with it; or else 'tis as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind Man to talk of Colours, or a deaf Man of Musick. And would you not think him a little crack'd, who would require another to make an Argument on a Moot-Point, who understands nothing of our Laws? And what, I pray, do School-Boys understand concerning those Matters, which are used to be proposed to them in their *Themes*, as Subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their Fancies? *Themes.*

§. 172. In the next Place consider the Language that their *Themes* are made in: 'Tis *Latin*, a Language foreign in their Country, and long since dead every-where: A Language which your Son, 'tis a thousand to one, shall never have an Occasion once to make a Speech in as long as he lives, after he comes to be a Man; and a Language wherein the Manner of expressing one's self is so far different from our's, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the Purity and Facility of his *English* Style. Besides that, there is now so little Room, or Use, for set Speeches in our own Language, in any Part of our *English* Business, that I can see no Pretence for this sort of Exercise in our Schools, unless it can be supposed, that the making of set *Latin* Speeches should be the Way to teach Men to speak well in *English extempore*. The Way to that I should think rather to be this: That there should be propos'd to young Gentlemen rational and useful Questions, suited to their Age and Capacities, and on Subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their Way: Such as these, when they are ripe for Exercises of this Nature, they should *extempore*, or after a little Meditation upon the Spot, speak to, without penning of any thing: For I ask, if we will examine the Effects of this Way of Learning to speak well, who speak best in any Business, when Occasion calls them to it upon any Debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down before-hand what they would say; or those, who, thinking only of the Matter, to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak *extempore*? And he that shall judge by this will be little apt to think, That the accustoming him to studied Speeches, and set Compositions, is the Way to fit a young Gentleman for Business.

§. 173. But perhaps we shall be told, 'Tis to improve and perfect them in the *Latin* Tongue. 'Tis true, that is their proper Business at School; but the making of *Themes* is not the Way to it: That perplexes their Brains about Invention of Things to be said, not about the Signification of Words to be learn'd; and when they are making a *Theme*, 'tis Thoughts they search and sweat for, and not Language. But the Learning and Mastery of a Tongue being uneasie and unpleasant enough in it self, should not be cumber'd with any other Difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, If Boys Invention be to be quicken'd by such Exercise, let them make *Themes* in *English*, where they have Facility, and a Command of Words, and will better see what kind of Thoughts they have, when put into their own Language: And if the *Latin* Tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest Way, without toiling and disgusting the Mind by so uneasie an Employment as that of making Speeches join'd to it.

§. 174. If these may be any Reasons against Children's making *Latin Themes* at School, I have much more to say, and of more Weight, against *Verses.* their

Verſes. their making *Verſes*; Verſes of any ſort: For if he has no *Genius* to *Poetry*, 'tis the moſt unreaſonable Thing in the World to torment a Child, and waſte his Time about that which can never ſucceed; and if he have a Poetick Vein, 'tis to me the ſtrangeſt thing in the World that the Father ſhould deſire or ſuffer it to be cheriſhed or improved. Methinks the Parents ſhould labour to have it ſtifled and ſuppreſſed as much as may be; and I know not what Reaſon a Father can have to wiſh his Son a Poet, who does not deſire to have him bid Defiance to all other Callings and Buſineſs: Which is not yet the worſt of the Caſe; for if he proves a ſucceſsful Rhymer, and gets once the Reputation of a Wit, I deſire it may be conſidered, what Company and Places he is like to ſpend his Time in, nay, and Eſtate too: For it is very ſeldom ſeen, that any one diſcovers Mines of Gold or Silver in *Parnaſſus*. 'Tis a pleaſant Air, but a barren Soil; and there are very few Inſtances of thoſe who have added to their Patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and Gaming, which uſually go together, are alike in this too, That they ſeldom bring any Advantage but to thoſe who have nothing elſe to live on. Men of Eſtates almoſt conſtantly go away Loſers; and 'tis well if they eſcape at a cheaper Rate than their whole Eſtates, or the greateſt Part of them. If therefore you would not have your Son the Fiddle to every jovial Company, without whom the Sparks could not reliſh their Wine, nor know how to paſs an Afternoon idlely; if you would not have him waſte his Time and Eſtate to divert others, and condemn the dirty Acres left him by his Anceſtors; I do not think you will much care he ſhould be a *Poet*, or that his School-maſter ſhould enter him in verſifying. But yet, if any one will think Poetry a deſirable Quality in his Son, and that the Study of it would raiſe his Fancy and Parts, he muſt needs yet confeſs, that, to that end, reading the excellent *Greek* and *Roman* Poets is of more Uſe than making bad Verſes of his own, in a Language that is not his own. And he whoſe Deſign it is to excel in *Engliſh* Poetry, would not, I gueſs, think the Way to it were to make his firſt Eſſays in *Latin* Verſes.

Memoriter. §. 175. Another Thing very ordinary in the vulgar Method of Grammar-Schools there is, of which I ſee no uſe at all, unleſs it be to baulk young Lads in the Way to learning Languages, which, in my Opinion, ſhould be made as eaſie and pleaſant as may be; and that which was painful in it, as much as poſſible quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great Parcels of the Authors which are taught them; wherein I can diſcover no Advantage at all, eſpecially to the Buſineſs they are upon. Languages are to be learn'd only by Reading and Talking, and not by Scraps of Authors got by heart; which, when a Man's Head is ſtuffed with, he has got the juſt Furniture of a Pedant, and 'tis the ready way to make him one; than which there is nothing leſs becoming a Gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handſome Thoughts and Sayings of others with a deal of poor Stuff of his own; which is thereby the more expoſed, and has no other Grace in it, nor will otherwiſe recommend the Speaker, than a thread-bare Ruſſet Coat would, that was ſet off with large Patches of Scarlet and glittering Brocade? Indeed, where a Paſſage comes in the Way whoſe Matter is worth Remembrance, and the Expreſſion of it very cloſe and excellent (as there are Many ſuch in the ancient Authors) it may not be amiſs to lodge it in the Minds of young Scholars, and with ſuch admirable Strokes of thoſe Great Maſters ſometimes exerciſe the Memories of School-Boys: But their Learning of their Leſſons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their Books without Choice or Diſtinction, I know not what it ſerves for, but to miſſpend their Time and Pains, and give them a Diſguſt and Averſion to their Books, wherein they find nothing but uſeleſs Trouble.

§. 176. I hear 'tis ſaid, That Children ſhould be employ'd in getting Things by heart to exerciſe and improve their Memories. I could wiſh this were ſaid with as much Authority of Reaſon as it is with Forwardneſs of Aſſurance, and that this Practice were eſtabliſhed upon good Obſervation, more than old Cuſtom: For it is evident that Strength of Memory is owing to an happy Conſtitution, and not to any habitual Improvement got by Exerciſe,

ercise. 'Tis true, what the Mind is intent upon, and, for fear of letting it slip, often imprints afresh on it self by frequent Reflection, that it is apt to retain, but still according to its own natural Strength of Retention. An Impression made on Bees-wax or Lead, will not last so long as on Brass or Steel. Indeed, if it be renew'd often, it may last the longer; but every new reflecting on it is a new Impression, and 'tis from thence one is to reckon, if one would know how long the Mind retains it. But the learning Pages of *Latin* by heart, no more fits the Memory for Retention of any thing else, than the graving of one Sentence in Lead, makes it the more capable of retaining firmly any other Characters. If such a sort of Exercise of the Memory were able to give it Strength, and improve our Parts, Players of all other People must needs have the best Memories, and be the best Company. But whether the Scraps they have got into their Heads this way, make them remember other things the better; and whether their Parts be improved proportionably to the Pains they have taken in getting by heart others Sayings, Experience will shew. Memory is so necessary to all Parts and Conditions of Life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should grow dull, and useless for want of Exercise, if Exercise would make it grow stronger. But I fear this Faculty of the Mind is not capable of much Help and Amendment in general by any Exercise or Endeavour of our's, at least not by that used upon this Pretence in Grammar-Schools. And if *Xerxes* was able to call every common Soldier by his Name, in his Army that consisted of no less than an Hundred thousand Men, I think it may be guessed, he got not this wonderful Ability by Learning his Lessons by heart when he was a Boy. This Method of exercising and improving the Memory by toilsom Repetitions without Book of what they read, is, I think, little used in the Education of Princes, which, if it had that Advantage is talked of, should be as little neglected in them as in the meanest School-boys: Princes having as much need of good Memories as any Men living, and have generally an equal Share in this Faculty with other Men; though it has never been taken care of this way. What the Mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers best, and for the Reason above-mentioned: To which, if Method and Order be joyn'd, all is done, I think, that can be, for the Help of a weak Memory; and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with a Train of other People's Words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I guess, scarce find the Profit answer half the Time and Pains imploy'd in it. *Memoriter.*

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no Exercise given to Children's Memories. I think their Memories should be employ'd, but not in learning by Roat whole Pages out of Books, which, the Lesson being once said, and that Task over, are deliver'd up again to Oblivion, and neglected for ever. This mends neither the Memory nor the Mind. What they should learn by heart out of Authors, I have above-mentioned: And such Wise and Useful Sentences being once given in charge to their Memories, they should never be suffer'd to forget again, but be often call'd to account for them: whereby, besides the Use those Sayings may be to them in their future Life, as so many good Rules and Observations, they will be taught to reflect often, and bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to make the Memory quick and useful. The Custom of frequent Reflection will keep their Minds from running a-drift, and call their Thoughts home from useless unattentive Roving: And therefore, I think, it may do well, to give them something every Day to remember; but something still, that is in it self worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of Mind, whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them often to turn their Thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wish them a better intellectual Habit.

§. 177. But under whose Care soever a Child is put to be taught, during the tender and flexible Years of his Life, this is certain, it should be one who thinks *Latin* and *Language* the least part of Education; one, who knowing how much Virtue and a well-temper'd Soul is to be preferr'd to any sort of *Learning* or *Language*, makes this chief Business to form the Mind of his Scholars, and give that a right disposition: which, if once got, though *Latin.*

Latin. all the reſt ſhould be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the reſt; and which if it be not got, and ſettled, ſo as to keep out ill and vicious Habits, *Languages* and *Sciences*, and all the other Accompliſhments of Education, will be to no purpoſe, but to make the worſe or more dangerous Man. And indeed whatever ſtir there is made about getting of *Latin*, as the great and difficult Buſineſs, his Mother may teach it him her ſelf, if ſhe will but ſpend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangeliſts in *Latin* to her: For ſhe need but buy a *Latin* Teſtament, and having got ſomebody to mark the laſt Syllable but one where it is long, in words above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation and Accenting the Words) read daily in the *Goſpels*, and then let her avoid Underſtanding them in *Latin* if ſhe can. And when ſhe underſtands the Evangeliſts in *Latin*, let her, in the ſame manner, read *Æſop*'s *Fables*, and ſo proceed on to *Eutropius*, *Juſtin*, and other ſuch Books. I do not mention this, as an Imagination of what I fanſie may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the *Latin* Tongue with eaſe got this way.

But to return to what I was ſaying: He that takes on him the charge of bringing up young Men, eſpecially young Gentlemen, ſhould have ſomething more in him than *Latin*, more than even a Knowledge in the Liberal Sciences: He ſhould be a Perſon of eminent Vertue and Prudence, and with good Senſe, have good Humour, and the Skill to carry himſelf with gravity, eaſe, and kindneſs, in a conſtant Converſation with his Pupils. But of this I have ſpoken at large in another place.

§. 178. At the ſame time that he is learning *French* and *Latin*, a Child, as has been ſaid, may alſo be enter'd in *Arithmetick*, *Geography*, *Chronology*, *Hiſtory*, and *Geometry* too. For if theſe be taught him in *French* or *Latin*, when he begins once to underſtand either of theſe Tongues, he will get a Knowledge in theſe Sciences, and the Language to boot.

Geography. *Geography*, I think, ſhould be begun with: For the learning of the Figure of the *Globe*, the Situation and Boundaries of the Four Parts of the World, and that of particular Kingdoms and Countries, being only an exerciſe of the Eyes and Memory, a Child with pleaſure will learn and retain them: And this is ſo certain, that I now live in the Houſe with a Child, whom his Mother has ſo well inſtructed this way in *Geography*, that he knew the Limits of the Four Parts of the World, could readily point, being asked, to any Country upon the Globe, or any County in the Map of *England*; knew all the great Rivers, Promontories, Straits, and Bays in the World, and could find the Longitude and Latitude of any Place, before he was ſix Years old. Theſe things, that he will thus learn by ſight, and have by roat in his Memory, are not all, I confeſs, that he is to learn upon the *Globes*. But yet it is a good ſtep and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much eaſier, when his Judgment is grown ripe enough for it: Beſides that, it gets ſo much time now; and by the pleaſure of knowing things, leads him on inſenſibly to the gaining of Languages.

§. 179. When he has the natural Parts of the Globe well fix'd in his Memory, it may then be time to begin *Arithmetick*. By the natural Parts of the Globe, I mean ſeveral Poſitions of the Parts of the Earth, and Sea, under different Names and Diſtinctions of Countries, not coming yet to thoſe Artificial and imaginary Lines, which have been invented, and are only ſuppos'd for the better improvement of that Science.

Arithmetick. §. 180. *Arithmetick* is the eaſieſt, and conſequently the firſt ſort of abſtract Reaſoning, which the Mind commonly bears, or accuſtoms it ſelf to: And is of ſo general uſe in all parts of Life and Buſineſs, that ſcarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a Man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly: He ſhould therefore begin to be exercis'd in *counting*, as ſoon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do ſomething in it every Day, till he is Maſter of the Art of *Numbers*. When he underſtands *Addition* and *Subſtraction*, he may then be advanced farther in *Geography*, and after he is acquainted with the *Poles*, *Zones*, *Parallel Circles*, and *Meridians*, be taught *Longitude* and *Latitude*, and by them be made to underſtand the uſe of Maps, and by the Numbers placed on their Sides, to know the reſpective Situation of Countries, and how to find them out on the Terreſtrial

ſtrial Globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be enter'd in the Celeſtial; and there going over all the Circles again, with a more particular Obſervation of the Ecliptick, or Zodiack, to fix them all very clearly and diſtinctly in his Mind, he may be taught the Figure and Poſition of the ſeveral Conſtellations, which may be ſhew'd him firſt upon the Globe, and then in the Heavens. *Aſtronomy.*

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the Conſtellations of this our Hemiſphere, it may be time to give him ſome Notions of this our Planetary World, and to that purpoſe it may not be amiſs to make him a Draught of the *Copernican* Syſtem, and therein explain to him the Situation of the Planets, their reſpective Diſtances from the Sun, the Centre of their Revolutions. This will prepare him to underſtand the Motion and Theory of the Planets, the moſt eaſie and natural Way. For ſince Aſtronomers no longer doubt of the Motion of the Planets about the Sun, it is fit he ſhould proceed upon that Hypotheſis which is not only the ſimpleſt and leaſt perplexed for a Learner, but alſo the likelieſt to be true in it ſelf. But in this as in all other parts of Inſtruction, great Care muſt be taken with Children, to begin with that which is plain and ſimple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and ſettle that well in their Heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that Science. Give them firſt one ſimple Idea, and ſee that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add ſome other ſimple Idea, which lies next in your way to what you aim at, and ſo proceeding by gentle and inſenſible Steps, Children without Confuſion and Amazement will have their Underſtandings opened, and their Thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learn'd any thing himſelf, there is no ſuch way to fix it in his Memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to ſet him to teach it others.

§. 181. When he has once got ſuch an Acquaintance with the Globes, as is above-mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in *Geometry*; wherein I think the Six firſt Books of *Euclid* enough for him to be taught. For I am in ſome doubt, whether more to a Man of Buſineſs be neceſſary or uſeful. At leaſt if he have a Genius and Inclination to it, being enter'd ſo far by his Tutour, he will be able to go on of himſelf without a Teacher. *Geometry.*

The *Globes* therefore muſt be ſtudied, that diligently, and I think may be begun betimes, if the Tutour will but be careful to diſtinguiſh, what the Child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a Rule, that perhaps will go a pretty way (*viz.*) That Children may be taught any thing that falls under their Senſes, eſpecially their Sight, as far as their Memories only are exerciſed: And thus a Child very young may learn, which is the *Æquator*, which the *Meridian*, &c. which *Europe*, and which *England* upon the Globes, as ſoon almoſt as he knows the Rooms of the Houſe he lives in, if Care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to ſet him upon a new Part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learn'd and fix'd in his Memory.

§. 182. With Geography *Chronology* ought to go hand in hand. I mean the general part of it, ſo that he may have in his Mind a view of the whole current of time, and the ſeveral conſiderable *Epochs* that are made uſe of in Hiſtory. Without theſe two, Hiſtory, which is the great Miſtreſs of Prudence and Civil Knowledge; and ought to be the proper Study of a Gentleman, or Man of Buſineſs in the World; without Geography and *Chronology*, I ſay, Hiſtory will be very ill retained, and very little uſeful; but be only a Jumble of Matters of Fact, confuſedly heaped together without Order or Inſtruction. 'Tis by theſe two, that the Actions of Mankind are ranked into their proper Places of Times and Countries, under which Circumſtances, they are not only much eaſier kept in the Memory; but in that natural Order, are only capable to afford thoſe Obſervations, which make a Man the better and the abler for reading them. *Chronology.*

§. 183. When I ſpeak of *Chronology* as a Science he ſhould be perfect in, I do not mean the little Controverſies that are in it. Theſe are endleſs, and

Chronology. moſt of them of ſo little Importance to a Gentleman, as not to deſerve to be inquir'd into, were they capable of an eaſy Deciſion. And therefore all that learned Noiſe and Duſt of the Chronologiſt is wholly to be avoided. The moſt uſeful Book I have ſeen in that part of Learning, is a ſmall Treatiſe of *Strauchius*, which is printed in Twelves, under the Title of *Breviarium Chronologicum*, out of which may be ſelected all that is neceſſary to be taught a young Gentleman concerning *Chronology*; for all that is in that Treatiſe a Learner need not be cumber'd with. He has in him the moſt remarkable or uſual *Epochs* reduced all to that of the *Julian Period*, which is the eaſieſt and plaineſt, and ſureſt Method that can be made uſe of in *Chronology*. To this Treatiſe of *Strauchius*, *Helvicus*'s Tables may be added, as a Book to be turned to on all Occaſions.

Hiſtory. §. 184. As nothing teaches, ſo nothing delights more than Hiſtory. The firſt of theſe recommends it to the Study of Grown Men, the latter makes me think it the fitteſt for a young Lad, who, as ſoon as he is inſtructed in Chronology, and acquainted with the ſeveral *Epochs* in uſe in this part of the World, and can reduce them to the *Julian Period*, ſhould then have ſome *Latin Hiſtory* put into his Hand. The choice ſhould be directed by the Eaſineſs of the Stile; for where ever he begins, Chronology will keep it from Confuſion; and the Pleaſantneſs of the Subject inviting him to read, the Language will inſenſibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneaſineſs, which Children ſuffer, where they are put into Books beyond their Capacity, ſuch as are the *Roman* Oratours and Poets, only to learn the *Roman* Language. When he has by reading maſter'd the eaſier, ſuch perhaps as *Juſtin*, *Eutropius*, *Quintus Curtius*, *&c.* the next Degree to theſe, will give him no great Trouble: And thus by a gradual Progreſs from the plaineſt and eaſieſt *Hiſtorians*, he may at laſt come to read the moſt difficult and ſublime of the *Latin* Authors, ſuch as are *Tully*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*.

Ethicks. §. 185. The Knowledge of *Vertue*, all along from the beginning, in all the Inſtances he is capable of, being taught him, more by Practice than Rules; and the Love of Reputation inſtead of ſatisfying his Appetite, being made habitual in him; I know not whether he ſhould read any other Diſcourſes of Morality, but what he finds in the Bible; or have any Syſtem of *Ethicks* put into his Hand, till he can read *Tully*'s *Offices*, not as a School-Boy to learn *Latin*, but as one that would be informed in the Principles and Precepts of Vertue, for the Conduct of his Life.

Civil-Law. §. 186. When he has pretty well digeſted *Tully*'s *Offices*, and added to it *Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis*, it may be ſeaſonable to ſet him upon *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis*, or which perhaps is the better of the two, *Puffendorf de Jure naturali & Gentium*; wherein he will be inſtructed in the natural Rights of Men, and the Original and Foundations of Society, and the Duties reſulting from thence. This *general Part of Civil Law* and Hiſtory, are Studies which a Gentleman ſhould not barely touch at, but conſtantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A Vertuous and well behaved young Man, that is well verſed in the *general Part of the Civil Law* (which concerns not the Chicane of private Caſes, but the Affairs and Intercourſe of civilized Nations in general, grounded upon Principles of Reaſon) underſtands *Latin* well, and can write a good Hand, one may turn looſe into the World, with great aſſurance that he will find Imployment and Eſteem every where.

Law. §. 187. It would be ſtrange to ſuppoſe an *Engliſh* Gentleman ſhould be ignorant of the *Law* of his Country. This, whatever Station he is in, is ſo requiſite, that from a Juſtice of the Peace, to a Miniſter of State, I know no Place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the Chicane or wrangling and captious part of the *Law:* a Gentleman, whoſe Buſineſs is to ſeek the true Meaſures of Right and Wrong, and not the Arts how to avoid doing the one, and ſecure himſelf in doing the other, ought to be as far from ſuch a Study of the *Law*, as he is concerned diligently to apply himſelf to that wherein he may be ſerviceable to his Country. And to that purpoſe, I think the right way for a Gentleman to ſtudy *Our Law*, which he does not deſign for his Calling, is to take a View of our *Engliſh* Conſtitution and Government,

vernment, in the ancient Books of the *Common Law*; and ſome more modern Writers, who out of them have given an account of this Government. And having got a true Idea of that, then to read our Hiſtory, and with it joyn in every King's Reign the *Laws* then made. This will give an inſight into the reaſon of our *Statutes*, and ſhew the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have. *Law.*

§. 188. *Rhetorick* and *Logick* being the Arts, that in the ordinary method uſually follow immediately after Grammar, it may perhaps be wonder'd that I have ſaid ſo little of them. The Reaſon is, becauſe of the little Advantage young People receive by them: For I have ſeldom or never obſerved any one to get the Skill of reaſoning well or ſpeaking handſomly, by ſtudying thoſe Rules which pretend to teach it: And therefore I would have a young Gentleman take a View of them in the ſhorteſt Syſtems could be found, without dwelling long on the Contemplation and Study of thoſe Formalities. Right Reaſoning is founded on ſomething elſe than the *Predicaments* and *Predicables*, and does not conſiſt in talking in *Mode* and *Figure* it ſelf. But 'tis beſides my preſent Buſineſs to enlarge upon this Speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand; If you would have your Son *reaſon well*, let him read *Chillingworth*; and if you would have him ſpeak well, let him be converſant in *Tully*, to give him the true *Idea* of *Eloquence*; and let him read thoſe Things that are well writ in *Engliſh*, to perfect his Style in the Purity of our Language. *Rhetorick. Logick.*

§. 189. If the Uſe and End of right Reaſoning, be to have right Notions and a right Judgment of Things; to diſtinguiſh betwixt Truth and Falſhood, Right and Wrong, and to act accordingly; be ſure not to let your Son be bred up in the Art and Formality of diſputing, either practiſing it himſelf, or admiring it in others; unleſs inſtead of an able Man, you deſire to have him an inſignificant Wrangler, Opiniater in Diſcourſe, and priding himſelf in contradicting others; or, which is worſe, queſtioning every Thing, and thinking there is no ſuch Thing as Truth to be ſought, but only Victory in diſputing. There cannot be any Thing ſo diſingenuous, ſo misbecoming a Gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational Creature, as not to yield to plain Reaſon, and the Conviction of clear Arguments. Is there any Thing more inconſiſtent with civil Converſation and the end of all Debate, than not to take an Anſwer, though never ſo full and ſatisfactory; but ſtill to go on with the Diſpute as long as equivocal Sounds can furniſh [a *Medius terminus*] a Term to wrangle with on the one Side, or a Diſtinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, Senſe or Nonſenſe, agreeing with, or contrary to what he had ſaid before, it matters not. For this in ſhort is the Way and Perfection of Logical Diſputes, That the Opponent never takes any Anſwer, nor the Reſpondent ever yields to any Argument. This neither of them muſt do, whatever becomes of Truth or Knowledge, unleſs he will paſs for a poor baffl'd Wretch, and lie under the Diſgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirm'd, which is the great Aim and Glory in diſputing. Truth is to be found and ſupported by a mature and due Conſideration of Things themſelves, and not by artificial Terms and Ways of arguing: Theſe lead not Men ſo much into the Diſcovery of Truth, as into a captious and fallacious Uſe of doubtful Words, which is the moſt uſeleſs and moſt offenſive Way of talking, and ſuch as leaſt ſuits a Gentleman or a Lover of Truth of any Thing in the World.

There can ſcarce be a greater Defect in a Gentleman, than not to expreſs himſelf well either in Writing or Speaking. But yet, I think, I may ask my Reader, Whether he doth not know a great many who live upon their Eſtates, and ſo, with the Name, ſhould have the Qualities, of Gentlemen, who cannot ſo much as tell a Story as they ſhould, much leſs ſpeak clearly and perſwaſively in any Buſineſs? This, I think, not to be ſo much their Fault, as the Fault of their Education; for I muſt, without Partiality, do my Country-men this Right, That where they apply themſelves, I ſee none of their Neighbours out-go them. They have been taught *Rhetorick*, but yet never taught how to expreſs themſelves handſomly with their Tongues or Pens in the Language they are always to uſe; as if the Names of the Figures, that

embelliſh'd

Rhetorick. Logick. embelliſh'd the Diſcourſes of thoſe who underſtood the Art of Speaking, were the very Art and Skill of ſpeaking well. This, as all other Things of Practice, is to be learn'd not by a few or a great many Rules given, but by Exerciſe and Application according to good Rules, or rather Patterns, till Habits are got, and a Facility of doing it well.

Style. Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiſs, to make Children, as ſoon as they are capable of it, often to tell a Story of any Thing they know; and to correct at firſt the moſt remarkable Fault they are guilty of in their Way of putting it together. When that Fault is cured, then to ſhew them the next, and ſo on, till one after another, all, at leaſt the groſs ones, are mended. When they can tell Tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The Fables of *Æſop*, the only Book almoſt that I know fit for Children, may afford them Matter for this Exerciſe of writing *Engliſh*, as well as for reading and tranſlating to enter them in the *Latin* Tongue. When they are got paſt the Faults of Grammar, and can join in a continued coherent Diſcourſe the ſeveral Parts of a Story, without bald and unhandſom Forms of Tranſition (as is uſual) often repeated, he that deſires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the firſt Step to ſpeaking well, and needs no Invention, may have recourſe to *Tully*, and by putting in Practice thoſe Rules which that maſter of Eloquence gives in his Firſt Book *De Inventione*, §. 20. make them know wherein the Skill and Graces of an handſome Narrative, according to the ſeveral Subjects and Deſigns of it, lie. Of each of which Rules fit Examples may be found out, and therein they may be ſhewn how others have practis'd them. The ancient Claſſick Authors afford Plenty of ſuch Examples, which they ſhould be made not only to tranſlate, but have ſet before them as Patterns for their daily Imitation.

When they underſtand how to write *Engliſh* with due Connection, Propriety and Order, and are pretty well Maſters of a tolerable narrative Stile, they may be advanced to writing of Letters; wherein they ſhould not be put upon any Strains of Wit or Compliment, but taught to expreſs their own plain eaſy Senſe, without any Incoherence, Confuſion or Roughneſs. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raiſe their Thoughts, have ſet before them the Example of *Voitures* for the Entertainment of their Friends at a diſtance, with Letters of Complement, Mirth, Rallery or Diverſion; and *Tully*'s *Epiſtles*, as the beſt Pattern, whether for Buſineſs or Converſation. The writing of Letters has ſo much to do in all the Occurrences of Humane Life, that no Gentleman can avoid ſhewing himſelf in this kind of writing. Occaſions will daily force him to make this uſe of his Pen, which, beſides the Conſequences, that, in his Affairs, his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a ſeverer Examination of his Breeding, Senſe, and Abilities, than oral Diſcourſes; whoſe tranſient Faults dying for the moſt Part with the Sound that gives them Life, and ſo not ſubject to a ſtrict Review, more eaſily eſcape Obſervation and Cenſure.

Letters.

Had the Methods of Education been directed to their right End, one would have thought this ſo neceſſary a Part could not have been neglected, whilſt Themes and Verſes in *Latin*, of no uſe at all, were ſo conſtantly every where preſſed, to the racking of Childrens Inventions beyond their Strength, and hindering their chearful Progreſs in learning the Tongues by unnatural Difficulties. But Cuſtom has ſo ordain'd it, and who dares diſobey? And would it not be very unreaſonable to require of a learn'd Country School-Maſter (who has all the Tropes and Figures in *Farnaby*'s *Rhetorick* at his Fingers ends) to teach his Scholar to expreſs himſelf handſomly in *Engliſh*, when it appears to be ſo little his Buſineſs or Thought, that the Boy's Mother (deſpiſed, 'tis like, as illiterate for not having read a Syſtem of *Logick* and *Rhetorick*) out-does him in it?

Engliſh.

To write and ſpeak correctly, gives a Grace, and gains a favourable Attention to what one has to ſay: And ſince 'tis *Engliſh* that an *Engliſh* Gentleman will have conſtant uſe of, that is the Language he ſhould chiefly cultivate, and wherein moſt Care ſhould be taken to poliſh and perfect his Style. To ſpeak or write better *Latin* than *Engliſh* may make a Man be talk'd of, but he would find it more to his Purpoſe to expreſs himſelf well in his own Tongue,

Tongue that he uſes every Moment, than to have the vain Commendation of others for a very inſignificant Quality. This I find univerſally neglected, and no Care taken any where to improve young Men in their own Language, that they may throughly underſtand and be Maſters of it. If any one among us have a Facility or Purity more than ordinary in his Mother-Tongue, it is owing to Chance, or his Genius, or any thing, rather than to his Education or any Care of his Teacher. To mind what *Engliſh* his Pupil ſpeaks or writes, is below the Dignity of one bred up amongſt *Greek* and *Latin*, though he have but little of them himſelf. Theſe are the learned Languages fit only for learned Men to meddle with and teach; *Engliſh* is the Language of illiterate Vulgar: Though yet we ſee the Polity of ſome of our Neighbours hath not thought it beneath the publick Care, to promote and reward the Improvement of their own Language. Poliſhing and enriching their Tongue, is no ſmall Buſineſs amongſt them; it hath Colleges and Stipends appointed it, and there is raiſed amongſt them a great Ambition and Emulation of writing correctly: And we ſee what they are come to by it, and how far they have ſpread one of the worſt Languages poſſibly in this Part of the World, if we look upon it as it was in ſome few Reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The Great Men amongſt the *Romans* were daily exerciſing themſelves in their own Language; and we find yet upon Record, the Names of Oratours, who taught ſome of their Emperours *Latin*, though it were their Mother-Tongue. *Engliſh.*

'Tis plain the *Greeks* were yet more nice in their's: All other Speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign Language appears to have been ſtudied or valued amongſt that learned and acute People; tho' it be paſt doubt that they borrowed their Learning and Philoſophy from abroad.

I am not here ſpeaking againſt *Greek* and *Latin*; I think they ought to be ſtudied, and the *Latin* at leaſt underſtood well by every Gentleman. But whatever foreign Languages a young Man meddles with (and the more he knows the better) that which he ſhould critically ſtudy, and labour to get a Facility, Clearneſs and Elegancy to expreſs himſelf in, ſhould be his own, and to this Purpoſe he ſhould daily be exercis'd in it.

§. 190. *Natural Philoſophy*, as a ſpeculative Science, I imagine we have none, and perhaps I may think I have Reaſon to ſay we never ſhall be able to make a Science of it. The Works of Nature are contriv'd by a Wiſdom, and operate by Ways too far ſurpaſſing our Faculties to diſcover, or Capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a Science. *Natural Philoſophy* being the Knowledge of the Principles, Properties and Operations of Things as they are in themſelves, I imagine there are Two Parts of it, one comprehending Spirits, with their Nature and Qualities; and the other *Bodies*. The firſt of theſe is uſually referr'd to *Metaphyſicks*: But under what Title ſoever the Conſideration of *Spirits* comes, I think it ought to go before the Study of Matter and Body, not as a Science that can be methodiz'd into a Syſtem, and treated of upon Principles of Knowledge; but as an Enlargement of our Minds towards a truer and fuller Comprehenſion of the intellectual World, to which we are led both by Reaſon and Revelation. And ſince the cleareſt and largeſt Diſcoveries we have of other *Spirits*, beſides God and our own Souls, is imparted to us from Heaven by Revelation, I think the Information, that at leaſt young People ſhould have of them, ſhould be taken from that Revelation. To this Purpoſe, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good Hiſtory of the Bible for young People to read; wherein if every Thing that is fit to be put into it were laid down in its due Order of Time, and ſeveral Things omitted which are ſuited only to riper Age, that Confuſion which is uſually produced by promiſcuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And alſo this other Good obtained, that by reading of it conſtantly there would be inſtilled into the Minds of Children a Notion and Belief of *Spirits*, they having ſo much to do in all the Tranſactions of that Hiſtory, which will be a good Preparation to the Study of *Bodies*. For without the Notion and Allowance of *Spirit*, our Philoſophy will be lame and defective in one main Part of it, when *Natural Philoſophy.*

Natural Philoſophy.

when it leaves out the Contemplation of the moſt excellent and powerful Part of the Creation.

§. 191. Of this *Hiſtory of the Bible* I think too it would be well, if there were a ſhort and plain Epitome made, containing the chief and moſt material Heads for Children to be converſant in as ſoon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into ſome Notion of *Spirits*, yet is not contrary to what I ſaid above, That I would not have Children troubled, whilſt young, with Notions of *Spirits*, whereby my Meaning was, That I think it inconvenient that their yet tender Minds ſhould receive early Impreſſions of *Goblins*, *Spectres*, and *Apparitions*, wherewith their Maids, and thoſe about them, are apt to fright them into a Compliance with their Orders, which often proves a great Inconvenience to them all their Lives after, by ſubjecting their Minds to Frights, fearful Apprehenſions, Weakneſs, and Superſtition; which, when coming abroad into the World and Converſation, they grow weary and aſham'd of, it not ſeldom happens, that to make, as they think, a through Cure, and eaſe themſelves of a Load which has ſate ſo heavy on them, they throw away the Thoughts of all *Spirits* together, and ſo run into the other but worſe Extream.

§. 192. The Reaſon why I would have this premiſed to the *Study of Bodies*, and the Doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed, before young Men be enter'd in *Natural Philoſophy*, is, becauſe Matter, being a Thing that all our Senſes are conſtantly converſant with, it is ſo apt to poſſeſs the Mind, and exclude all other Beings, but Matter, that Prejudice, grounded on ſuch Principles, often leaves no Room for the Admittance of Spirits, or the allowing any ſuch Things as *immaterial Beings in rerum natura*; when yet it is evident, that by mere Matter and Motion, none of the great Phænomenons of Nature can be reſolved, to inſtance but in that common one of Gravity, which I think impoſſible to be explained by any natural Operation of Matter, or any other Law of Motion, but the poſitive Will of a ſuperior Being ſo ordering it. And therefore ſince the Deluge cannot be well explained, without admitting ſomething out of the ordinary Courſe of Nature, I propoſe it to be conſidered, whether God's altering the Centre of Gravity in the Earth for a Time (a Thing as intelligible as Gravity it ſelf, which perhaps a little Variation of Cauſes unknown to us would produce) will not more eaſily account for *Noah*'s Flood, than any *Hypotheſis* yet made uſe of to ſolve it. I hear the great Objection to this is, that it would produce but a partial Deluge. But the Alteration of the Centre of Gravity once allow'd, 'tis no hard Matter to conceive, that the Divine Power might make the Centre of Gravity, plac'd at a due Diſtance from the Centre of the Earth, move round it in a convenient Space of Time, whereby the Flood would become univerſal, and, as I think, anſwer all the Phænomenons of the Deluge as deliver'd by *Moſes*, at an eaſier Rate than thoſe many hard Suppoſitions that are made uſe of to explain it. But this is not a Place for that Argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to ſhew the Neceſſity of having recourſe to ſomething beyond bare Matter and its Motion in the Explication of Nature; to which the Notions of Spirits and their Power, as deliver'd in the Bible, where ſo much is attributed to their Operation, may be a fit Preparative, reſerving to a fitter Opportunity a fuller Explication of this *Hypotheſis*, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be ſuppoſed in the Hiſtory of the Flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

§. 193. But to return to the Study of *Natural Philoſophy*; Though the World be full of Syſtems of it, yet I cannot ſay, I know any one which can be taught a young Man as a Science, wherein he may be ſure to find Truth and Certainty, which is what all Sciences give an Expectation of. I do not hence conclude, that none of them are to be read; it is neceſſary for a Gentleman, in this learned Age, to look into ſome of them to fit himſelf for Converſation: But whether that of *Des Cartes* be put into his Hands, as that which is moſt in faſhion, or it be thought fit to give him a ſhort View of that and ſeveral other alſo; I think the Syſtems of *Natural Philoſophy*, that have obtained in this Part of the World, are to be read more to know the *Hypotheſes*, and to underſtand the Terms and Ways of talking of the ſeveral Sects,

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than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehenſive, ſcientifical and ſatisfactory Knowledge of the Works of Nature: Only this may be ſaid, that the modern *Corpuſcularians* talk, in moſt Things, more intelligibly than the *Peripateticks*, who poſſeſſed the Schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himſelf with the ſeveral Opinions of the Ancients, may conſult Dr. *Cudworth*'s *Intellectual Syſtem*, wherein that very learned Author hath with ſuch Accurateneſs and Judgment collected and explained the Opinions of the Greek Philoſophers, that what Principles they built on, and what were the chief *Hypotheſes* that divided them, is better to be ſeen in him, than any where elſe that I know. But I would not deter any one from the ſtudy of Nature, becauſe all the Knowledge we have, or poſſibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a Science. There are very many things in it, that are convenient and neceſſary to be known to a Gentleman: And a great many other, that will abundantly reward the Pains of the Curious with Delight and Advantage. But theſe, I think, are rather to be found amongſt ſuch Writers, as have imploy'd themſelves in making rational Experiments and Obſervations, than in ſtarting barely ſpeculative Syſtems. Such Writings therefore, as many of Mr. *Boyle*'s are, with others that have writ of *Husbandry*, *Planting*, *Gardening*, and the like, may be fit for a Gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himſelf with ſome of the Syſtems of the *Natural Philoſophy* in faſhion. *Natural Philoſophy.*

§. 194. Though the Syſtems of *Phyſicks*, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for Certainty or Science in any Treatiſe, which ſhall pretend to give us a Body of *Natural Philoſophy* from the firſt Principles of Bodies in general; yet the incomparable Mr. *Newton* has ſhewn, how far Mathematicks, applied to ſome Parts of Nature, may, upon Principles that Matter of Fact juſtifies, carry us in the knowledge of ſome, as I may ſo call them, particular Provinces of the Incomprehenſible Univerſe. And if others could give ſo good and clear an account of other parts of *Nature*, as he has of this our Planetary World, and the moſt conſiderable *Phænomena* obſervable in it, in his admirable Book *Philoſophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica*, we might in time hope to be furniſhed with more true and certain Knowledge in ſeveral Parts of this ſtupendous Machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few that have Mathematicks enough to underſtand his Demonſtrations; yet the moſt accurate Mathematicians, who have examin'd them, allowing them to be ſuch, his Book will deſerve to be read, and give no ſmall light and pleaſure to thoſe, who willing to underſtand the Motions, Properties, and Operations of the great Maſſes of Matter in this our Solar Syſtem, will but carefully mind his Concluſions, which may be depended on as Propoſitions well proved.

§. 195. This is, in ſhort, what I have thought concerning a young Gentleman's Studies; wherein it will poſſibly be wondered, that I ſhould omit *Greek*, ſince amongſt the *Grecians* is to be found the Original as it were, and Foundation of all that Learning which we have in this part of the World. I grant it ſo; and will add, That no Man can paſs for a Scholar, that is ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue. But I am not here conſidering of the Education of a profeſs'd Scholar, but of a Gentleman, to whom *Latin* and *French*, as the World now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be neceſſary. When he comes to be a Man, if he has a mind to carry his Studies farther, and look into the *Greek* Learning, he will then eaſily get that Tongue himſelf: And if he has not that Inclination, his learning of it under a Tutour will be but loſt Labour, and much of his Time and Pains ſpent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away, as ſoon as he is at Liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongſt Scholars themſelves, who retain the *Greek* they carried from School: or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect underſtanding of *Greek* Authors? *Greek.*

To conclude this Part, which concerns a Young Gentleman's Studies; his Tutour ſhould remember, that his buſineſs is not ſo much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raiſe in him a Love and Eſteem of Knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himſelf, when he has a mind to it.

Greek. The Thoughts of a Judicious Author on the ſubject of Languages, I ſhall here give the Reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expreſſing them. He ſays, † 'One can ſcarce burden Children too much with the Knowledge 'of Languages. They are uſeful to Men of all Conditions, and they equal- 'ly open them the Enterance, either to the moſt profound, or the more eaſy 'and entertaining parts of Learning. If this irkſome Study be put off to a 'little more advanced Age, Young men either have not reſolution enough 'to apply to it out of Choice; or ſteadineſs to carry it on. And if any one 'has the Gift of Perſeverance, it is not without the inconvenience of ſpend- 'ing that time upon Languages, which is deſtin'd to other Uſes: And he 'confines to the ſtudy of Words that Age of his Life that is above it, and 'requires Things; at leaſt, it is the loſing the beſt and beautifulleſt ſeaſon of 'one's Life. This large foundation of Languages cannot be well laid, but 'when every thing makes an eaſie and deep Impreſſion on the Mind; when 'the Memory is freſh, ready, and tenacious; when the Head and Heart 'are as yet free from Cares, Paſſions, and Deſigns; and thoſe on whom the 'Child depends have Authority enough to keep him cloſe to a long con- 'tinued Application. I am perſuaded that the ſmall number of truly 'learned, and the multitude of ſuperficial Pretenders, is owing to the neg- 'lect of this.

† *La Bruyer Moeurs de ce ſiecle, p. 577, 662.*

I think every body will agree with this obſerving Gentleman, that Languages are the proper ſtudy of our firſt Years. But 'tis to be conſidered by the Parents and Tutours, what Tongues 'ris fit the Child ſhould learn. For it muſt be confeſſed, that it is fruitleſs Pains, and loſs of time to learn a Language which, in the courſe of Life that he is deſigned to, he is never like to make uſe of, or which one may gueſs by his Temper he will wholly neglect and loſe again, as ſoon as an approach to Manhood, ſetting him free from a Governour, ſhall put him into the Hands of his own Inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned Tongues; or diſpoſe him to mind any other Language, but what daily uſe or ſome particular neceſſity ſhall force upon him.

But yet for the ſake of thoſe who are deſigned to be Scholars, I will add, what the ſame Author ſubjoyns to make good his foregoing Remark. It will deſerve to be conſidered by all who deſire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit Rule for Tutours to inculcate, and leave with their Pupils to guide their future Studies.

'The Study, *ſays he*, of the Original Text can never be ſufficiently re- 'commended. 'Tis the ſhorteſt, ſureſt, and moſt agreeable way to all ſorts 'of Learning. Draw from the Spring-Head, and take not things at ſecond- 'hand. Let the Writings of the great Maſters be never laid aſide, dwell 'upon them, ſettle them in your Mind, and cite them upon occaſion; make 'it your Buſineſs throughly to underſtand them in their full Extent, and all 'their Circumſtances: Acquaint your ſelf fully with the Principles of Origi- 'nal Authors; bring them to a Conſiſtency, and then do you your ſelf 'make your Deductions. In this ſtate were the firſt Commentators, and 'do not you reſt till you bring your ſelf to the ſame. Content not your 'ſelf with thoſe borrowed Lights, nor guide your ſelf by their Views, but 'where your own fails you, and leaves you in the Dark. Their Explications 'are not your's, and will give you the ſlip. On the contrary, your own 'Obſervations are the Product of your own Mind, where they will abide, 'and be ready at hand upon all Occaſions in Converſe, Conſultation, and 'Diſpute. Loſe not the Pleaſure it is to ſee that you were not ſtop'd in your 'reading, but by Difficulties that are invincible; where the Commentators 'and Scholiaſts themſelves are at a ſtand, and have nothing to ſay. Thoſe 'copious Expoſitors of other Places, who, with a vain and pompous Over- 'flow of Learning, pour'd out on Paſſages plain and eaſy in themſelves, 'are very free of their Words and Pains where there is no need. Convince 'your ſelf fully by this ordering your Studies, that 'tis nothing but Mens 'lazineſs which hath encouraged Pedantry to cram, rather than enrich 'Libraries, and to bury good Authors under heaps of Notes and Commen- 'taries, and you will perceive that Sloth herein hath acted againſt it ſelf

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'and its own Intereſt, by multiplying Reading, and Enquiries, and encrea- *Greek.*
'ſing the Pains it endeavour'd to avoid.

This, tho' it may ſeem to concern none but direct Scholars, is of ſo great Moment for the right ordering of their Education and Studies, that I hope I ſhall not be blamed for inſerting of it here, eſpecially if it be conſidered, that it may be of uſe to Gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the Surface, and get to themſelves a ſolid, ſatisfactory, and maſterly inſight in any part of Learning.

Order and Conſtancy are ſaid to make the great difference between one Man and another: This I am ſure, nothing ſo much clears a Learner's Way, helps him ſo much on in it, and makes him go ſo eaſie and ſo far in any Enquiry, as a good *Method*. His Governour ſhould take Pains to make him ſenſible of this, accuſtom him to Order, and teach him *Method* in all the Applications of his Thoughts; ſhew him wherein it lies, and the Advantages of it; acquaint him with the ſeveral ſorts of it, either from General to Particulars, or from Particulars to what is more General; exerciſe him in both of them; and make him ſee, in what Caſes each different *Method* is moſt proper, and to what Ends it beſt ſerves. *Method.*

In Hiſtory the Order of Time ſhould govern; in Philoſophical Enquiries, that of Nature, which in all Progreſſion is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and ſo it is in the Mind, from the Knowledge it ſtands poſſeſſed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and ſo on to what it aims at, by the ſimpleſt and moſt uncompounded parts it can divide the Matter into. To this purpoſe, it will be of great uſe to his Pupil to accuſtom him to diſtinguiſh well, that is, to have diſtinct Notions, where-ever the Mind can find any real difference, but as carefully to avoid Diſtinctions in Terms, where he has not diſtinct and different clear Ideas.

§. 196. Beſides what is to be had from Study and Books, there are other *Accompliſhments* neceſſary for a Gentleman, to be got by exerciſe, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which Maſters muſt be had.

Dancing being that which gives *graceful Motions* all the Life, and above all things Manlineſs, and a becoming Confidence to young Children, I think it cannot be learn'd too early, after they are once of an Age and Strength capable of it. But you muſt be ſure to have a good Maſter, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a Freedom and Eaſineſs to all the Motions of the Body. One that teaches not this, is worſe than none at all, Natural Unfaſhionableneſs being much better than apiſh, affected Poſtures; and I think it much more paſſable to put off the Hat, and make a Leg, like an honeſt Country Gentleman, than like an ill-faſhion'd Dancing-Maſter. For, as for the jigging part, and the Figures of Dances, I count that little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect *graceful Carriage*. *Dancing.*

§. 197. *Muſick* is thought to have ſome affinity with Dancing, and a good Hand, upon ſome Inſtruments, is by many People mightily valued. But it waſtes ſo much of a young Man's time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it; and engages often in ſuch odd Company, that many think it much better ſpared: And I have, amongſt Men of Parts and Buſineſs, ſo ſeldom heard any one commended, or eſteemed for having an Excellency in *Muſick*, that amongſt all thoſe things, that ever came into the Liſt of Accompliſhments, I think I may give it the laſt place. Our ſhort Lives will not ſerve us for the Attainment of all things; nor can our Minds be always intent on ſomething to be learn'd. The weakneſs of our Conſtitutions, both of Mind and Body, requires that we ſhould be often unbent: And he that will make a good uſe of any part of his Life, muſt allow a large Portion of it to Recreation. At leaſt this muſt not be denied to young People, unleſs, whilſt you with too much haſte make them old, you have the diſpleaſure to ſet them in their Graves, or a ſecond Childhood, ſooner than you could wiſh. And therefore, I think, that the Time and Pains allotted to ſerious Improvements, ſhould be employ'd about things of moſt Uſe and Conſequence, and that too in the Methods the moſt eaſie and ſhort that could be at any rate obtained: And per- *Muſick.*

Muſick. haps, as I have above ſaid, it would be none of the leaſt Secrets of Education, to make the Exerciſes in the Body and the Mind, the *Recreation* one to another. I doubt not but that ſomething might be done in it, by a prudent Man that would well conſider the Temper and Inclination of his Pupil. For he that is wearied either with Study or Dancing, does not deſire preſently to go to ſleep; but to do ſomething elſe which may divert and delight him. But this muſt be always remember'd, that nothing can come into the account of *Recreation*, that is not done with Delight.

§. 198. *Fencing*, and *Riding* the *Great-Horſe*, are look'd upon as ſo neceſſary Parts of Breeding, that it would be thought a great *Omiſſion* to neglect them: The latter of the two being for the moſt part to be learn'd only in great Towns, is one of the beſt Exerciſes for Health which is to be had in thoſe Places of Eaſe and Luxury: And, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young Gentleman's Employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a Man a firm and graceful Seat on Horſe-back, and to make him able to teach his Horſe to ſtop and turn quick, and to reſt on his Hanches, is of uſe to a Gentleman both in Peace and War. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a Buſineſs of, and deſerve to take up more of his time than ſhould barely for his Health be employed at due intervals in ſome ſuch vigorous Exerciſe, I ſhall leave to the Diſcretion of Parents and Tutours, who will do well to remember, in all the Parts of Education, that moſt Time and Application is to be beſtowed on that which is like to be of greateſt Conſequence, and frequenteſt Uſe, in the ordinary courſe and occurrences of that Life the young Man is deſigned for.

Fencing. §. 199. As for *Fencing*, it ſeems to me a good Exerciſe for Health, but dangerous to the Life. The Confidence of their Skill being apt to engage in Quarrels thoſe that think they have learned to uſe their Swords. This Preſumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on Point of Honour, and ſlight or no Provocations. Young Men in their warm Blood are forward to think, they have in vain learned to Fence, if they never ſhew their Skill and Courage in a Duel: And they ſeem to have Reaſon. But how many ſad Tragedies that Reaſon has been the Occaſion of, the Tears of many a Mother can witneſs. A Man that cannot *Fence* will be more careful to keep out of Bullies and Gameſters Company, and will not be half ſo apt to ſtand upon Punctilio's, nor to give Affronts, or fiercely juſtifie them when given, which is that which uſually makes the Quarrel. And when a Man is in the Field, a moderate Skill in Fencing rather expoſes him to the Sword of his Enemy, than ſecures him from it. And certainly a Man of Courage who cannot *Fence* at all, and therefore will put all upon one Thruſt, and not ſtand parrying, has the odds againſt a moderate Fencer, eſpecially if he has Skill in *Wreſtling*. And therefore, if any Proviſion be to be made againſt ſuch Accidents, and a Man be to prepare his Son for Duels, I had much rather mine ſhould be a good *Wreſtler*, than an ordinary *Fencer*, which is the moſt a Gentleman can attain to in it, unleſs he will be conſtantly in the Fencing-School, and every day exerciſing. But ſince Fencing and Riding the Great-Horſe, are ſo generally looked upon as neceſſary Qualifications in the breeding of a Gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that Rank theſe Marks of Diſtinction. I ſhall leave it therefore to the Father, to conſider, how far the Temper of his Son, and the Station he is like to be in, will allow or encourage him to comply with Faſhions, which, having very little to do with civil Life, were yet formerly unknown to the moſt Warlike Nations; and ſeem to have added little of Force or Courage to thoſe, who have received them, unleſs we will think Martial Skill or Proweſs, have been improved by *Duelling*, with which Fencing came into, and with which, I preſume, it will go out of the World.

§. 200. Theſe are my preſent Thoughts concerning *Learning* and *Accompliſhments*. The great Buſineſs of all is *Vertue* and *Wiſdom*.

Nullum numen abeſt ſi ſit Prudentia.

Teach him to get a Maſtery over his Inclinations, and *ſubmit his Appetite to Reaſon*. This being obtained, and by conſtant practice ſettled into Habit,

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the hardeſt part of the Task is over. To bring a young Man to this, I know nothing which ſo much contributes, as the love of Praiſe and Commendation, which ſhould therefore be inſtilled into him by all Arts imaginable. Make his Mind as ſenſible of Credit and Shame as may be: And when you have done that, you have put a Principle into him, which will influence his Actions, when you are not by, to which the fear of a little ſmart of a Rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper Stock, whereon afterwards to graft the true Principles of Morality and Religion. *Fencing.*

§. 201. I have one thing more to add, which as ſoon as I mention, I ſhall run the Danger of being ſuſpected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning Education, all tending towards a Gentleman's Calling, with which a *Trade* ſeems wholly to be inconſiſtent. And yet, I cannot forbear to ſay, I would have him *learn a Trade, a Manual Trade*; nay two or three, but one more particularly. *Trade.*

§. 202. The buſie Inclination of Children, being always to be directed to ſome thing that may be uſeful to them, the Advantages propos'd from what they are ſet about, may be conſider'd of two Kinds; 1. Where the Skill it ſelf, that is got by exerciſe, is worth the having. Thus Skill not only in Languages, and learned Sciences, but in Painting, Turning, Gardening, Tempering, and Working in Iron, and all other uſeful Arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the Exerciſe it ſelf, without any Conſideration, is neceſſary or uſeful for Health. Knowledge in ſome things is ſo neceſſary to be got by Children whilſt they are young, that ſome part of their time is to be alloted to their improvement in them, though thoſe Imployments contribute nothing at all to their health: Such are Reading, and Writing, and all other ſedentary Studies, for the cultivating of the Mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of Gentlemens time, quite from their Cradles. Other *Manual Arts*, which are both got and exerciſed by Labour, do many of them, by that Exerciſe, not only increaſe our Dexterity and Skill, but contribute to our Health too, eſpecially, ſuch as employ us in the open Air. In theſe, then, Health and Improvement may be joyn'd together, and of theſe ſhould ſome fit ones be choſen, to be made the Recreations of one, whoſe chief Buſineſs is with Books and Study. In this Choice, the Age and Inclination of the Perſon is to be conſider'd, and Conſtraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For Command and Force may often create, but can never cure an Averſion: And whatever any one is brought to by Compulſion, he will leave as ſoon as he can, and be little profited, and leſs recreated by, whilſt he is at it.

§. 203. That which of all others would pleaſe me beſt, would be a *Painter*, were there not an Argument or two againſt it, not eaſie to be anſwered. Firſt, ill Painting is one of the worſt things in the World; and to attain a tolerable degree of Skill in it, requires too much of a Man's Time. If he has a natural Inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more uſeful Studies, to give way to that; and if he have no Inclination to it, all the Time, Pains, and Money ſhall be employ'd in it, will be thrown away to no purpoſe. Another Reaſon why I am not for *Painting* in a Gentleman, is, Becauſe it is a ſedentary Recreation, which more employs the Mind than the Body. A Gentleman's more ſerious Employment I look on to be Study; and when that demands Relaxation and Refreſhment, it ſhould be in ſome Exerciſe of the Body, which unbends the Thought, and confirms the Health and Strength. For theſe two Reaſons I am not for *Painting*. *Painting.*

§. 204. In the next place, for a Country Gentleman, I ſhould propoſe one, or rather both theſe; *viz. Gardening* or *Husbandry* in general, and working in Wood, as a *Carpenter*, *Joyner*, or *Turner*, theſe being fit and healthy Recreations for a Man of Study, or Buſineſs. For ſince the Mind endures not to be conſtantly employ'd in the ſame Thing, or Way: and ſedentary or ſtudious Men, ſhould have ſome Exerciſe, that at the ſame time might divert their Minds, and employ their Bodies; I know none that could do it better for a Country Gentleman than theſe two, the one of them affording him Exerciſe, when the Weather or Seaſon keep him from the other. Beſides, that by being skill'd in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach *Garden-ing.* *Joyner.*

his

Joyner. his Gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many Things both of delight and uſe: Though theſe I propoſe not as the chief end of his Labour, but as Temptations to it; Diverſion from his other more ſerious Thoughts and Employments, by uſeful and healthy manual Exerciſe, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

§. 205. The Great Men among the Ancients, underſtood very well how to reconcile manual Labour with Affairs of State, and thought it no leſſening to their Dignity, to make the one the Recreation to the other. That indeed which ſeems moſt generally to have imploy'd and diverted their ſpare Hours, was Agriculture. *Gideon* amongſt the *Jews* was taken from Thraſhing, as well as *Cincinnatus* amongſt the *Romans* from the Plough, to Command the Armies of their Countries againſt their Enemies; and 'tis plain their dexterous handling of the Flayl or the Plough, and being good Workmen with theſe Tools, did not hinder their Skill in Arms, nor make them leſs able in the Arts of War or Government. They were great Captains and Stateſmen as well as Husbandmen. *Cato Major*, who had with great Reputation born all the high Offices of the Commonwealth, has left us an Evidence under his own Hand, how much he was verſed in Country Affairs; and as I remember, *Cyrus* thought *Gardening* ſo little beneath the Dignity and Grandeur of a Throne, that he ſhew'd *Xenophon* a large Field of Fruit-Trees all of his own Planting. The Records of Antiquity, both amongſt *Jews* and *Gentiles*, are full of Inſtances of this kind, if it were neceſſary to recommend uſeful Recreations by Examples.

Recreation. §. 206. Nor let it be thought that I miſtake, when I call theſe or the like Exerciſes of Manual Arts, *Diverſions* or *Recreations:* For *Recreation* is not being Idle (as every one may obſerve) but caſing the wearied part by change of Buſineſs: And he that thinks *Diverſion* may not lie in hard and painful Labour, forgets the early riſing, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of Huntſmen, which is yet known to be the conſtant Recreation of Men of the greateſt Condition. *Delving*, *Planting*, *Inoculating*, or any the like profitable Employments, would be no leſs a *Diverſion*, than any of the idle Sports in faſhion, if Men could but be brought to delight in them, which Cuſtom and Skill in a Trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found thoſe, who being frequently call'd to Cards, or any other Play, by thoſe they could not refuſe, have been more tired with theſe *Recreations*, than with any the moſt ſerious Employment of Life, though the Play has been ſuch as they have naturally had no averſion to, and with which they could willingly ſometimes divert themſelves.

§. 207. Play, wherein Perſons of Condition, eſpecially Ladies, waſte ſo much of their time, is a plain inſtance to me, that Men cannot be perfectly idle; they muſt be doing ſomething. For how elſe could they ſit ſo many Hours toiling at that, which generally gives more Vexation than Delight to People, whilſt they are actually engag'd in it? 'Tis certain, Gaming leaves no Satisfaction behind it to thoſe who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either Body or Mind: As to their Eſtates, if it ſtrike ſo deep as to concern them, it is a *Trade* then, and not a *Recreation*, wherein few, that have any thing elſe to live on, thrive; and at beſt, a thriving Gameſter has but a poor Trade on't, who fills his Pockets at the price of his Reputation.

Recreation belongs not to People who are Strangers to Buſineſs, and are not waſted and wearied with the Employment of their Calling. The Skill ſhould be, ſo to order their time of Recreation, that it may relax and refreſh the part that has been exerciſed, and is tired, and yet do ſomething, which, beſides the preſent Delight and Eaſe, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the Vanity and Pride of Greatneſs and Riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous *Paſtimes* (as they are call'd) into faſhion, and perſuaded People into a belief, that the learning or putting their Hands to any thing that was uſeful, could not be a *Diverſion* fit for a Gentleman. This has been that, which has given *Cards*, *Dice* and *Drinking*, ſo much Credit in the World: And a great many throw away their ſpare Hours in them, through the prevalency of Cuſtom, and want of ſome better Employment to fill up the Vacancy of Leiſure, more than from any real delight

light is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unimployd time lying upon their hands, nor the uneaſineſs it is to do nothing at all; and having never learn'd any laudable manual Art wherewith to divert themſelves, they have recourſe to thoſe fooliſh, or ill ways in uſe, to help off their Time, which a rational Man, till corrupted by Cuſtom, could find very little pleaſure in. *Recreation.*

§. 208. I ſay not this, that I would never have a young Gentleman accommodate himſelf to the innocent *Diverſions* in faſhion, amongſt thoſe of his Age and Condition. I am ſo far from having him auſtere and moroſe to that degree, that I would perſwade him to more than ordinary Complaiſance for all the Gaieties and *Diverſions* of thoſe he converſes with, and be averſe or teſty in nothing they ſhould deſire of him, that might become a Gentleman, and an honeſt Man. Though as to *Cards* and *Dice*, I think the ſafeſt and beſt way, is never to learn any Play upon them, and ſo to be incapacitated for thoſe dangerous Temptations and incroaching Waſters of uſeful Time. But allowance being made for *idle and jovial Converſation*, and all faſhionable becoming Recreations; I ſay, a young Man will have time enough, from his ſerious and main Buſineſs, to learn almoſt any *Trade*. 'Tis want of application, and not of leiſure, that Men are not skilful in more *Arts* than one; and an Hour in a Day, conſtantly employ'd in ſuch a way of *Diverſion*, will carry a Man in a ſhort time a great deal farther than he can imagine: Which, if it were of no other uſe, but to drive the common, vicious, uſeleſs, and dangerous Paſtimes out of faſhion; and to ſhew there was no need of them, would deſerve to be encouraged. If Men from their Youth were weaned from that ſauntring Humour, wherein ſome out of Cuſtom let a good part of their Lives run uſeleſly away, without either Buſineſs or Recreation, they would find time enough to acquire *Dexterity nad Skill in hundreds of Things*; which though remote from their proper Callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other Reaſons before-mentioned; a lazy, liſtleſs Humour, that idely dreams away the Days, is of all others the leaſt to be indulged, or permitted in young People. It is the proper ſtate of one Sick, and out of order in his Health, and is tolerable in no Body elſe, of what Age or Condition ſoever. *Trade.*

§. 209. To the Arts above-mention'd, may be added *Perfuming*, *Varniſhing*, *Graving*, and ſeveral ſorts of working in *Iron*, *Braſs*, and *Silver*: And if, as it happens to moſt young Gentlemen, that a conſiderable part of his Time be ſpent in a great Town, he may learn to cut, poliſh, and ſet *precious Stones*, or employ himſelf in grinding and poliſhing *Optical Glaſſes*. Amongſt the great variety there is of ingenious *Manual Arts*, 'twill be impoſſible that no one ſhould be found to pleaſe and delight him, unleſs he be either idle or debauch'd, which is not to be ſuppoſed in a right way of Education. And ſince he cannot be always employ'd in Study, Reading, and Converſation, there will be many an Hour, beſides what his Exerciſes will take up, which, if not ſpent this way, will be ſpent worſe. For, I conclude, a young Man will ſeldom deſire to ſit perfectly ſtill and idle; or if he does, 'tis a fault that ought to be mended.

§. 210. But if his miſtaken Parents, frightened with the diſgraceful Names of *Mechanick* and *Trade*, ſhall have an averſion to any thing of this kind in their Children; yet there is one thing relating to Trade, which when they conſider, they will think abſolutely neceſſary for their Sons to learn.

Merchants Accompts, though a Science not likely to help a Gentleman to get an Eſtate, yet poſſibly there is not any thing of more uſe and efficacy to make him preſerve the Eſtate he has. 'Tis ſeldom obſerv'd, that he who keeps an Accompt of his Income and Expences, and thereby has conſtantly under view the courſe of his domeſtick Affairs, lets them run to ruin: And I doubt not but many a Man gets behind-hand before he is aware, or runs further on, when he is once in, for want of this Care, or the Skill to do it. I would therefore adviſe all Gentlemen to learn perfectly *Merchants Accompts*, and not to think it is a Skill that belongs not to them, becauſe it has receiv'd its Name from, and has been chiefly practiſed by Men of Traffick. *Merchants Accompts.*

§. 211.

Merchants Accompts. §. 211. When my young Maſter has once got the Skill of *keeping Accounts* (which is a Buſineſs of Reaſon more than Arithmetick) perhaps it will not be amiſs, that his Father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his Concernments. Not that I would have him ſet down every Pint of Wine, or Play, that coſts him Money; the general Name of Expences will ſerve for ſuch things well enough: Nor would I have his Father look ſo narrowly into theſe Accounts, as to take occaſion from thence to criticize on his Expences. He muſt remember that he himſelf was once a young Man, and not forget the Thoughts he had then, nor the Right his Son has to have the ſame, and to have allowance made for them. If therefore I would have the young Gentleman oblig'd to keep an Account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his Expences (for what the Father allows him, he ought to let him be fully Maſter of) but only, that he might be brought early into the Cuſtom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be ſo uſeful and neceſſary to be conſtantly practiſed thro' the whole Courſe of his Life. A Noble *Venetian*, whoſe Son wallowed in the Plenty of his Father's Riches, finding his Son's Expences grow very high and extravagant, ordered his Caſheeer to let him have for the future no more Money than what he ſhould count when he received it. This one would think no great reſtraint to a young Gentleman's Expences, who could freely have as much Money as he would tell. But yet this, to one who was uſed to nothing but the purſuit of his Pleaſures, proved a very great trouble, which at laſt ended in this ſober and advantageous Reflection. If it be ſo much Pains to me barely to count the Money I would ſpend: What Labour and Pains did it coſt my Anceſtors, not only to count, but get it? This rational Thought, ſuggeſted by this little Pains impos'd upon him, wrought ſo effectually upon his Mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good Husband. This at leaſt every body muſt allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a Man within compaſs, than the having conſtantly before his Eyes the ſtate of his Affairs in a regular courſe of *Account*.

Travel. §. 212. The laſt part uſually in Education, is *Travel*, which is commonly thought to finiſh the Work, and compleat the Gentleman. I confeſs *Travel* into Foreign Countries has great Advantages, but the time uſually choſen to ſend young Men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them leaſt capable of reaping thoſe Advantages. Thoſe which are propos'd, as to the main of them, may be reduced to theſe Two; firſt, Language; ſecondly, an Improvement in Wiſdom and Prudence, by ſeeing Men, and converſing with People of Tempers, Cuſtoms, and Ways of living, different from one another, and eſpecially from thoſe of his Pariſh and Neighbourhood. But from Sixteen to One and twenty, which is the ordinary *time of Travel*, Men are of all their Lives the leaſt ſuited to theſe Improvements. The firſt Seaſon to get Foreign Languages, and form the Tongue to their true Accents, I ſhould think, ſhould be from Seven to Fourteen, or Sixteen; and then too a Tutour with them is uſeful and neceſſary, who may, with thoſe Languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their Parents view at a great diſtance, under a Governour, when they think themſelves too much Men to be govern'd by others, and yet have not Prudence and Experience enough to govern themſelves: What is it, but to expoſe them to all the greateſt Dangers of their whole Life, when they have the leaſt Fence and Guard againſt them? Till that boyling boiſterous part of Life comes in, it may be hoped, the Tutour may have ſome Authority: Neither the ſtubbornneſs of Age, nor the Temptation or Examples of others can take him from his Tutour's Conduct till Fifteen or Sixteen: But then, when he begins to conſort himſelf with Men, and thinks himſelf one; when he comes to reliſh, and pride himſelf in manly Vices, and thinks it a ſhame to be any longer under the Controul and Conduct of another: What can be hoped from even the moſt careful and diſcreet Governour, when neither he has Power to compel, nor his Pupil a Diſpoſition to be perſuaded; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm Blood, and prevailing Faſhion, to hearken to the Temptations of his Companions, juſt as Wiſe as himſelf, rather than to the Perſuaſions of his Tutour, who is now looked on as the Enemy to his Freedom?

dom? And when is a Man ſo like to miſcarry, as when at the ſame time he is both raw and unruly? This is the Seaſon of all his Life, that moſt requires the Eye and Authority of his Parents, and Friends to govern it. The flexibleneſs of the former part of a Man's Age, not yet grown up to be headſtrong, makes it more governable and ſafe; and in the after-part, Reaſon and Fore-ſight begin a little to take place, and mind a Man of his Safety and Improvement. The time therefore I ſhould think the fitteſt for a young Gentleman to be *ſent abroad*, would be, either when he is younger, under a Tutour, whom he might be the better for; or when he is ſome Years older, without a Governour; when he is of Age to govern himſelf, and make Obſervations of what he finds in other Countries worthy his Notice, and that might be of uſe to him after his Return: And when too, being throughly acquainted with the Laws and Faſhions, the natural and moral Advantages and Defects of his own Country, he has ſomething to exchange with thoſe abroad, from whoſe Converſation he hoped to reap any Knowledge. *Travel.*

§. 214. The ordering of *Travel* otherwiſe, is that, I imagine, which makes ſo many young Gentlemen come back ſo little improved by it. And if they do bring Home with them any Knowledge of the Places and People they have ſeen, it is often an admiration of the worſt and vaineſt Practices they met with abroad; retaining a Reliſh and Memory of thoſe Things wherein their Liberty took its firſt ſwing, rather than of what ſhould make them better and wiſer after their Return. And indeed, how can it be otherwiſe, going abroad at the Age they do, under the Care of another, who is to provide their Neceſſaries, and make their Obſervations for them? Thus, under the Shelter and Pretence of a Governour, thinking themſelves excuſed from ſtanding upon their own Legs, or being accountable for their own Conduct, they very ſeldom trouble themſelves with Enquiries, or making uſeful Obſervations of their own. Their Thoughts run after Play and Pleaſure, wherein they take it as a leſſening to be controul'd: But ſeldom trouble themſelves to examine the Deſigns, obſerve the Addreſs, and conſider the Arts, Tempers, and Inclinations of Men they meet with; that ſo they may know how to comport themſelves towards them. Here, he that Travels with them, is to skreen them; get them out when they have run themſelves into the Briars; and in all their Miſcarriages be anſwerable for them.

§. 215. I confeſs, the Knowledge of Men is ſo great a Skill, that it is not to be expected a young Man ſhould preſently be perfect in it. But yet his *going abroad* is to little purpoſe, if *Travel* does not ſometimes open his Eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accuſtom him to look beyond the Outſide, and, under the inoffenſive Guard of a civil and obliging Carriage, keep himſelf free and ſafe in his Converſation with Strangers, and all ſorts of People, without forfeiting their good Opinion. He that is ſent out to *travel* at the Age, and with the Thoughts of a Man deſigning to improve himſelf, may get into the Converſation and Acquaintance of Perſons of Condition where he comes; which though a thing of moſt advantage to a Gentleman that Travels; yet I ask amongſt our young Men that go abroad under Tutours, what one is there of an Hundred, that ever viſits any Perſon of Quality? Much leſs makes an Acquaintance with ſuch, from whoſe Converſation he may learn what is good Breeding in that Country, and what is worth Obſervation in it, though from ſuch Perſons it is, one may learn more in one Day, than in a Years rambling from one Inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wonder'd: For Men of Worth and Parts will not eaſily admit the Familiarity of Boys, who yet need the Care of a Tutour: Though a young Gentleman and Stranger, appearing like a Man, and ſhewing a Deſire to inform himſelf in the Cuſtoms, Manners, Laws, and Government of the Country he is in, will find welcome aſſiſtance and entertainment amongſt the beſt and moſt knowing Perſons every where, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance any ingenious and inquiſitive Foreigner.

§. 216. This, how true ſoever it be, will not, I fear, alter the Cuſtom, which has caſt the time of Travel upon the worſt Part of a Man's Life; but for Reaſons not taken from their Improvement. The young Lad muſt not be ventur'd abroad at Eight or Ten, for fear of what may happen to the tender Child,

Travel. though he then runs ten times leſs riſque than at Sixteen or Eighteen. Nor muſt he ſtay at Home till that dangerous heady Age be over, becauſe he muſt be back again by One and twenty, to marry, and propagate. The Father cannot ſtay any longer for the Portion, nor the Mother for a new Set of Babies to play with: And ſo my young Maſter, whatever comes on't, muſt have a Wife look'd out for him by that time he is of Age; though it would be no prejudice to his Strength, his Parts, or his Iſſue, if it were reſpited for ſome time, and he had leave to get, in Years and Knowledge, the ſtart a little of his Children, who are often found to tread too near upon the Heels of their Fathers, to the no great Satisfaction either of Son or Father. But the young Gentleman being got within view of Matrimony, 'tis time to leave him to his Miſtreſs.

Concluſion. §. 217. Though I am now come to a Concluſion of what obvious Remarks have ſuggeſted to me concerning Education, I would not have it thought, that I look on it as a juſt Treatiſe on this Subject. There are a thouſand other things that may need conſideration; eſpecially if one ſhould take in the various Tempers, different Inclinations, and particular Defaults, that are to be found in Children; and preſcribe proper Remedies. The variety is ſo great, that it would require a Volume; nor would that reach it. Each Man's Mind has ſome peculiarity, as well as his Face, that diſtinguiſhes him from all others; and there are poſſibly ſcarce two Children, who can be conducted by exactly the ſame Method. Beſides that, I think a Prince, a Nobleman, and an ordinary Gentleman's Son, ſhould have different ways of Breeding. But having had here only ſome general Views, in reference to the main End and Aims in Education, and thoſe deſign'd for a Gentleman's Son, whom, being then very little, I conſider'd only as white Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and faſhioned as one pleaſes; I have touch'd little more than thoſe Heads, which I judg'd neceſſary for the Breeding of a young Gentleman of his Condition in general; and have now publiſhed theſe my occaſional Thoughts with this Hope, That though this be far from being a compleat Treatiſe on this Subject, or ſuch, as that every one may find what will juſt fit his Child in it; yet it may give ſome ſmall light to thoſe, whoſe Concern for their dear little Ones makes them ſo irregularly bold, that they dare venture to conſult their own Reaſon in the Education of their Children, rather than wholly to rely upon Old Cuſtom.

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Epiſtles of St. Paul

TO THE

Galatians, *Romans*,
I & II *Corinthians*, *Epheſians*.

To which is prefix'd, An

ESSAY

FOR THE

Underſtanding of St. *Paul*'s EPISTLES, by Conſulting St. *Paul* himſelf.

AN

ESSAY

For the understanding of

St. PAUL'S Epistles,

By consulting St. *PAUL* himself.

THE

PREFACE.

TO go about to explain any of St. *Paul*'s Epistles, after so great a Train of Expositors and Commentators, might seem an Attempt of Vanity, censurable for its Needlessness, did not the daily and approv'd Examples of Pious and Learned Men justifie it. This may be some Excuse for me to the Publick, if ever these following Papers should chance to come abroad: But to my self, for whose Use this Work was undertaken, I need make no Apology. Though I had been conversant in these Epistles, as well as in other Parts of Sacred Scripture, yet I found that I understood them not; I mean the doctrinal and discursive parts of them: Though the practical Directions, which are usually drop'd in the latter Part of each Epistle, appear'd to me very plain, intelligible, and instructive.

I did not, when I reflected on it, very much wonder that this part of Sacred Scripture had Difficulties in it, many Causes of Obscurity did readily occur to me. The Nature of Epistolary Writings in general, disposes the Writer to pass by the mentioning of many Things, as well known

to

to him to whom his Letter is addreſs'd, which are neceſſary to be laid open to a Stranger, to make him comprehend what is ſaid: And it not ſeldom falls out, that a well Penn'd Letter, which is very eaſie and intelligible to the Receiver, is very obſcure to a Stranger, who hardly knows what to make of it. The Matters that St. *Paul* writ about, were certainly things well known to thoſe he writ to, and which they had ſome peculiar Concern in, which made them eaſily apprehend his Meaning, and ſee the Tendency and Force of his Diſcourſe. But we having now at this diſtance no Information of the Occaſion of his writing, little or no Knowledge of the Temper and Circumſtances thoſe he writ to were in, but what is to be gather'd out of the Epiſtles themſelves; it is not ſtrange that many things in them lie conceal'd to us, which no doubt they who were concern'd in the Letter, underſtood at firſt ſight. Add to this, that in many Places 'tis manifeſt he anſwers Letters ſent, and Queſtions propos'd to him, which if we had, would much better clear thoſe Paſſages that relate to them, than all the learned Notes of Criticks and Commentators, who in after-times fill us with their Conjectures, for very often, as to the Matter in hand, they are nothing elſe.

The Language wherein theſe Epiſtles are writ, are another; and that no ſmall Occaſion of their Obſcurity to us now: The Words are *Greek*; a Language dead many Ages ſince: A Language of a very witty volatile People, Seekers after Novelty, and abounding with Variety of Notions and Sects, to which they applied the Terms of their common Tongue with great Liberty and Variety: And yet this makes but one ſmall part of the Difficulty in the Language of theſe Epiſtles; there is a Peculiarity in it, that much more obſcures and perplexes the Meaning of theſe Writings, than what can be occaſion'd by the Looſeneſs and Variety of the Greek Tongue. The Terms are *Greek*, but the Idiom or Turn of the Phraſes may be truly ſaid to be *Hebrew* or *Syriack*. The Cuſtom and Familiarity of which Tongues do ſometimes ſo far influence the Expreſſions in theſe Epiſtles, that one may obſerve the Force of the Hebrew Conjugations, particularly that of *Hiphil* given to Greek Verbs, in a way unknown to the *Grecians* themſelves. Nor is this all; the Subject treated of in theſe Epiſtles is ſo wholly new, and the Doctrines contained in them ſo perfectly remote from the Notions that Mankind were acquainted with, that moſt of the important Terms in it have quite another Signification from what they have in other Diſcourſes: So that putting all together, we may truly ſay, that the New Teſtament is a Book written in a Language peculiar to it ſelf.

To theſe Cauſes of Obſcurity, common to St. *Paul* with moſt of the other Penmen of the ſeveral Books of the New Teſtament, we may add thoſe that are peculiarly his, and owing to his Stile and Temper. He was, as 'tis viſible, a Man of quick Thought, and warm Temper, mighty well vers'd in the Writings of the Old Teſtament, and full of the Doctrine of the New: All this put together, ſuggeſted Matter to him in abundance on thoſe Subjects which came in his way: So that one may conſider him when he was writing, as beſet with a Crowd of Thoughts, all ſtriving for Utterance. In this Poſture of Mind it was almoſt impoſſible for him to keep that ſlow Pace, and obſerve minutely that Order and Method of ranging all he ſaid, from which reſults an eaſie and obvious Perſpicuity. To this Plenty and Vehemence of his may be imputed thoſe many large Parentheſes, which a careful Reader may obſerve in his Epiſtles. Upon this account alſo it is, that he often breaks off in the Middle of an Argument, to let in ſome new Thought ſuggeſted by his

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own Words; which having purſued and explained as far as conduced to his preſent Purpoſe, he reaſſumes again the Thread of his Diſcourſe, and goes on with it, without taking any notice that he returns again to what he had been before ſaying, though ſometimes it be ſo far off, that it may well have ſlipt out of his Mind, and requires a very attentive Reader to obſerve, and ſo bring the disjointed Members together, as to make up the Connection, and ſee how the ſcatter'd Parts of the Diſcourſe hang together in a coherent well-agreeing Senſe, that makes it all of a Piece.

Beſides the diſturbance in peruſing St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, from the Plenty and Vivacity of his Thoughts, which may obſcure his Method, and often hide his Senſe from an unwary, or over-haſty Reader; the frequent changing of the Perſonage he ſpeaks in, renders the Senſe very uncertain, and is apt to miſlead one that has not ſome Clue to guide him; ſometimes by the Pronoun *I*, he means himſelf; ſometimes any Chriſtian; ſometimes a Jew, and ſometimes any Man, *&c.* If ſpeaking of himſelf in the firſt Perſon Singular has ſo various meanings; his uſe of the firſt Perſon Plural is with a far greater Latitude, ſometimes deſigning himſelf alone, ſometimes thoſe with himſelf whom he makes Partners to the Epiſtle; ſometimes with himſelf comprehending the other Apoſtles, or Preachers of the Goſpel, or Chriſtians: Nay, ſometimes he in that way ſpeaks of the Converted *Jews*, other times of the Converted *Gentiles*, and ſometimes of others, in a more or leſs extended Senſe, every one of which varies the meaning of the Place, and makes it to be differently underſtood. I have forborn to trouble the Reader with Examples of them here. If his own Obſervation hath not already furniſh'd him with them, the following Paraphraſe and Notes I ſuppoſe will ſatisfie him in the Point.

In the current alſo of his Diſcourſe, he ſometimes drops in the Objections of others, and his Anſwers to them, without any Change in the Scheme of his Language, that might give Notice of any other ſpeaking beſides himſelf. This requires great Attention to obſerve, and yet if it be neglected or overlook'd, will make the Reader very much miſtake, and miſunderſtand his Meaning, and render the Senſe very perplex'd.

Theſe are intrinſick difficulties ariſing from the Text it ſelf, whereof there might be a great many other named, as the uncertainty, ſometimes, who are the Perſons he ſpeaks to, or the Opinions or Practices which he has in his Eye, ſometimes in alluding to them, ſometimes in his Exhortations and Reproofs. But thoſe above-mention'd being the chief, it may ſuffice to have open'd our Eyes a little upon them, which, well examin'd, may contribute towards our Diſcovery of the reſt.

To theſe we may ſubjoyn two external Cauſes that have made no ſmall increaſe of the Native and Original Difficulties that keep us from an eaſie and aſſur'd Diſcovery of St. *Paul*'s Senſe, in many parts of his Epiſtles; and thoſe are:

Firſt, The dividing of them into Chapters and Verſes, as we have done, whereby they are ſo chop'd and minc'd, and, as they are now Printed, ſtand ſo broken and divided, that not only the Common People take the Verſes uſually for diſtinct Aphoriſms; but even Men of more advanc'd Knowledge in reading them, loſe very much of the ſtrength and force of the Coherence, and the Light that depends on it. Our Minds are ſo weak and narrow, that they have need of all the Helps and Aſſiſtances can be procur'd, to lay before them undiſturbedly, the Thread and Coherence of any Diſcourſe; by which alone they are truly improv'd and led into the Genuine Senſe of the Author. When the Eye is conſtantly diſturb'd with

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looſe Sentences, that by their ſtanding and ſeparation, appear as ſo many diſtinct Fragments; the Mind will have much ado to take in, and carry on in its Memory an uniform Diſcourſe of dependent Reaſonings; eſpecially having from the Cradle been uſed to wrong Impreſſions concerning them, and conſtantly accuſtom'd to hear them quoted as diſtinct Sentences, without any limitation or explication of their preciſe Meaning from the Place they ſtand in, and the Relation they bear to what goes before, or follows. Theſe Diviſions alſo have given occaſion to the reading theſe Epiſtles by parcels and in ſcraps, which has farther confirm'd the Evil ariſing from ſuch partitions. And I doubt not but every one will confeſs it to be a very unlikely way to come to the Underſtanding of any other Letters, to read them Piece-meal, a Bit to day, and another Scrap to morrow, and ſo on by broken Intervals; Eſpecially if the Pauſe and Ceſſation ſhould be made as the Chapters the Apoſtle's Epiſtles are divided into, do end ſometimes in the middle of a Diſcourſe, and ſometimes in the middle of a Sentence. It cannot therefore but be wondered, that that ſhould be permitted to be done to Holy Writ, which would viſibly diſturb the Senſe, and hinder the Underſtanding of any other Book whatſoever. If *Tully*'s Epiſtles were ſo printed, and ſo uſed, I ask whether they would not be much harder to be underſtood, leſs eaſie and leſs pleaſant to be read by much, than now they are?

How plain ſoever this Abuſe is, and what Prejudice ſoever it does to the Underſtanding of the Sacred Scripture, yet if a Bible was printed as it ſhould be, and as the ſeveral Parts of it were writ, in continued Diſcourſes where the Argument is continued, I doubt not but the ſeveral Parties would complain of it, as an Innovation, and a dangerous Change in the publiſhing thoſe holy Books. And indeed thoſe who are for maintaining their Opinions, and the Syſtems of Parties by Sound of Words, with a Neglect of the true Senſe of Scripture, would have reaſon to make and foment the Outcry. They would moſt of them be immediately diſarm'd of their great Magazine of Artillery wherewith they defend themſelves, and fall upon others, if the Holy Scriptures were but laid before the Eyes of Chriſtians in its due Connection and Conſiſtency, it would not then be ſo eaſie to ſnatch out a few Words, as if they were ſeparate from the reſt, to ſerve a Purpoſe, to which they do not at all belong, and with which they have nothing to do. But as the Matter now ſtands, he that has a mind to it, may at a cheap rate be a notable Champion for the Truth, that is, for the Doctrines of the Sect that Chance or Intereſt has caſt him into. He need but be furniſhed with Verſes of Sacred Scripture, containing Words and Expreſſions that are but flexible (as all general obſcure and doubtful ones are) and his Syſtem, that has appropriated them to the Orthodoxy of his Church, makes them immediately ſtrong and irrefragable Arguments for his Opinion. This is the Benefit of looſe Sentences, and Scripture crumbled into Verſes, which quickly turn into independent Aphoriſms. But if the Quotation in the Verſe produc'd, were conſider'd as a part of a continued coherent Diſcourſe, and ſo its Senſe were limited by the Tenour of the Context, moſt of theſe forward and warm Diſputants would be quite ſtrip'd of thoſe which they doubt not now to call Spiritual Weapons, and they would have often nothing to ſay that would not ſhew their Weakneſs, and manifeſtly fly in their Faces. I crave leave to ſet down a Saying of the Learned and Judicious Mr. *Selden*, " In interpreting " the Scripture, ſays he, many do as if a Man ſhould ſee one have Ten " Pounds, which he reckon'd by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. meaning " Four was but four Units, and five five Units, *&c.* and that he had

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" in all but Ten Pounds : The other that ſees him, takes not the Fi-
" gures together, as he doth, but picks here and there ; and thereupon
" reports that he had five Pounds in one Bag, and ſix Pounds in another
" Bag, and nine Pounds in another Bag, *&c.* when as in truth he has
" but ten Pounds in all. So we pick out a Text here and there, to make
" it ſerve our turn ; whereas if we take it altogether, and conſider what
" went before, and what followed after, we ſhould find it meant no ſuch
" thing. I have heard ſober Chriſtians very much admire why ordinary illiterate People, who were Profeſſors, that ſhew'd a Concern for Religion, ſeem'd much more converſant in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, than in the plainer, and as it ſeem'd to them much more intelligible Parts of the New Teſtament ; They confeſſed that th⁹' they read St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles with their beſt Attention, yet they generally found them too hard to be maſter'd, and they labour'd in vain ſo far to reach the Apoſtle's Meaning all along in the Train of what he ſaid, as to read them with that Satisfaction that ariſes from a feeling that we underſtand and fully comprehend the Force and Reaſoning of an Author ; and therefore they could not imagine what thoſe ſaw in them, whoſe Eyes they thought not much better than their own. But the Caſe was plain, Theſe ſober inquiſitive Readers had a mind to ſee nothing in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles but juſt what he meant ; whereas thoſe others of a quicker and gayer Sight could ſee in them what they pleaſed. Nothing is more acceptable to Fanſie than plyant Terms and Expreſſions that are not obſtinate, in ſuch it can find its account with Delight, and with them be illuminated, Orthodox, infallible at pleaſure, and in its own way. But where the Senſe of the Author goes viſibly in its own Train, and the Words, receiving a determin'd Senſe from their Companions and Adjacents, will not conſent to give Countenance and Colour to what is agreed to be right, and muſt be ſupported at any rate, there Men of eſtabliſh'd Orthodoxie do not ſo well find their Satisfaction. And perhaps if it were well examin'd, it would be no very extravagant Paradox to ſay, that there are fewer that bring their Opinions to the Sacred Scripture to be tried by that infallible Rule, than bring the Sacred Scripture to their Opinions, to bend it to them, to make it as they can a Cover and Guard of them. And to this Purpoſe its being divided into Verſes, and brought as much as may be into looſe and general Aphoriſms, makes it moſt uſeful and ſerviceable. And in this lies the other great Cauſe of Obſcurity and Perplexedneſs, which has been caſt upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles from without.

St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, as they ſtand tranſlated in our Engliſh Bibles, are now by long and conſtant Uſe become a part of the Engliſh Language, and common Phraſeology, eſpecially in Matters of Religion : This every one uſes familiarly, and thinks he underſtands ; but it muſt be obſerved, that if he has a diſtinct meaning when he uſes thoſe Words and Phraſes, and knows himſelf what he intends by them, it is always according to the Senſe of his own Syſtem, and the Articles or Interpretations of the Society he is engaged in. So that all this Knowledge and Underſtanding which he has in the Uſe of theſe Paſſages of Sacred Scripture, reaches no farther than this, that he knows (and that is very well) what he himſelf ſays, but thereby knows nothing at all what St. *Paul* ſaid in them. The Apoſtle writ not by that Man's Syſtem, and ſo his Meaning cannot be known by it. This being the ordinary way of underſtanding the Epiſtles, and every Sect being perfectly Orthodox in its own Judgment : What a great and invincible Darkneſs muſt this caſt upon St. *Paul*'s Meaning to all thoſe of that way, in all thoſe Places where his Thoughts and

Senſe run counter to what any Party has eſpouſed for Orthodox; as it muſt unavoidably to all but one of the different Syſtems, in all thoſe Paſſages that any way relate to the Points in Controverſie between them?

This is a Miſchief which, however frequent and almoſt natural, reaches ſo far, that it would juſtly make all thoſe who depend upon them, wholly diffident of Commentators, and let them ſee how little Help was to be expected from them, in relying on them for the true Senſe of the Sacred Scripture, did they not take care to help to cozen themſelves, by chooſing to uſe and pin their Faith on ſuch Expoſitors as explain the Sacred Scripture in favour of thoſe Opinions that they before-hand have voted Orthodox, and bring to the Sacred Scripture not for Trial, but Confirmation. No Body can think that any Text of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles has two contrary Meanings, and yet ſo it muſt have to two different Men, who taking two Commentators of different Sects for their reſpective Guides into the Senſe of any one of the Epiſtles, ſhall build upon their reſpective Expoſitions. We need go no further for a Proof of it, than the Notes of the two Celebrated Commentators on the New Teſtament, Dr. *Hammond*, and *Beza*, both Men of Parts and Learning, and both thought by their Followers Men mighty in the Sacred Scriptures. So that here we ſee the hopes of great Benefit and Light from Expoſitors and Commentators, is in a great part abated, and thoſe who have moſt need of their Help, can receive but little from them, and can have very little Aſſurance of reaching the Apoſtle's Senſe by what they find in them, whilſt Matters remain in the ſame State they are in at preſent. For thoſe, who find they need Help, and would borrow Light from Expoſitors, either conſult only thoſe who have the good luck to be thought ſound and Orthodox, avoiding thoſe of different Sentiments from themſelves in the great and approved Points of their Syſtems, as dangerous and not fit to be meddled with; or elſe with Indifferency look into the Notes of all Commentators promiſcuouſly. The firſt of theſe take Pains only to confirm themſelves in the Opinions and Tenets they have already, which whether it be the way to get the true Meaning of what St. *Paul* deliver'd, is eaſie to determine. The others with much more Fairneſs to themſelves, tho' with reaping little more Advantage (unleſs they have ſomething elſe to guide them into the Apoſtle's Meaning than the Comments themſelves) ſeek Help on all hands, and refuſe not to be taught by any one, who offers to enlighten them in any of the dark Paſſages. But here tho' they avoid the Miſchief which the others fall into, of being confin'd in their Senſe, and ſeeing nothing but that in St. *Paul*'s Writings, be it right or wrong; yet they run into as great on the other ſide, and inſtead of being confirm'd in the meaning that they thought they ſaw in the Text, are diſtracted with an hundred, ſuggeſted by thoſe they adviſed with; and ſo inſtead of that one Senſe of the Scripture, which they carried with them to their Commentators, return from them with none at all.

This indeed ſeems to make the Caſe deſperate: For if the Comments and Expoſitions of pious and learned Men cannot be depended on, whither ſhall we go for Help? To which I anſwer, I would not be miſtaken, as if I thought the Labours of the Learned in this Caſe wholly loſt, and fruitleſs. There is great Uſe and Benefit to be made of them, when we have once got a Rule to know which of their Expoſitions, in the great Variety there is of them, explains the Words and Phraſes according to the Apoſtle's Meaning. Till then 'tis evident, from what is aboveſaid, they

they ſerve for the moſt part to no other Uſe, but either to make us find our own Senſe, and not his in St. *Paul*'s Words; or elſe to find in them no ſettled Senſe at all.

Here it will be ask'd, How ſhall we come by this Rule you mention? Where is that Touchſtone to be had, that will ſhew us whether the Meaning we our ſelves put, or take as put by others upon St. *Paul*'s Words in his Epiſtles, be truly his Meaning or no? I will not ſay the way which I propoſe, and have in the following Paraphraſe follow'd, will make us infallible in our Interpretations of the Apoſtle's Text: But this I will own, that till I took this way, St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles to me, in the ordinary way of reading and ſtudying them, were very obſcure Parts of Scripture, that left me almoſt every where at a loſs; and I was at a great Uncertainty in which of the contrary Senſes, that were to be found in his Commentators, he was to be taken. Whether what I have done has made it any clearer and more viſible now, I muſt leave others to judge. This I beg leave to ſay for my ſelf, that if ſome very ſober judicious Chriſtians, no Strangers to the Sacred Scriptures, nay learned Divines of the Church of *England*, had not profeſs'd, that by the Peruſal of theſe following Papers they underſtood the Epiſtles better much than they did before, and had not with repeated Inſtances preſſed me to publiſh them, I ſhould not have conſented they ſhould have gone beyond my own private Uſe, for which they were at firſt deſigned, and where they made me not repent my Pains.

If any one be ſo far pleaſed with my Endeavours, as to think it worth while to be informed what was the Clue I guided my ſelf by through all the dark Paſſages of theſe Epiſtles, I ſhall minutely tell him the Steps by which I was brought into this way, that he may judge whether I proceeded rationally, upon right Grounds or no, if ſo be any thing in ſo mean an Example as mine may be worth his notice.

After I had found by long Experience, that the reading of the Text and Comments in the ordinary way, proved not ſo ſucceſsful as I wiſh'd to the end propos'd, I began to ſuſpect that in reading a Chapter as was uſual, and thereupon ſometimes conſulting Expoſitors upon ſome hard Places of it, which at that time moſt affected me, as relating to Points then under Conſideration in my own Mind, or in Debate amongſt others, was not a right Method to get into the true Senſe of theſe Epiſtles. I ſaw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one now ſhould write me a Letter, as long as St. *Paul*'s to the *Romans*, concerning ſuch a Matter as that is, in a Stile as Foreign, and Expreſſions as dubious as his ſeem to be, if I ſhould divide it into fifteen or ſixteen Chapters, and read of them one to day, and another to morrow, *&c.* it was ten to one I ſhould never come to a full and clear Comprehenſion of it. The way to underſtand the Mind of him that writ it, every one would agree, was to read the whole Letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to ſee what was the main Subject and Tendency of it: or if it had ſeveral Views and Purpoſes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a Subordination to one chief Aim and End, to diſcover what thoſe different Matters were, and where the Author concluded one, and began another; and if there were any Neceſſity of dividing the Epiſtle into Parts, to make the Boundaries of them.

In Proſecution of this Thought, I concluded it neceſſary, for the underſtanding of any one of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, to read it all through at one Sitting, and to obſerve as well as I could, the Drift and Deſign of his writing it. If the firſt reading gave me ſome Light, the ſecond gave

me more; and ſo I perſiſted on, reading conſtantly the whole Epiſtle over at once, till I came to have a good general View of the Apoſtle's main Purpoſe in writing the Epiſtle, the chief Branches of his Diſcourſe wherein he proſecuted it, the Arguments he uſed, and the Diſpoſition of the whole.

This, I confeſs, is not to be obtain'd by one or two haſty Readings; it muſt be repeated again and again, with a cloſe Attention to the Tenour of the Diſcourſe, and a perfect Neglect of the Diviſions into Chapters and Verſes. On the contrary, the ſafeſt way is to ſuppoſe, that the Epiſtle has but one Buſineſs, and one Aim, till by a frequent Peruſal of it, you are forced to ſee there are diſtinct independent Matters in it, which will forwardly enough ſhew themſelves.

It requires ſo much more Pains, Judgment and Application, to find the Coherence of obſcure and abſtruſe Writings, and makes them ſo much the more unfit to ſerve Prejudice and Pre-occupation when found; that it is not to be wonder'd that St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles have with many paſſed rather for disjointed, looſe pious Diſcourſes, full of Warmth and Zeal, and overflows of Light, rather than for calm, ſtrong, coherent Reaſonings, that carried a Thread of Argument and Conſiſtency all through them.

But this muttering of lazy or ill diſpoſed Readers, hinder'd me not from perſiſting in the Courſe I had began; I continued to read the ſame Epiſtle over and over, and over again, till I came to diſcover, as appear'd to me, what was the Drift and Aim of it, and by what Steps and Arguments St. *Paul* proſecuted his Purpoſe. I remember'd that St. *Paul* was miraculouſly call'd to the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, and declar'd to be a choſen Veſſel; that he had the whole Doctrine of the Goſpel from God by immediate Revelation, and was appointed to be the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, for the propagating of it in the Heathen World. This was enough to perſuade me, that he was not a Man of looſe and ſhatter'd Parts, uncapable to argue, and unfit to convince thoſe he had to deal with. God knows how to chooſe fit Inſtruments for the Buſineſs he employs them in. A large Stock of Jewiſh Learning he had taken in at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, and for his Information in Chriſtian Knowledge, and the Myſteries and Depths of the Diſpenſation of Grace by Jeſus Chriſt, God himſelf had condeſcended to be his Inſtructer and Teacher. The Light of the Goſpel he had received from the Fountain and Father of Light himſelf, who, I concluded, had not furniſhed him in this extraordinary manner, if all this plentiful Stock of Learning and Illumination had been in danger to have been loſt, or proved uſeleſs, in a jumbled and confuſed Head; nor have laid up ſuch a Store of admirable and uſeful Knowledge in a Man, who, for want of Method and Order, clearneſs of Conception, or pertinency in Diſcourſe, could not draw it out into Uſe with the greateſt Advantages of Force and Coherence. That he knew how to proſecute this Purpoſe with Strength of Argument and cloſe Reaſoning, without incoherent Sallies, or the intermixing of things foreign to his Buſineſs, was evident to me from ſeveral Speeches of his recorded in the *Acts*: And it was hard to think that a Man, that could talk with ſo much Conſiſtency and Clearneſs of Conviction, ſhould not be able to write without Confuſion, inextricable Obſcurity, and perpetual Rambling. The Force, Order and Perſpicuity of thoſe Diſcourſes could not be denied to be very viſible. How then came it that the like was thought much wanting in his Epiſtles? and of this there appear'd to me this

this plain Reaſon: The Particularities of the Hiſtory in which theſe Speeches are inſerted, ſhew St. *Paul*'s end in ſpeaking, which being ſeen, caſts a Light on the whole, and ſhews the Pertinency of all that he ſays. But his Epiſtles not being ſo circumſtantiated; there being no concurring Hiſtory that plainly declares the Diſpoſition St. *Paul* was in, what the Actions, Expectations, or Demands of thoſe to whom he writ, required him to ſpeak to, we are no where told. All this, and a great deal more, neceſſary to guide us into the true meaning of the Epiſtles, is to be had only from the Epiſtles themſelves, and to be gather'd from thence with ſtubborn Attention, and more than common Application.

This being the only ſafe Guide (under the Spirit of God that dictated theſe Sacred Writings) that can be rely'd on, I hope I may be excuſed, if I venture to ſay, that the utmoſt ought to be done to obſerve and trace our St. *Paul*'s Reaſonings; to follow the Thread of his Diſcourſe in each of his Epiſtles; to ſhew how it goes on ſtill directed with the ſame View, and pertinently drawing the ſeveral Incidents towards the ſame Point. To underſtand him right, his Inferences ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved; and it ſhould be carefully examined from what they are drawn, and what they tend to. He is certainly a coherent, argumentative, pertinent Writer, and Care I think ſhould be taken in expounding of him, to ſhew that he is ſo. But though I ſay he has weighty Aims in his Epiſtles, which he ſteadily keeps in his Eye, and drives at it in all that he ſays; yet I do not ſay that he puts his Diſcourſes into an artificial Method, or leads his Reader into a Diſtinction of his Arguments, or gives them notice of new Matter, by Rhetorical or ſtudy'd Tranſitions. He has no Ornaments borrow'd from the Greek Eloquence; no Notions of their Philoſophy mix'd with his Doctrine to ſet it off. The *inticing Words of Man's Wiſdom*, whereby he means all the ſtudied Rules of the Grecian Schools, which made them ſuch Maſters in the Art of Speaking, he, as he ſays himſelf, 1 *Cor.* 2. 4. wholly neglected. The Reaſon whereof he gives in the next Verſe, and in other places. But the Politeneſs of Language, Delicacy of Stile, Fineneſs of Expreſſion, laboured Periods, artificial Tranſitions, and a very methodical ranging of the Parts with ſuch other Imbelliſhments as make a Diſcourſe enter the Mind ſmoothly, and ſtrike the Phanſie at firſt hearing, have little or no place in his Stile, yet Coherence of Diſcourſe, and a direct Tendency of all the Parts of it, to the Argument in hand, are moſt eminently to be found in him. This I take to be his Character, and doubt not but he will be found to be ſo upon diligent Examination. And in this if it be ſo, we have a Clue, if we will take the Pains to find it, that will conduct us with Surety through thoſe ſeemingly dark Places, and imagined Intricacies in which Chriſtians have wander'd ſo far one from another, as to find quite contrary Senſes.

Whether a ſuperficial Reading, accompanied with the common Opinion of his invincible Obſcurity, has kept off ſome from ſeeking in him the Coherence of a Diſcourſe tending with cloſe, ſtrong reaſoning to a Point; Or a ſeemingly more honourable Opinion of one that had been wrap'd up into the Third Heaven, as if from a Man ſo warm'd and illuminated as he had been, nothing could be expected but Flaſhes of Light, and Raptures of Zeal, hinder'd others to look for a Train of Reaſoning, proceeding on regular, and cogent Argumentation from a Man rais'd above the ordinary pitch of Humanity to a higher and brighter way of Illumination; Or elſe whether others were loth to beat their Heads about the Tenor and Coherence in St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſes, which if found out, poſſibly might ſet him

at

at a manifeſt and irreconcileable Difference with their Syſtems, 'tis certain that whatever hath been the cauſe, this way of getting the true Senſe of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, ſeems not to have been much made uſe of, or at leaſt ſo throughly purſued, as I am apt to think it deſerves.

For, granting that he was full ſtor'd with the Knowledge of the things he treated of: For he had Light from Heaven, it was God himſelf furniſh'd him, and he could not want: Allowing alſo that he had Ability to make uſe of the Knowledge had been given him, for the end for which it was given him, *viz.* the Information, Conviction, and Converſion of others; and accordingly that he knew how to direct his Diſcourſe to the Point in hand, we cannot widely miſtake the Parts of his Diſcourſe imply'd about it, when we have any where found out the Point he drives at: Where-ever we have got a view of his Deſign, and the Aim he propoſed to himſelf in Writing, we may be ſure that ſuch or ſuch an Interpretation does not give us his genuine Senſe, it being nothing at all to his preſent purpoſe. Nay among various Meanings given a Text, it fails not to direct us to the beſt, and very often to aſſure us of the true. For it is no Preſumption, when one ſees a Man arguing for this or that Propoſition, if he be a ſober Man, Maſter of Reaſon or common Senſe, and takes any care of what he ſays, to pronounce with Confidence in ſeveral Caſes, that he could not talk thus or thus.

I do not yet ſo magnifie this Method of ſtudying St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, as well as other Parts of Sacred Scripture, as to think it will perfectly clear every hard Place, and leave no Doubt unreſolv'd. I know Expreſſions now out of uſe, Opinions of thoſe times not heard of in our days, Alluſions to Cuſtoms loſt to us, and various Circumſtances and Particularities of the Parties, which we cannot come at, *&c.* muſt needs continue ſeveral Paſſages in the dark now to us at this diſtance, which ſhone with full Light to thoſe they were directed to. But for all that, the ſtudying of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles in the way I have propoſed, will, I humbly conceive, carry us a great length in the right underſtanding of them, and make us rejoyce in the Light we receive from thoſe moſt uſeful Parts of Divine Revelation, by furniſhing us with viſible Grounds that we are not miſtaken, whilſt the Conſiſtency of the Diſcourſe, and the Pertinency of it to the Deſign he is upon, vouches it worthy of our great Apoſtle. At leaſt I hope it may be my Excuſe for having endeavour'd to make St. *Paul* an Interpreter to me of his own Epiſtles.

To this may be added another Help, which St. *Paul* himſelf affords us towards the attaining the true meaning contained in his Epiſtles. He that reads him with the Attention I propoſe, will eaſily obſerve, that as he was full of the Doctrine of the Goſpel; ſo it lay all clear and in order open to his view. When he gave his Thoughts Utterance upon any Point, the Matter flow'd like a Torrent, but 'tis plain, 'twas a Matter he was perfectly Maſter of: He fully poſſeſs'd the entire Revelation he had receiv'd from God, had throughly digeſted it; all the Parts were formed together in his Mind into one well contracted harmonious Body. So that he was no way at an uncertainty, nor ever in the leaſt at a loſs concerning any Branch of it. One may ſee his Thoughts were all of a piece in all his Epiſtles, his Notions were at all times uniform, and conſtantly the ſame, tho' his Expreſſions very various. In them he ſeems to take great Liberty. This at leaſt is certain, that no one ſeems leſs tied up to a Form of Words. If then having by the Method before propos'd, got into the Senſe of the ſeveral Epiſtles, we will but compare what he ſays, in the Places where he treats of the ſame Subject, we can hardly be miſtaken in his

his Senſe, nor doubt what it was, that he believed and taught concerning thoſe Points of the Chriſtian Religion. I know it is not unuſual to find a Multitude of Texts heaped up for the maintaining of an eſpouſed Propoſition, but in a Senſe often ſo remote from their true Meaning, that one can hardly avoid thinking that thoſe who ſo uſed them, either ſought not or valued not the Senſe; and were ſatisfied with the Sound where they could but get that to favour them. But a verbal Concordance leads not always to Texts of the ſame meaning; truſting too much thereto, will furniſh us but with ſlight Proofs in many Caſes, and any one may obſerve how apt that is to jumble together Paſſages of Scripture not relating to the ſame Matter, and thereby to diſturb and unſettle the true meaning of Holy Scripture. I have therefore ſaid that we ſhould compare together Places of Scripture treating of the ſame Point. Thus indeed one part of the Sacred Text could not fail to give light unto another. And ſince the Providence of God hath ſo order'd it, that St. *Paul* has writ a great Number of Epiſtles, which tho' upon different Occaſions, and to ſeveral Purpoſes, yet are all confined within the Buſineſs of his Apoſtleſhip, and ſo contain nothing but Points of Chriſtian Inſtruction, amongſt which he ſeldom fails to drop in, and often to inlarge on the great and diſtinguiſhing Doctrines of our holy Religion; which, if quitting our own Infallibility in that Analogy of Faith which we have made to our ſelves, or have implicitly adopted from ſome other, we would carefully lay together, and diligently compare and ſtudy; I am apt to think would give us St. *Paul*'s Syſtem in a clear and indiſputable Senſe, which every one muſt acknowledge to be a better Standard to interpret his Meaning by, in any obſcure and doubtful Parts of his Epiſtles, if any ſuch ſhould ſtill remain, than the Syſtem, Confeſſion, or Articles of any Church or Society of Chriſtians yet known, which however pretended to be founded on Scripture, are viſibly the Contrivances of Men (fallible both in their Opinions and Interpretations) and, as is viſible in moſt of them, made with partial Views, and adapted to what the Occaſions of that time, and the preſent Circumſtances they were then in, were thought to require for the Support or Juſtification of themſelves. Their Philoſophy alſo has its part in miſ-leading Men from the true Senſe of the Sacred Scripture. He that ſhall attentively read the Chriſtian Writers after the Age of the Apoſtles, will eaſily find how much the Philoſophy they were tinctured with, influenced them in their Underſtanding of the Books of the Old and New Teſtament. In the Ages wherein Platoniſm prevailed, the Converts to Chriſtianity of that School, on all occaſions, interpreted Holy Writ according to the Notions they had imbib'd from that Philoſophy. *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine had the ſame effect in its turn, and when it degenerated into the Peripateticiſm of the Schools, that too brought its Notions and Diſtinctions into Divinity, and affixed them to the Terms of the Sacred Scripture. And we may ſee ſtill how at this day every one's Philoſophy regulates every one's Interpretation of the Word of God. Thoſe who are poſſeſſed with the Doctrine of Aerial and Ætherial Vehicles, have thence borrowed an Interpretation of the four firſt Verſes of 2 *Cor.* 5. without having any Ground to think that St. *Paul* had the leaſt notion of any ſuch Vehicles. 'Tis plain that the teaching of Men Philoſophy, was no part of the Deſign of Divine Revelation; but that the Expreſſions of Scripture are commonly ſuited in thoſe Matters to the Vulgar Apprehenſions and Conceptions of the Place and People where they were delivered. And as to the Doctrine therein directly taught by the Apoſtles, that tends wholly to the ſetting up the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt in this World, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, and in this 'tis plain their Expreſſions were conformed to the Ideas and Notions which they had received from Revelation, or

were

were consequent from it. We shall therefore in vain go about to interpret their Words by the Notions of our Philosophy, and the Doctrines of Men delivered in our Schools. This is to explain the Apostles meaning by what they never thought of whilst they were writing, which is not the way to find their Sense in what they deliver'd, but our own, and to take up from their Writings not what they left there for us, but what we bring along with us in our selves. He that would understand St. *Paul* right, must understand his Terms in the Sense he uses them, and not as they are appropriated by each Man's particular Philosophy, to Conceptions that never enter'd the Mind of the Apostle. For Example, he that shall bring the Philosophy now taught and receiv'd to the explaining of *Spirit*, *Soul*, and *Body*, mentioned 1 *Thess.* 5. 23. will, I fear, hardly reach St. *Paul*'s Sense, or represent to himself the Notions St. *Paul* then had in his Mind. That is what we should aim at in reading him, or any other Author, and 'till we from his Words paint his very Ideas and Thoughts in our Minds, we do not understand him.

In the Divisions I have made, I have endeavour'd the best I could to govern my self by the Diversity of Matter. But in a Writer like St. *Paul*, it is not so easie always to find precisely where one Subject ends, and another begins. He is full of the Matter he treats and writes with Warmth, which usually neglects Method, and those Partitions and Pauses which Men educated in the Schools of Rhetoricians usually observe. Those Arts of Writing St. *Paul*, as well out of Design as Temper, wholly laid by: The Subject he had in hand, and the Grounds upon which it stood firm, and by which he inforced it, was what alone he minded, and without solemnly winding up one Argument, and intimating any way that he began another, let his Thoughts, which were fully possess'd of the Matter, run in one continued Train, wherein the Parts of his Discourse were wove one into another. So that it is seldom that the Scheme of his Discourse makes any Gap; and therefore without breaking in upon the Connection of his Language, 'tis hardly possible to separate his Discourse, and give a distinct View of his several Arguments in distinct Sections.

I am far from pretending Infallibity in the Sense I have any where given in my Paraphrase or Notes; That would be to erect my self into an Apostle, a Presumption of the highest Nature in any one that cannot confirm what he says by Miracles. I have for my own Information sought the true Meaning as far as my poor Abilities would reach. And I have unbyassedly embraced what upon a fair Enquiry appear'd so to me. This I thought my Duty and Interest in a Matter of so great Concernment to me. If I must believe for my self, it is unavoidable that I must understand for my self. For if I blindly and with an Implicit Faith take the Pope's Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, without examining whether it be Christ's Meaning; 'tis the Pope I believe in, and not in Christ; 'tis his Authority I rest upon; 'tis what he says I embrace: For what 'tis Christ says, I neither know nor concern my self. 'Tis the same thing when I set up any other Man in Christ's place, and make him the Authentique Interpreter of Sacred Scripture to my self. He may possibly understand the Sacred Scripture as right as any Man, but I shall do well to examine my self, whether that which I do not know, nay (which in the way I take) I can never know, can justifie me in making my self his Disciple, instead of Jesus's Christ's, who of Right is alone and ought to be my only Lord and Master: And it will be no less Sacrilege in me to substitute to my self any other in his room, to be a Prophet, to me, than to be my King or Priest.

The same Reasons that put me upon doing what I have in these Papers done, will exempt me from all Suspicion of imposing my Interpretation on others. The Reasons that led me into the Meaning which prevail'd on my Mind, are set down with it; as far as they carry Light and Conviction to any other Man's Understanding, so far I hope my Labour may be of some Use to him; beyond the Evidence it carries with it, I advise him not to follow mine, nor any Man's Interpretation. We are all Men liable to Errors, and infected with them; but have this sure way to preserve our selves every one from danger by them, if laying aside Sloth, Carelessness, Prejudice, Party, and a Reverence of Men, we betake our selves in earnest to the Study of the way to Salvation, in those holy Writings wherein God has reveal'd it from Heaven, and propos'd it to the World, seeking our Religion where we are sure it is in Truth to be found, comparing spiritual things with spiritual things.

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

EPISTLE of St. *PAUL*

TO THE

GALATIANS.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

THERE is nothing certainly of greater Concernment to the Peace of the Church in general, nor to the Direction and Edification of all Chriſtians in particular, than a right Underſtanding of the Holy Scripture. This Conſideration has ſet ſo many learned and pious Men amongſt us of late Years upon Expoſitions, Paraphraſes and Notes on the Sacred Writings, that the Author of theſe hopes the Faſhion may excuſe him for endeavouring to add his Mite, believing, that after all that has been done by thoſe great Labourers in the Harveſt, there may be ſome Gleanings left, whereof he preſumes he has an Inſtance, Ch. III. ver. 20. *and ſome other Places in this Epiſtle to the* Galatians, *which he looks upon not to be the hardeſt of St.* Paul's. *If he has given a Light to any obſcure Paſſage, he ſhall think his Pains well employ'd: If there be nothing elſe worth notice in him, accept of his good Intention.*

THE EPISTLE of St. *PAUL* TO THE *GALATIANS.*

Writ from Epheſus, *the Year of our Lord* 57. *Of* Nero 3.

SYNOPSIS.

THE Subject and Deſign of this Epiſtle of St. *Paul* is much the ſame with that of his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, but treated in ſomewhat a different Manner. The Buſineſs of it is to dehort and hinder the *Galatians* from bringing themſelves under the Bondage of the Moſaical Law.

St. *Paul* himſelf had planted the Churches of *Galatia*, and therefore referring (as he does, *Ch.* I. 8, 9.) to what he had before taught them, does not in this Epiſtle lay down at large to them the Doctrine of the Goſpel, as he does in that to the *Romans*, who having been converted to the Chriſtian Faith by others, he did not know how far they were inſtructed in all thoſe Particulars, which, on the Occaſion whereon he writ to them, it might be neceſſary for them to underſtand: And therefore, writing to the *Romans*, he ſets before them a large and comprehenſive View of the chief Heads of the Chriſtian Religion.

He alſo deals more roundly with his Diſciples the *Galatians*, than, we may obſerve, he does with the *Romans*, to whom he, being a Stranger, writes not in ſo familiar a Style, nor in his Reproofs and Exhortations uſes ſo much the Tone of a Maſter, as he does to the *Galatians*.

St. *Paul* had converted the *Galatians* to the Faith, and erected ſeveral Churches among them in the Year of our Lord 51; between which, and the Year 57, wherein this Epiſtle was writ, the Diſorders following were got into thoſe Churches.

Firſt, Some Zealots for the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution had very near perſuaded them out of their Chriſtian Liberty, and made them willing to ſubmit to Circumciſion, and all the ritual Obſervances of the *Jewiſh* Church, as neceſſary under the Goſpel: *Ch.* I. 7. III. 3. IV. 9, 10, 21. V. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.

Secondly, Their Diſſentions and Diſputes in this Matter had raiſed great Animoſities amongſt them, to the Diſturbance of their Peace, and the ſetting them at Strife one with another: *Ch.* V. 6, 13—15.

The reforming them in theſe two Points ſeems to be the main Buſineſs of this Epiſtle, wherein he endeavours to eſtabliſh them in a Reſolution to ſtand

firm in the Freedom of the Gospel, which exempts them from the Bondage of the Mosaical Law: And labours to reduce them to a sincere Love and Affection one to another; which he concludes with an Exhortation to Liberality, and general Beneficence, especially to their Teachers; *Ch.* VI. 6, 10. These being the Matters he had in his Mind to write to them about, he seems here as if he had done. But, upon the mentioning, *v.* 11. what a long Letter he had writ to them with his own Hand, the former Argument concerning Circumcision, which filled and warmed his Mind, broke out again into what we find, *v.* 12—17. of the VIth Chapter.

SECT. I.

Chap. I.

CHAP. I. 1—5.

Introduction.

CONTENTS.

THE general View of this Epistle plainly shews St. *Paul*'s chief Design in it to be, to keep the *Galatians* from hearkening to those Judaizing Seducers, who had almost persuaded them to be circumcised. These Perverters of the Gospel of Christ, as St. *Paul* himself calls them, *v.* 7. had, as may be gather'd from *v.* 8. and 10. and from *Ch.* 5. 11. and other Passages of this Epistle, made the *Galatians* believe that St. *Paul* himself was for Circumcision. Till St. *Paul* himself had set them right in this Matter, and convinced them of the Falshood of this Aspersion, it was in vain for him by other Arguments to attempt the re-establishing the *Galatians* in the Christian Liberty, and in that Truth which he had preach'd to them. The removing therefore of this Calumny was his first Endeavour: And to that Purpose this Introduction, different from what we find in any other of his Epistles, is marvellously well adapted. He declares here at the Entrance, very expressly and emphatically, that he was not sent by Men on their Errands; nay, that Christ in sending him did not so much as convey his Apostolick Power to him by the Ministry, or Intervention of any Man; but that his Commission and Instructions were all entirely from God, and Christ himself, by immediate Revelation. This of it self was an Argument sufficient to induce them to believe, 1. That what he taught them when he first preached the Gospel to them, was the Truth, and that they ought to stick firm to that. 2. That he changed not his Doctrine, whatever might be reported of him. He was Christ's chosen Officer, and had no Dependance on Men's Opinions, nor Regard to their Authority, or Favour, in what he preach'd; and therefore 'twas not likely he should preach one thing at one time, and another thing at another.

Thus this Preface is very proper in this Place to introduce what he is going to say concerning himself, and adds Force to his Discourse, and the Account he gives of himself in the next Section.

PARAPHRASE. *TEXT.*

1. PAUL (an Apostle not of Men (*a*) to serve their Ends, or carry on their Designs, nor receiving his Call, or Commission by the Intervention of any

PAUL an Apostle, (not 1 of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ,

NOTES.

1 (*a*) Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, *not of Men*, i.e. not sent by Men at their Pleasure, or by their Authority; not instructed by Men what to say or do, as we see *Timothy* and *Titus* were, when sent by St. *Paul*: And *Judas* and *Silas* sent by the Church of *Jerusalem*.

Man

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

and God the Father who raiſed him from the dead.)

Man (*b*) to whom he might be thought to owe any Reſpect or Deference upon that Account; but immediately from Jeſus Chriſt, and from God the Father, who raiſed him up from the Dead)

2 And all the brethren which are with me unto the 3 Churches of Galatia: Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: 4 Who gave himſelf for our Sins, that he might deliver us from this preſent world, according to the will of 5 God and our Father. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

and all the Brethren that are with me, unto the Churches (*c*) of *Galatia*: Favour be to you, and Peace (*d*) from God the Father, and from our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who gave himſelf for our Sins, that he might take us out of this preſent evil World, (*e*) according to the Will and good Pleaſure of God and our Father, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. *Amen.*

2. 3. 4. 5.

NOTES.

(*b*) Οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, *nor by Man*, i. e. His Choice and Separation to his Miniſtry and Apoſtleſhip, was ſo wholly an Act of God and Chriſt, that there was no Intervention of any thing done by any Man in the Caſe, as there was in the Election of *Matthias*. All this we may ſee explain'd at large, *v.* 10——12. and *v.* 16, 17. and *Ch.* II. 6——9.

2 (*c*) *Churches of* Galatia. This was an evident Seal of his Apoſtleſhip to the Gentiles: Since in no bigger a Country than *Galatia*, a ſmall Province of the leſſer *Aſia*, he had, in no long Stay among them, planted ſeveral diſtinct Churches.

3 (*d*) *Peace.* The wiſhing of *Peace*, in the Scripture-Language, is the wiſhing of all manner of Good.

4 (*e*) Ὅπως ἐξέληται ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος αἰῶνος πονηροῦ. *That he might take us out of this preſent evil World*, or *Age*, ſo the Greek Words ſignify. Whereby it cannot be thought that St. *Paul* meant, that Chriſtians were to be immediately removed into the other World. Therefore ἐνεστὼς αἰὼν muſt ſignify ſomething elſe than *preſent World*, in the ordinary Import of thoſe Words in Engliſh. Αἰὼν ἕτος, 1 *Cor.* 2. 6, 8. and in other Places plainly ſignifies the *Jewiſh* Nation under the Moſaical Conſtitution; and it ſuits very well with the Apoſtle's Deſign in this Epiſtle, that it ſhould do ſo here. God has in this World but one Kingdom, and one People. The Nation of the *Jews* were the Kingdom and People of God, whilſt the Law ſtood. And this Kingdom of God under the Moſaical Conſtitution was called αἰὼν ἕτος, *this Age*, or as it is commonly tranſlated, *this World*, to which αἰὼν ἐνεστὼς, *the preſent World*, or *Age*, here anſwers. But the Kingdom of God, which was to be under the Meſſiah, wherein the Oeconomy and Conſtitution of the *Jewiſh* Church, and the Nation it ſelf, that in Oppoſition to Chriſt adhered to it, was to be laid aſide, is in the New Teſtament call'd αἰὼν μέλλων, *the World*, or *Age to come*; ſo that Chriſt's *taking them out of the preſent World*, may, without any Violence to the Words, be underſtood to ſignify his ſetting them free from the Moſaical Conſtitution. This is ſuitable to the Deſign of this Epiſtle, and what St. *Paul* has declar'd in many other Places. See *Col.* II. 14—17, and 20. which agrees to this Place, and *Rom.* VII. 4, 6. The Law is ſaid to be *contrary to us*, Col. II. 14. and to work Wrath, *Rom.* IV. 15. and St. *Paul* ſpeaks very diminiſhingly of the ritual Parts of it in many Places: But yet if all this may not be thought ſufficient to juſtify the applying of the Epithet πονηρὸς, *Evil*, to it, that Scruple will be removed, if we take ἐνεστὼς αἰὼν, *this preſent World*, here, for the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution and Nation together, in which Senſe it may very well be called *Evil*, tho' the Apoſtle, out of his wonted Tenderneſs to his Nation, forbears to name them openly, and uſes a doubtful Expreſſion, which might comprehend the Heathen World alſo, tho' he chiefly pointed at the *Jews*.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 6——II. 21.

CONTENTS.

WE have obſerved, that St. *Paul*'s firſt Endeavour in this Epiſtle was to ſatisfy the *Galatians*, that the Report ſpread of him that he preach'd Circumciſion, was falſe. Till this Obſtruction, that lay in his Way, was removed, it was to no Purpoſe for him to go about to diſſuade them from Circumciſion, though that be what he principally aims at in this Epiſtle. To ſhew them, that he promoted not Circumciſion, he calls their hearkening to thoſe who perſuaded them to be circumciſed, their being *removed* from him; and

Chap. I. and those that so perswaded them, *Perverters of the Gospel of Christ*, v. 6, 7. He farther assures them, that the Gospel which he preached every where was that, and that only, which he had received by immediate Revelation from Christ, and no Contrivance of Man, nor did he vary it to please Men: That would not consist with his being a Servant of Christ, *v.* 10. And he expresses such a firm Adherence to what he had received from Christ, and had preached to them, that he pronounces an *Anathema* upon himself, *v.* 8, 9. or any other Man or Angel, that should preach any thing else to them. To make out this to have been all along his Conduct, he gives an Account of himself for many Years backwards, even from the Time before his Conversion. Wherein he shews, that from a zealous persecuting Jew, he was made a Christian, and an Apostle, by immediate Revelation; and that, having no Communication with the Apostles, or with the Churches of *Judæa*, or any Man for some Years, he had nothing to preach, but what he had received by immediate Revelation. Nay, when fourteen Years after he went up to *Jerusalem*, it was by Revelation; and when he there communicated the Gospel, which he preach'd among the *Gentiles*, *Peter*, *James*, and *John* approv'd of it, without adding any thing, but admitted him as their Fellow-Apostle. So that in all this he was guided by nothing but Divine Revelation, which he inflexibly stuck to so far, that he openly opposed St. *Peter*, for his Judaizing at *Antioch*. All which Account of himself tends clearly to shew, that St. *Paul* made not the least Step towards complying with the *Jews* in Favour of the Law, nor did, out of Regard to Man, deviate from the Doctrine he had received by Revelation from God.

All the Parts of this Section, and the Narrative contain'd it, manifestly *concenter* in this, as will more fully appear, as we go through them, and take a closer View of them, which will shew us that the Whole is so skilfully managed, and the Parts so gently slid into, that it is a strong, but not seemingly labour'd Justification of himself, from the Imputation of Preaching up Circumcision.

PARAPHRASE.	*TEXT.*
6. I Cannot but wonder that you are so soon (*f*) removed from me, (*g*) (who called you into the Covenant of Grace which is in Christ) unto another Sort	6 I Marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto
7. of Gospel; which is not owing to any thing else (*h*) but only this, that ye are troubled by a certain Sort of Men, who would overturn the Gospel of Christ, by making Circumcision, and the keeping of the Law	another Gospel: 7 Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of

NOTES.

6 (*f*) *So soon.* The first Place we find *Galatia* mentioned, is *Acts* XVI. 6. And therefore St. *Paul* may be supposed to have planted these Churches there, in his Journey mentioned, *Acts* XVI. which was *Anno Domini* 51. He visited them again, after he had been at *Jerusalem*, Acts XVIII. 21——23. *Anno Domini* 54. From thence he returned to *Ephesus*, and staid there about two Years, during which Time this Epistle was writ; so that counting from his last Visit, this Letter was writ to them within two or three Years from the Time he was last with them, and had left them confirmed in the Doctrine he had taught them, and therefore he might with Reason wonder at their forsaking him so soon, and that Gospel he had converted them to.

(*g*) *From him that called you.* These Words plainly point out himself. But then one might wonder how St. *Paul* came to use them; since it would have sounded better to have said, *Removed from the Gospel I preach'd to you, to another Gospel*, than *removed from me that preach'd to you, to another Gospel.* But if it be remember'd that St. *Paul*'s Design here is to vindicate himself from the Aspersion cast on him, That he preach'd Circumcision, nothing could be more suitable to that Purpose, than this way of expressing himself.

7 (*h*) Ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο. I take to signify, *which is not any thing else.* The Words themselves, the Context, and the Business the Apostle is upon here, do all concur to give these Words the Sense I have taken them in. For, 1. If Ὃ had referr'd to εὐαγγέλιον, it would have been more natural to have kept the Word ἕτερον, and not to have chang'd it into ἄλλο. 2. It can scarce be supposed by any one who reads what St. *Paul* says in the following Words of this Verse, and the two adjoining; and also *Ch.* III. 4. and *ver.* 2—4, and 7. That St. *Paul* should tell them, that what he would keep them from *is not another Gospel.* 3. It is suitable to St. *Paul*'s Design here to tell them, that to their being *removed to another Gospel* no body else had contributed, but it was wholly owing to those Judaizing Seducers.

necessary

TEXT.

8 Chriſt. But though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other goſpel unto you, than that which we have preach'd unto you,
9 let him be accurſed. As we ſaid before, ſo ſay I now again, if any man preach any other goſpel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accur-
10 ſed. For do I now perſuade men or God? Or do I ſeek to pleaſe men? For if I yet pleaſed men, I ſhould not be the ſervant
11 of Chriſt. But I certifie you, brethren, that the goſpel which was preached of me, is not after
12 man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the Revelation of Jeſus
13 Chriſt. For ye have heard of my converſation in time paſt, in the Jews religion, how that beyond meaſure I perſecuted the Church of God,
14 and waſted it: And profited in the Jews religion, above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my Fathers.

PARAPHRASE.

neceſſary (*i*) under the Goſpel. But if even I my ſelf, or an Angel from Heaven ſhould preach any thing to you for Goſpel, different from the Goſpel I have preached unto you, let him be Accurſed. I ſay it again to you, if any one, under Pretence of the Goſpel, preach any other thing to you than what ye have received from me, let him be Accurſed. (*k*) For can it be doubted of me, after having done and ſuffer'd ſo much for the Goſpel of Chriſt, whether I do now (*l*) at this time of day, make my Court to Men, or ſeek the Favour (*m*) of God? If I had hitherto made it my Buſineſs to pleaſe Men, I ſhould not have been the Servant of Chriſt, nor taken up the Profeſſion of the Goſpel. But I certify you, brethren, that the Goſpel which has been every where (*n*) preached by me, is not ſuch as is pliant to humane Intereſt, or can be accommodated to the pleaſing of Men. (For I neither received it from Man, nor was I taught it by any one as his Scholar) but it is the pure and unmix'd immediate Revelation of Jeſus Chriſt to me. To ſatisfy you of this, my Behaviour, whilſt I was of the Jewiſh Religion, is ſo well known, that I need not tell you, how exceſſive violent I was in perſecuting the Church of God, and deſtroy'd it all I could; and that being carry'd on by an extraordinary Zeal for the Traditions of my Forefathers, I out-ſtrip'd many Students of my

8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

(*i*) See *Acts* XV. 1, 5, 23, 24.

9 (*k*) *Accurſed.* Though we may look upon the Repetition of the *Anathema* here to be for the adding of Force to what he ſays, yet we may obſerve, that by joyning himſelf with an Angel in the foregoing Verſe, he does as good as tell them, that he is not guilty of what deſerves it, by skilfully inſinuating to the *Galatians*, that they might as well ſuſpect an Angel might preach to them a Goſpel different from his, *i. e.* a falſe Goſpel, as that he himſelf ſhould: And then in this Verſe lays the *Anathema* wholly and ſolely upon the Judaizing Seducers.

10 (*l*) Ἄρτι *Now*, and ἔτι *yet*, cannot be underſtood without a Reference to ſomething in St. *Paul*'s paſt Life; what that was, which he had particularly then in his Mind, we may ſee by the Account he gives of himſelf, in what immediately follows, (*viz.*) That before his Converſion he was employ'd by Men in their Deſigns, and made it his Buſineſs to pleaſe them, as may be ſeen, *Acts* IX. 1, 2. But when God called him, he received his Commiſſion and Inſtructions from him alone, and ſet immediately about it, without conſulting any Man whatſoever, preaching that, and that only, which he had received from Chriſt. So that it would be ſenſeleſs Folly in him, and no leſs than the forſaking his Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, if he ſhould *now*, as was reported of him, mix any thing of Mens with the pure Doctrine of the Goſpel, which he had received immediately by Revelation from Jeſus Chriſt, to pleaſe the *Jews*, after he had ſo long preach'd only that; and had, to avoid all Appearance or Pretence to the contrary, ſo carefully ſhun'd all Communication with the Churches of *Judea*; and had not, till a good while after, and that very ſparingly, converſed with any, and thoſe but a few of the Apoſtles themſelves, ſome of whom he openly reproved for their Judaizing. Thus the Narrative ſubjoined to this Verſe explains the *now* and *yet* in it, and all tends to the ſame Purpoſe.

(*m*) Πείθω tranſlated *perſuade*, is ſometimes uſed for making Application to any one to obtain his good Will or Friendſhip; and hence, *Acts* 12. 20. πείσαντες Βλάστον is tranſlated, having made *Blaſtus* their Friend: The Senſe is here the ſame which 1 *Theſſ.* 2. 4. he expreſſes in theſe Words, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *not as pleaſing Men, but God.*

11 (*n*) Τὸ εὐαγγελισθὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, *which has been preached by me*: This, being ſpoken indefinitely, muſt be underſtood in general *every where*, and ſo is the Import of the foregoing Verſe.

own

PARAPHRASE.

15. own Age and Nation, in *Judaism*. But when it pleased God (who separated (*o*) me from my Mother's Womb, and by his especial Favour called (*p*) me to
16. be a Christian, and a Preacher of the Gospel) To reveal his Son to me, that I might preach him among the *Gentiles*, I thereupon apply'd not my self to any
17. Man (*q*) for Advice what to do: (*r*) Neither went I up to *Jerusalem*, to those who were Apostles before me, to see whether they approved my Doctrine, or to have farther Instructions from them: But I went immediately (*s*) unto *Arabia*, and from thence returned
18. again to *Damascus*. Then after three Years (*t*) I went up to *Jerusalem*, to see *Peter*, and abode with him fif-
19. teen Days. But other of the Apostles saw I none but
20. *James*, the Brother of our Lord. These Things that I write to you, I call God to Witness, are all true;
21. there is no Falshood in them. Afterwards I came in-
22. to the Regions of *Syria*, and *Cilicia*. But with the Churches of Christ (*u*) in *Judea* I had had no Communication, they had not so much as seen my
23. Face, (*w*) only they had heard that I, who formerly persecuted the Churches of Christ, did now preach the Gospel, which I once endeavour'd to suppress
24. and extirpate. And they glorified God upon my Account.

TEXT.

But when it pleased God, 15
who separated me from
my mother's womb, and
called me by his grace,
To reveal his Son in me, 16
that I might preach him
among the Heathen;
immediately I conferred
not with flesh and blood:
Neither went I up to Je- 17
rusalem, to them which
were Apostles before me,
but I went into Arabia,
and returned again unto
Damascus. Then after 18
three years I went up to
Jerusalem to see Peter,
and abode with him fif-
teen days. But other of 19
the apostles saw I none,
save James the Lord's
brother. Now the things 20
which I write unto you,
behold, before God, I
lye not. Afterwards I 21
came into the regions of
Syria and Cilicia: And 22
was unknown by face unto
the Churches of Judea,
which were in Christ. But 23
they had heard only, That
he which persecuted us in
times past, now preacheth
the faith which once he
destroyed. And they glo- 24
rified God in me.

NOTES.

15 (*o*) *Separated.* This may be understood by *Jer.* I. 5.

(*p*) *Called.* The History of this Call, see *Acts* IX. 1, &c.

16 (*q*) *Flesh and Blood*, is used for Man, see *Eph.* VI. 12.

(*r*) *For Advice:* This, and what he says in the following Verse, is to evidence to the *Galatians*, the full Assurance he had of the Truth and Perfection of the Gospel, which he had received from Christ by immediate Revelation; and how little he was disposed to have any Regard to the pleasing of Men in Preaching it, that he did not so much as communicate or advise with any of the Apostles about it, to see whether they approved of it.

17 (*s*) Εὐθέως, *immediately*, though placed just before ἐ and προσανεθέμην, *I conferred not*, yet it is plain by the Sense and Design of St. *Paul*, here, that it principally relates to, *I went into* Arabia; his Departure into *Arabia*, presently upon his Conversion, before he had consulted with any body, being made use of, to shew that the Gospel he had received by immediate Revelation from Jesus Christ, was compleat, and sufficiently instructed and inabled him to be a Preacher and an Apostle to the *Gentiles*, without borrowing any thing from any Man, in order thereunto; no not with any of the Apostles, no one of whom he saw till three Years after.

18 (*t*) *Three Years*, i. e. from his Conversion.

22 (*u*) *In Christ*, i. e. Believing in Christ, see *Rom.* 16. 7.

(*w*) This which he so particularly takes notice of, does nothing to the proving that he was a true Apostle, but serves very well to shew, that in what he preached, he had no Communication with those of his own Nation, nor took any Care to please the *Jews*.

Chap. II.

CHAP. II.

TEXT.

1 THen fourteen years after, I went up again to Jeruſalem, with Barnabas and took Titus
2 with me alſo. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that goſpel which I preach among the *Gentiles*, but privately to them which were of reputation, leſt by any means I ſhould run, or had
3 run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumciſed:
4 and that becauſe of falſe

PARAPHRASE.

THen fourteen Years after I went up again to *Jeruſalem*, with *Barnabas*, and took *Titus* alſo with me. And I went up by Revelation, and there laid before them the Goſpel which I (*x*) preached to the *Gentiles*, but privately to thoſe who were of Note and Reputation amongſt them, leſt the Pains that I have already taken, (*y*) or ſhould take in the Goſpel, ſhould be in vain. (*z*) But, tho' I communicated the Goſpel which I preach'd to the *Gentiles*, to the eminent Men of the Church at *Jeruſalem*, yet neither (*a*) *Titus*, who was with me, being a *Greek*, was forced to be circumciſed: Nor (*b*) did I yield any thing one Moment by 1. 2. 3. 4.

NOTES.

2 (*x*) *I communicated.* The Conference he had in private with the Chief of the Church of *Jeruſalem*, concerning the Goſpel which he preach'd among the *Gentiles*, ſeems not to have been barely concerning the Doctrine of their being free from the Law of *Moſes*: That had been openly and hotly diſputed at *Antioch*, and was known to be the Buſineſs they came about to *Jeruſalem*; but it is probable it was to explain to them the whole Doctrine he had received by Revelation, by the Fulneſs and Perfection whereof (for it is ſaid, *ver.* 6. that in that Conference they added nothing to it) and by the Miracles he had done in Confirmation of it (ſee *ver.* 8.) they might ſee and own what he preached to be the Truth, and him to be one of themſelves, both by Commiſſion and Doctrine, as indeed they did; αὐτοῖς, *them*, ſignifies thoſe at *Jeruſalem*: κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκοῦσι, are exegetical, and ſhew the particular Manner and Perſons, import *nempe privatim eminentioribus.* 'Twas enough to his Purpoſe to be owned by thoſe of greateſt Authority, and ſo we ſee he was by *James*, *Peter* and *John*, *ver.* 9. and therefore it was ſafeſt and beſt to give an Account of the Goſpel he preach'd in private to them, and not publickly to the whole Church.

(*y*) *Running*, St. *Paul* uſes for *taking Pains* in the Goſpel. See *Col.* 2. 16. A Metapher, I ſuppoſe, taken from the Olympick Games, to expreſs his utmoſt Endeavours to prevail in the propagating the Goſpel.

(*z*) *In vain:* He ſeems here to give two Reaſons why at laſt, after 14 Years, he communicated to the Chief of the Apoſtles at *Jeruſalem*, the Goſpel that he preach'd to the Gentiles, when as he ſhews to the *Galatians* he had formerly declined all Communication with the convert *Jews*. 1. He ſeems to intimate, That he did it by Revelation. 2. He gives another Reaſon, *viz.* That if he had not communicated, as he did, with the leading Men there, and ſatisfied them of his Doctrine and Miſſion, his Oppoſers might unſettle the Churches he had, or ſhould plant, by urging, that the Apoſtles knew not what it was that he preached, nor had ever owned it for the Goſpel, or him for an Apoſtle. Of the Readineſs of the judaizing Seducers to take any ſuch Advantage againſt him, he had lately an Example in the Church of *Corinth*.

3 (*a*) οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη is rightly tranſlated, *was not compelled*, a plain Evidence to the *Galatians*, that the circumciſing of the convert *Gentiles*, was no Part of the Goſpel which he laid before theſe Men of Note, as what he preach'd to the *Gentiles*. For if it had, *Titus* muſt have been circumciſed; for no Part of his Goſpel was blamed, or alter'd by them, *ver.* 6. Of what other Uſe his mentioning this of *Titus* here can be, but to ſhew to the *Galatians*, that what he preach'd contain'd nothing of circumciſing the convert *Gentiles*, it is hard to find. If it were to ſhew that the other Apoſtles, and Church at *Jeruſalem*, diſpenſed with Circumciſion, and other ritual Obſervances of the Moſaical Law, that was needleſs; for that was ſufficiently declared by their Decree, *Acts* 15. which was made and communicated to the Churches before this Epiſtle was writ, as may be ſeen, *Acts* 16. 4. much leſs was this of *Titus* of any Force, to prove that St. *Paul* was a true Apoſtle, if that were what he was here labouring to juſtify. But conſidering his Aim here to be the clearing himſelf from a Report that he preached up Circumciſion, there could be nothing more to his Purpoſe, than this Inſtance of *Titus*, whom, uncircumciſed as he was, he took with him to *Jeruſalem*; uncircumciſed he kept with him there, and uncircumciſed he took back with him when he returned. This was a ſtrong and pertinent Inſtance to perſuade the *Galatians*, that the Report of his preaching Circumciſion was a mere Aſperſion.

4 (*b*) οὐδὲ, *Neither*, in the 3d Verſe, according to Propriety of Speech, ought to have a *Nor* to anſwer it, which is the οὐδὲ, *nor*, here; which, ſo taken, anſwers the Propriety of the Greek, and very much clears the Senſe; οὐδὲ Τίτος ἠναγκάσθη, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν εἴξαμεν· *Neither was* Titus *compelled, nor did we yield to them a Moment.*

Chap. II.

PARAPHRASE.

way of Subjection (*c*) to the Law, to thoſe falſe Brethren, who by an unwary Admittance, were ſlyly crept in to ſpy out our Liberty from the Law, which we have under the Goſpel: that they might bring us
5. into Bondage (*d*) to the Law. But I ſtood my Ground againſt it, that the Truth (*e*) of the Goſpel might re-
6. main (*f*) among you. But as for thoſe (*g*) who were really Men (*h*) of Eminency and Value, what they were heretofore, it matters not at all to me: God accepts not the Perſon of any Man, but communicates the Goſpel to whom he pleaſes, (*i*) as he has done

TEXT.

brethrenunawares brought in, who came in privily to ſpy out our Liberty, which we have in Chriſt Jeſus, that they might bring us into bondage: To whom 5 we gave place by ſubjection, no not for an hour; that the truth of the goſpel might continue with you. But of theſe, who 6 ſeem'd to be ſomewhat, (whatſoever they were, it

NOTES.

(*c*) τῇ ὑποταγῇ, *by Subjection.* The Point thoſe falſe Brethren contended for, was, That the Law of *Moſes* was to be kept, ſee *Acts* 15. 5. St. *Paul*, who on other Occaſions was ſo complaiſant, that to the *Jews* he became as a *Jew*, to thoſe under the Law, as under the Law, (ſee 1 *Cor.* 9. 19—22.) yet when Subjection to the Law was claim'd as due in any Caſe, he would not yield the leaſt matter; this I take to be his Meaning of οἷς οὐδὲ πρὸς ὥραν τῇ ὑποταγῇ; for where Compliance was deſired of him, upon the Account of Expedience, and not of Subjection to the Law, we do not find him ſtiff and inflexible, as may be ſeen, *Acts* 21. 18——26. which was after the writing of this Epiſtle.

(*d*) *Bondage.* What this *Bondage* was, ſee *Acts* 15. 1, 5, 10.

5 (*e*) *The Truth of the Goſpel.* By it he means here the Doctrine of Freedom from the Law; and ſo he calls it again, *ver.* 14. and *ch.* 3. 1. & 4. 19.

(*f*) *Might remain among you.* Here he tells the Reaſon himſelf why he yielded not to thoſe judaizing falſe Brethren: It was, that the true Doctrine which he had preach'd to the *Gentiles*, of their Freedom from the Law, might ſtand firm. A convincing Argument to the *Galatians*, that he preach'd not Circumciſion.

4, 5. *And that, to whom.* There appears a manifeſt Difficulty in theſe two Verſes, which has been obſerved by moſt Interpreters, and is by ſeveral aſcribed to a Redundancy, which ſome place in δὲ, in the Beginning of *ver.* 4. and others to οἷς in the Beginning of *ver.* 5. The Relation between δὲ, *ver.* 3. and δὲ, *ver.* 5. methinks puts an eaſie End to the Doubt, by the ſhewing St. *Paul*'s Senſe to be, that he *neither* circumciſed *Titus*, *nor* yielded in the leaſt to the falſe Brethren; he having told the *Galatians*, that upon his laying before the Men of moſt Authority in the Church at *Jeruſalem*, the Doctrine which he preach'd, *Titus* was not circumciſed; he, as a farther Proof of his not preaching Circumciſion, tells them how he carried it toward the falſe Brethren, whoſe Deſign it was to bring the convert *Gentiles* into *Subjection* to the Law. *And*, or *Moreover* (for ſo δὲ often ſignifies) ſays he *in regard to the falſe Brethren*, &c. Which way of Entrance on the Matter would not admit of δὲ after it, to anſwer δὲ *ver.* 3. which was already writ, but without οἷς the Negation muſt have been expreſſed by ἐκ, as any one will perceive, who attentively reads the Greek Original. And thus οἷς may be allow'd for an Hebrew Pleonaſm, and the Reaſon of it to be the preventing the former δὲ to ſtand alone to the Diſturbance of the Senſe.

6 (*g*) He that conſiders the Beginning of this Verſe, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοκούντων, with Regard to the Διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρεισάκτους, in the Beginning of the 4th Verſe, will eaſily be induced by the Greek Idiom, to conclude, that the Author by theſe Beginnings intimates a plain Diſtinction of the Matter ſeparately treated of, in what follows each of them, (*viz.*) what paſſed between the falſe Brethren and him, contain'd in *ver.* 4, and 5. and what paſſed between the Chief of the Brethren and him, contained *ver.* 6——10. And therefore ſome (and I think with Reaſon) introduce this Verſe with theſe Words, *Thus we have behaved our ſelves towards the falſe Brethren: But*, &c.

(*h*) Τῶν δοκούντων εἶναί τι, our Tranſlation renders, *who ſeemed to be ſomewhat*, which however it may anſwer the Words, yet to an *Engliſh* Ear it carries a diminiſhing and ironical Senſe, contrary to the Meaning of the Apoſtle, who ſpeaks here of thoſe for whom he had a real Eſteem, and were truly of the firſt Rank; for it is plain by what follows, that he means *Peter*, *James* and *John*. Beſides οἱ δοκοῦντες being taken in a good Senſe, *ver.* 2. and tranſlated, *thoſe of Reputation*, the ſame Expreſſion ſhould have been kept in rendering *ver.* 6. and 3. where the ſame Term occurs again three times, and may be preſumed in the ſame Senſe that it was at firſt uſed in *ver.* 2.

(*i*) Every body ſees that there is ſomething to be ſupplied to make up the Senſe; moſt Commentators, that I have ſeen, add theſe Words, *I learned nothing*: But then that enervates the Reaſon that follows, *For in Conference they added nothing to me*, giving the ſame Thing as a Reaſon for itſelf, and making St. *Paul* talk thus, *I learnt nothing of them, for they taught me nothing.* But it is very good Reaſoning and ſuited to his Purpoſe, that it was nothing at all to him, how much thoſe great Men were formerly in Chriſt's Favour: This hindered not but that God, who was no Reſpecter of Perſons, might reveal the Goſpel to him alſo, as 'twas evident he had done, and that in its full Perfection; for thoſe great Men, the moſt eminent of the

TEXT.

maketh no matter to me: God accepteth no man's perſon) for they who ſeemed *to be ſomewhat*, in conference added nothing unto
7 me. But contrariwiſe, when they ſaw that the Goſpel of the uncircumciſion was committed unto me, as the Goſpel of the circumciſion
8 was unto *Peter*. (For he that wrought effectually in Peter to the apoſtleſhip of the circumciſion, the ſame was mighty in me towards
9 the Gentiles.) And when James, Cephas, and John, who ſeemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowſhip; that we ſhould go
10 unto the heathen, and they unto the circumciſion. Only they would that we ſhould remember the poor; the ſame which I alſo was
11 forward to do. But when Peter was come to An-

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done to me by Revelation, without their Help; for in their Conference with me, they added nothing to me, they taught me nothing new, nor that Chriſt had taught me before, nor had they any thing to object againſt what I preached to the *Gentiles*. But on the contrary, (*k*) *James*, *Peter*, and *John*, who were of Reputation, and juſtly eſteem'd to be Pillars, perceiving that the Goſpel which was to be preach'd to the *Gentiles*, was committed to me; as that which was to be preach'd to the *Jews*, was committed to *Peter*. (For he that had wrought powerfully (*l*) in *Peter*, to his executing the Office of an Apoſtle to the *Jews*, had alſo wrought powerfully in me in my Application and Apoſtleſhip, to the *Gentiles*.) And knowing (*m*) the Favour that was beſtow'd on me, gave me and *Barnabas* the right Hand (*n*) of Fellowſhip, that we ſhould preach the Goſpel to the *Gentiles*, and they to the Children of *Iſrael*. All that they propoſed was, that we ſhould remember to make Collections among the *Gentiles*, for the poor Chriſtians of *Judea*, which was a Thing that of my ſelf I was forward to do. But when *Peter* came to *Antioch*, I

7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

NOTES.

the Apoſtles, had nothing to add to it, or except againſt it. This was proper to perſuade the *Galatians*, that he no where in his Preaching receded from that Doctrine of Freedom from the Law, which he had preach'd to them, and was ſatisfied it was the Truth, even before he had conferred with theſe Apoſtles. The bare ſupplying of ὁι in the Beginning of the Verſe, takes away the Neceſſity of any ſuch Addition. Examples of the like Elleipſes we have, *Mat.* 27. 9. where we read ἀπὸ υἱῶν for οἱ ἀπὸ υἱῶν; and *John* 16. 17. ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν, for ὁι ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν; and ſo here taking ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων to be for ὁι ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων, all the Difficulty is removed; and St. *Paul* having in the foregoing Verſe ended the Narrative of his Deportment towards the falſe Brethren, he here begins an Account of what paſſed between him and the Chief of the Apoſtles.

7 (*k*) *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, who, 'tis manifeſt by *ver.* 9. are the Perſons here ſpoken of, ſeem of all the Apoſtles to have been moſt in Eſteem and Favour with their Maſter, during his Converſation with them on Earth. See *Mark* 5. 37. & 9. 2. & 14. 33. "But yet that, "ſays St. *Paul*, is of no Moment now to me. The Goſpel which I preach, and which God, "who is no Reſpecter of Perſons, has been pleaſed to commit to me by immediate Revela- "tion, is not the leſs true, nor is there any Reaſon for me to recede from it in a Tittle; for "theſe Men of the firſt Rank could find nothing to add, alter or gainſay in it." This is ſuitable to St. *Paul*'s Deſign here, to let the *Galatians* ſee that as he in his Carriage had never favour'd Circumciſion; ſo neither had he any Reaſon, by preaching Circumciſion, to forſake the Doctrine of Liberty from the Law, which he had preach'd to them as a Part of that Goſpel which he had receiv'd by Revelation.

8 (*l*) Ἐνεργήσας, *working in*, may be underſtood here to ſignify, both the Operation of the Spirit upon the Mind of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, in ſending them, the one to the *Jews*, the other to the *Gentiles*; and alſo the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed on them, whereby they were enabled to do Miracles for the Confirmation of their Doctrine. In neither of which St. *Paul*, as he ſhews, was inferior, and ſo had as authentique a Seal of his Miſſion and Doctrine.

9 (*m*) Καὶ *and*, copulates γνόντες *knowing*, in this Verſe, with ἰδόντες *ſeeing*, ver. 7. and makes both of them to agree with the Nominative Caſe to the Verb ἔδωκαν *gave*, which is no other but *James*, *Cephas*, and *John*, and ſo juſtifies my transferring thoſe Names to *v.* 7. for the more eaſie Conſtruction and Underſtanding of the Text, though St. *Paul* defers the naming of them, till he is as it were againſt his Will forced to it before the End of his Diſcourſe.

(*n*) The giving the right Hand was a Symbol amongſt the *Jews*, as well as other Nations, of Accord, and admitting Men into Fellowſhip.

Chap. II.

PARAPHRASE.

openly oppoſed (*o*) him to his Face. For indeed he
12. was to be blamed. For he converſed there familiarly with the *Gentiles*, and ate with them till ſome *Jews* came thither from *James*, then he withdrew and ſeparated from the *Gentiles*, for Fear of thoſe who were
13. of the Circumciſion: And the reſt of the *Jews* joined alſo with him in this Hypocriſy, inſomuch that *Barnabas* himſelf was carried away with the Stream, and
14. diſſembled as they did. But when I ſaw they conformed not their Conduct to the Truth (*p*) of the Goſpel, I ſaid unto *Peter* before them all: If thou being a *Jew* takeſt the Liberty ſometimes to live after the Manner of the *Gentiles*, not keeping to thoſe Rules which the *Jews* obſerve, why doſt thou conſtrain the *Gentiles* to conform themſelves to the Rites, and Man-
15. ner of Living of the *Jews*? We who are by (*q*) Nature *Jews*, born under the Inſtruction and Guidance of the Law, God's peculiar People, and not of the unclean and profligate Race of the *Gentiles*, abandon-
16. ed to Sin and Death, Knowing that a Man cannot be juſtified by the Deeds of the Law, but ſolely by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, even we have put our ſelves upon believing on him, and embraced the Profeſſion of the Goſpel for the Attainment of Juſtification by Faith,

TEXT.

tioch, I withſtood him to the face, becauſe he was to be blamed. For before 12
that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles: but when they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf, fearing them which were of the circumciſion. And 13
the other Jews diſſembled likewiſe with him; inſomuch that Barnabas alſo was carried away with their diſſimulation. But 14
when I ſaw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the goſpel, I ſaid unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, liveſt after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compelleſt thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We who are Jews 15
by nature, and not ſinners of the Gentiles, Knowing 16
that a man is not juſtified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jeſus Chriſt, even we have believed in Jeſus Chriſt; that we might be juſtified by the faith of Chriſt, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law ſhall no fleſh be ju-

NOTES.

11 (*o*) *I oppoſed him.* From this Oppoſition to St. *Peter*, which they ſuppoſe to be before the Council at *Jeruſalem*, ſome would have it, that this Epiſtle to the *Galatians* was writ before that Council; as if what was done before the Council could not be mentioned in a Letter writ after the Council. They alſo contend, that this Journey mentioned here by St. *Paul*, was not that wherein he and *Barnabas* went up to that Council to *Jeruſalem*; but that mentioned, *Acts* 11. 30. but this with as little Ground as the former. The ſtrongeſt Reaſon they bring, is, that if this Journey had been to the Council, and this Letter after that Council, St. *Paul* would not certainly have omitted to have mentioned to the *Galatians*, that Decree. To which I anſwer, 1*ſt*. The mention of it was ſuperfluous, for they had it already, ſee *Acts* 16. 4. 2*d*. The mention of it was impertinent to the Deſign of St. *Paul*'s Narrative here. For it is plain that his Aim in what he relates here of himſelf, and his paſt Actions, is to ſhew, that having received the Goſpel from Chriſt by immediate Revelation, he had all along preached that, and nothing but that every where; ſo that he could not be ſuppoſed to have preached Circumciſion, or by his Carriage to have ſhewn any Subjection to the Law. All the whole Narrative following being to make good what he ſays, *Ch.* 1. 11. That the Goſpel which he preached was not accommodated to the humouring of Men; nor did he ſeek to pleaſe the *Jews*, (who were the Men here meant) in what he taught. Taking this to be his Aim, we ſhall find the whole Account he gives of himſelf, from that 11 *v.* of *Ch.* 1. to the End of this 2*d*. to be very clear and eaſie, and very proper to invalidate the Report of his preaching Circumciſion.

14 (*p*) Ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, *The Truth of the Goſpel* is put here for that Freedom from the Law of *Moſes*, which was a Part of the true Doctrine of the Goſpel. For it was in nothing elſe but their undue and timorous obſerving ſome of the Moſaical Rites, that St. *Paul* here blames St. *Peter*, and the other judaizing Converts at *Antioch*. In this Senſe he uſes the Word *Truth*, all along through this Epiſtle, as *Ch.* 11. 5, 14, & 3. 1. & 5. 7. inſiſting on it, that this Doctrine of Freedom from the Law, was the true Goſpel.

15 (*q*) Φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, *Jews by Nature.* What the *Jews* thought of themſelves in Contradiſtinction to the *Gentiles*, ſee *Rom.* 2. 17, 23.

in

TEXT.

17 ſtified. But if while we ſeek to be juſtified by Chriſt, we our ſelves alſo are found ſinners, is therefore Chriſt the miniſter of
18 ſin? God forbid. For if I build again the things which I deſtroyed, I make
19 my ſelf a tranſgreſſor. For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might
20 live unto God. I am crucified with Chriſt: Nevertheleſs I live; yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the fleſh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave

PARAPHRASE.

in Chriſt, and not by the Works of the Law: But if we ſeek to be juſtified in Chriſt, even we our ſelves alſo are found unjuſtified Sinners, (*r*) (for ſuch are all thoſe who are under the Law, which admits of no Remiſſion nor Juſtification) is Chriſt therefore the Miniſter of Sin? Is the Diſpenſation by him a Diſpenſation of Sin, and not of Righteouſneſs? Did he come into the World, that thoſe who believe in him ſhould ſtill remain Sinners, *i. e.* under the Guilt of their Sins, without the Benefit of Juſtification? By no means. And yet certain it is, if I (*s*) who quitted the Law, to put my ſelf under the Goſpel, put my ſelf again under the Law, I make my ſelf a Tranſgreſſor, I re-aſſume again the Guilt of all my Tranſgreſſions: Which by the Terms of that Covenant of Works, I cannot be juſtified from. For by the (*t*) Tenour of the Law it ſelf, I by Faith in Chriſt am diſcharged (*u*) from the Law, that I might be appropriated (*w*) to God, and live acceptably to him in his Kingdom which he has now ſet up under his Son. I a Member of Chriſt's Body am crucified (*x*) with him, but tho' I am thereby dead to the Law, I nevertheleſs live, yet not I, but Chriſt liveth in me, *i. e.* the Life which I now live in the Fleſh, is upon no other Principle, nor under any other Law, but that of Faith in the

17. 18. 19. 20.

NOTES.

17 (*r*) *Sinners.* Thoſe who are under the Law, having once tranſgreſſed, remain always Sinners unalterably ſo in the Eye of the Law; which excludes all from Juſtification. The Apoſtle in this place argues thus: "We *Jews*, who are by Birth God's holy People, and not as the profligate *Gentiles*, abandon'd to all manner of Pollution and Uncleanneſs, not being nevertheleſs "able to attain Righteouſneſs by the Deeds of the Law, have believ'd in Chriſt, that we might "be juſtified by Faith in him. But if even we who have betaken our ſelves to Chriſt for Juſti- "fication, are our ſelves found to be unjuſtify'd Sinners, liable ſtill to Wrath, as alſo under the "Law, to which we ſubject our ſelves; what Deliverance have we from Sin by Chriſt? None "at all: We are as much concluded under Sin and Guilt, as if we did not believe in him. So "that by joining him and the Law together for Juſtification, we ſhut our ſelves out from Juſti- "fication, which cannot be had under the Law, and make Chriſt the Miniſter of Sin, and not "of Juſtification, which God forbid.

18 (*s*) Whether this be a Part of what St. *Paul* ſaid to St. *Peter*, or whether it be addreſſed to the *Galatians*, St. *Paul*, by ſpeaking in his own Name plainly declares, that if he ſets up the Law again, he muſt neceſſarily be an Offender; whereby he ſtrongly inſinuates to the *Galatians*, that he was no Promoter of Circumciſion, eſpecially when what he ſays, *Ch.* 5. 2—4. is added to it.

19 (*t*) *By the Tenor of the Law it ſelf.* See *Rom.* 3. 21. *Gal.* 3. 24, 25. & 4. 21, *&c.*

(*u*) Being *diſcharged from the Law*, St. *Paul* expreſſes by *Dead to the Law*; compare *Rom.* 6. 14. with 7. 4.

(*w*) *Live to God.* What St. *Paul* ſays here, ſeems to imply, that living under the Law, was to live not acceptably to God; a ſtrange Doctrine certainly to the *Jews*, and yet it was true now under the Goſpel. For God having put his Kingdom in this World wholly under his Son, when he raiſed him from the Dead, all who after that would be his People in his Kingdom, were to live by no other Law, but the Goſpel, which was now the Law of his Kingdom. And hence we ſee God caſt off the *Jews*, becauſe ſticking to their old Conſtitution, they would not have this Man reign over them: So that what St. *Paul* ſays here, is in effect this. "By believing in Chriſt, I am diſcharged from the Moſaical Law, that I may wholly "conform my ſelf to the Rule of the Goſpel, which is now the Law which muſt be owned "and obſerved by all thoſe who, as God's People, will live acceptably to him." This, I think, is viſibly his Meaning, though the accuſtoming himſelf to Antitheſes may poſſibly be the Reaſon why, after having ſaid, *I am dead to the Law*, he expreſſes his putting himſelf under the Goſpel, by *living to God.*

20 (*x*) *Crucified with Chriſt*; ſee this explain'd, *Rom.* 7. 4. and 6. 2——14.

Son

Chap. II.

PARAPHRASE.

Son of God, (*y*) who loved me, and gave himſelf
21. for me. And in ſo doing I avoid fruſtrating the Grace of God, I accept of the Grace (*z*) and Forgiveneſs of God, as it is offered through Faith in Chriſt in the Goſpel: But if I ſubject my ſelf to the Law, as ſtill in Force under the Goſpel, I do in effect fruſtrate Grace. For if Righteouſneſs be to be had by the Law, then Chriſt died to no purpoſe, there was no need of it. (*a*)

TEXT.

himſelf for me. I do not 21
fruſtrate the grace of God:
for if righteouſneſs come
by the law; then Chriſt is
dead in vain.

NOTES.

(*y*) *i. e.* The whole Management of my ſelf is conformable to the Doctrine of the Goſpel of Juſtification in Chriſt alone, and not by the Deeds of the Law. This, and the former Verſe ſeems to be ſpoken in Oppoſition to St. *Peter*'s owing a Subjection to the Law of *Moſes*, by his Walking, mentioned, *v.* 14.

21 (*z*) *Grace of God*; ſee *Ch.* 1. 6, 7. to which this ſeems here oppoſed.

(*a*) *In vain*; Read this explain'd in St. *Paul*'s own Words, *Ch.* 5. 3——6.

SECT. III.

CHAP. III. 1——5.

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Chap. III.

BY the Account St. *Paul* has given of himſelf in the foregoing Section, the *Galatians* being furniſh'd with Evidence ſufficient to clear him in their Minds, from the Report of his preaching Circumciſion, he comes now, the Way being thus open'd, directly to oppoſe their being circumciſed, and ſubjecting themſelves to the Law. The firſt Argument he uſes, is, That they received the Holy Ghoſt, and the Gifts of Miracles, by the Goſpel, and not by the Law.

PARAPHRASE.

1. O Ye fooliſh *Galatians*, who hath caſt a Miſt before your Eyes, that you ſhould not keep to the Truth (*b*) of the Goſpel, you to whom the Sufferings and Death of Chriſt (*c*) upon the Croſs, hath been by me ſo lively repreſented, as if it had been actually
2. done in your Sight? This one thing I deſire to know of you, Did you receive the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, by the Works of the Law, or by the Goſpel

TEXT.

O Fooliſh Galatians, 1
who hath bewitched
you, that you ſhould not
obey the truth, before
whoſe Eyes Jeſus Chriſt
hath been evidently ſet
forth crucified among you?
This only would I learn 2
of you, Received ye the
Spirit by the Works of the

NOTES.

1 (*b*) *Obey the Truth*, i. e. Stand faſt in the Liberty of the Goſpel, *Truth* being uſed in this Epiſtle, as we have already noted, *Ch.* 2. 14. for the Doctrine of being free from the Law, which St. *Paul* had deliver'd to them. The Reaſon whereof he gives, *Ch.* 5. 3—5.

(*c*) St. *Paul* mentions nothing to them here but *Chriſt Crucified*, as knowing that when formerly he had preach'd Chriſt crucified to them, he had ſhewn them, that by Chriſt's Death on the Croſs, Believers were ſet free from the Law, and the Covenant, of Works was removed, to make way for that of Grace. This we may find him inculcating to his other Gentile Converts. See *Eph.* 2. 15, 16. *Col.* 2. 14, 20. And accordingly he tells the *Galatians*, *Ch.* 5. 2. 4. that if by Circumciſion they put themſelves under the Law, they were fallen from Grace, and Chriſt ſhould profit them nothing at all: Things which they are ſuppoſed to underſtand at his writing to them.

preached

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

Law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the spirit, are ye now made per-
4 fect by the flesh? Have ye suffered so many things in vain, if it be yet in vain.
5 He therefore that ministreth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?

preach'd to you? Have you so little Understanding, that having begun in the Reception of the Spiritual Doctrine of the Gospel, you hope to be advanced to higher Degrees of Perfection, and to be compleated by the Law? (*d*) Have you suffered so many Things 4.
in vain, if at least you will render it in vain, by falling off from the Profession of the pure and uncorrupted Doctrine of the Gospel, and apostatizing to Judaism? The Gifts of the Holy Ghost that have been 5.
conferred upon you, have they not been conferred on you as Christians, professing Faith in Jesus Christ, and not as Observers of the Law? And hath not he (*e*) who hath convey'd these Gifts to you, and done Miracles amongst you, done it as a Preacher and Professor of the Gospel, the *Jews* who stick in the Law of *Moses*, being not able by Virtue of that to do any such thing?

NOTES.

3 (*d*) It is a way of speaking very familiar to St. *Paul*, in opposing the Law and the Gospel, to call the Law *Flesh* and the Gospel *Spirit*. The Reason whereof is very plain to any one conversant in his Epistles.

5 (*e*) *He*. The Person meant here by ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν, *he that ministreth*, and *Chap.* 1. 6. by ὁ καλέσας, *he that called*, is plainly St. *Paul* himself, though, out of Modesty, he declines naming himself.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. III. 6—18.

CONTENTS.

HIS next Argument against Circumcision and Subjection to the Law, is, that the Children of *Abraham*, entitled to the Inheritance and Blessing promised to *Abraham* and his Seed, are so by Faith, and not by being under the Law, which brings a Curse upon those who are under it.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

6 Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righte-
7 ousness: Know ye therefore, that they which are of Faith, the same are the Children of Abraham.
8 And the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Heathen through faith, preached before the Gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all na-
9 tions be blessed. So then

BUT to proceed. As *Abraham* believed in God, 6.
and it was accounted to him for Righteousness; So know ye, that those who are of Faith, *i. e.* who 7.
rely upon God, and his Promises of Grace, and not upon their own Performances, they are the Children of *Abraham*, who shall inherit, and this is plain in the Scripture. For it being in the Purpose of God to 8.
justify the *Gentiles* by Faith, he gave *Abraham* a Fore-knowledge of the Gospel in these Words: (*f*) *In thee all the Nations of the Earth shall be blessed.* So that they who are of (*g*) Faith are blessed 9.

NOTES.

8 (*f*) *Gen.* 12. 3.

9, 10 (*g*) *Of Faith*, and *of the Works of the Law*; spoken of two Races of Men, the one as the genuine Posterity of *Abraham*, Heirs of the Promise, the other not.

(*b*) with

Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

with *Abraham*, who believed: But as many as are of the Works of the Law are under the (*b*) Curſe: For it is written (*i*) *Curſed is every one who remaineth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them.* But that no Man is juſtified by the Law in the Sight of God, is evident, *for the Juſt ſhall live by Faith:* (*k*) But the Law ſays not ſo, the Law gives not Life to thoſe who believe: (*l*) But the Rule of the Law is, *He that doth them, ſhall live in them.* (*m*) Chriſt hath redeem'd us from the Curſe of the Law, being made a Curſe for us. For it is written, (*n*) *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a Tree.* That the Bleſſing (*o*) promiſed to *Abraham* might come on the *Gentiles* through Jeſus Chriſt; that we who are Chriſtians might, believing, receive the Spirit that was promis'd. (*p*) Brethren, this is a known and allow'd Rule in humane Affairs, that a Promiſe or Compact, tho' it be barely a Man's Covenant, yet if it be once ratified, ſo it muſt ſtand, no Body can render it void, or make any Alteration in it. Now to *Abraham* and his Seed were the Promiſes made. God doth not ſay, *and to Seeds*, (*q*) as if he ſpoke of more Seeds than one, that were entitled to the Promiſe upon different Accounts; but only of one Sort of Men, who upon one ſole Account were that Seed of *Abraham* which was alone meant and concern'd in the Promiſe; ſo that *unto thy Seed*, (*r*) deſign'd Chriſt, and his myſtical Body, (*s*) *i. e.* Thoſe that become Members of him by Faith.

TEXT.

they which be of faith, are bleſſed with faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curſe; for it is written, Curſed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. But that no man is juſtified by the law in the ſight of God, it is evident: for, the juſt ſhall live by faith. And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doth them ſhall live in them. Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the law, being made a curſe for us; for it is written, Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree: That the bleſſing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jeſus Chriſt; that we might receive the promiſe of the Spirit through faith. Brethren, I ſpeak after the manner of men; Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man diſannulleth or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made. He ſaith not, And to ſeeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy ſeed, which is

10 11 12 13 14 15 16

NOTES.

(*b*) *Bleſſed*, and *under the Curſe*. Here again there is another *Diviſion*, (viz.) into the *Bleſſed*, and thoſe *under the Curſe*, whereby is meant ſuch as are in a State of Life, or Acceptance with God; or ſuch as are expoſed to his Wrath, and to Death, ſee *Deut.* 30. 19.

10 (*i*) Written, *Deut.* 27. 26.

11 (*k*) *Hab.* 2. 4.

12 (*l*) See *Acts* 13. 39.

(*m*) *Lev.* 8. 15.

13 (*n*) *Deut.* 21. 23.

14 (*o*) *Bleſſing:* That Bleſſing, *v.* 8, 9, 14. Juſtification, *v.* 11. Righteouſneſs, *v.* 21. Life, *v.* 11, 12, 21. Inheritance, *v.* 18. Being the Children of God, *v.* 26. are in effect all the ſame on the one Side: And *the Curſe*, *v.* 13. the direct contrary on the other Side; ſo plain is St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here, that no Body who reads it with the leaſt Attention, will be in any Doubt about it.

(*p*) *Promiſed.* St. *Paul*'s Argument to convince the *Galatians*, that they ought not to be circumciſed, or ſubmit to the Law, from their having received the Spirit from him, upon their having received the Goſpel which he preached to them, *v.* 2. and 5. ſtands thus. The Bleſſing promiſed to *Abraham*, and to his Seed, was wholly upon the Account of Faith, *v.* 7. There were not different Seeds who ſhould inherit the Promiſe; the one by the Works of the Law, and the other by Faith. For there was but one Seed, which was Chriſt, *v.* 16. and thoſe who ſhould claim in and under him by Faith. Among thoſe there was no Diſtinction of *Jew* and *Gentile*. They, and they only, who believed, were all one and the ſame true Seed of *Abraham*; and Heirs according to the Promiſe, *v.* 28, 29. And therefore the Promiſe made to the People of God, of giving them the Spirit under the Goſpel, was perform'd only to thoſe who believed in Chriſt: A clear Evidence that it was not by putting themſelves under the Law, but by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, that they were the People of God, and Heirs of the Promiſe.

16 (*q*) *And to Seeds:* By *Seeds* St. *Paul* here viſibly means the οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, *Thoſe of Faith*; and the οἱ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, *Thoſe of the Works of the Law*, ſpoken of above, *v.* 9, 10. As two diſtinct Seeds, or Deſcendants claiming from *Abraham*.

(*r*) *And to thy Seed*; ſee *Gen.* 12. 7. repeated again in the following Chapters.

(*s*) *Myſtical Body*; ſee *v.* 27.

This

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.
17 Chriſt. And this, I ſay, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Chriſt, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot diſanul, that it ſhould make the promiſe of none effect.	this therefore I ſay, that the Law which was not till 430 Years after, cannot diſanul the Covenant that was long before made and ratified to Chriſt by God, ſo as to ſet aſide the Promiſe. For if the Right to the Inheritance be from the Works of the Law, it is plain that it is not founded in the Promiſe to *Abraham*, as certainly it is. For the Inheritance was a Donation and free Gift of God, ſettled on *Abraham* and his Seed by Promiſe. 17.

SECT. V.

CHAP. III. 19—25.

CONTENTS.

IN Anſwer to this Objection, *To what then ſerveth the Law?* He ſhews that the Law was not contrary to the Promiſe; But ſince all Men were guilty of Tranſgreſſion, *v.* 22. the Law was added to ſhew the *Iſraelites*, the Fruit and inevitable Conſequence of their Sin, and thereby the Neceſſity of betaking themſelves to Chriſt; But as ſoon as Men have received Chriſt, they have attained the End of the Law, and ſo are no longer under it. This is a farther Argument againſt Circumciſion.

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.
18 For if the Inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promiſe: but God gave it to Abraham by promiſe. 19 Wherefore then ſerveth the law? It was added becauſe of tranſgreſſions, till the ſeed ſhould come, to whom the promiſe was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand 20 of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.	If the Bleſſing and Inheritance be ſettled on *Abraham* and Believers, as a free Gift by Promiſe, and was 18. not to be obtained by the Deeds of the Law, to what 19. Purpoſe then was the Law? It was added, becauſe the *Iſraelites*, the Poſterity of *Abraham*, were Tranſgreſſors (*t*) as well as other Men, to ſhew them their Sins, and the Puniſhment and Death they incurr'd by them, till Chriſt ſhould come, who was the Seed into whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, ingrafted by believing, become the People of God, and Children of *Abraham*, that Seed to which the Promiſe was made. And the Law was ordain'd by Angels in the Hand of a Mediator (*u*) whereby it is manifeſt, that the Law could not diſanul the Promiſe; becauſe a Mediator is a 20. Mediator between two Parties concerned, but God is but one (*w*) of thoſe concerned in the Promiſe. If

NOTES.

19 (*t*) That this is the meaning of, *becauſe of Tranſgreſſion*, the following Part of this Section ſhews, wherein St. *Paul* argues to this Purpoſe: The *Jews* were Sinners as well as other Men, *v.* 22. The Law denouncing Death to all Sinners, could ſave none, *v.* 21. but was thereby uſeful to bring Men to Chriſt, that they might be juſtified by Faith, *v.* 24. See *ch.* 2. 15, 16.

(*u*) *Mediator.* See *Deut.* 5. 5. *Lev.* 26. 46. Where it is ſaid, the Law was made between God and the Children of *Iſrael*, *by the Hand of* Moſes.

20 (*w*) *But God is one:* To underſtand this Verſe, we muſt carry in our Minds what St. *Paul* is here doing, and that from *v.* 17. is manifeſt, that he is proving that the Law could not diſanul the Promiſe; and he does it upon this known Rule, that a Covenant or Promiſe once ratified, cannot be altered or diſanull'd by any other, but by both the Parties concerned. Now, ſays he, God is but one of the Parties concern'd in the Promiſe; the *Gentiles* and *Iſraelites* together made up the other, *v.* 14. But *Moſes* at the giving of the Law was a Mediator only between the *Iſraelites* and God, and therefore could not tranſact any thing to the diſanulling the Promiſe

Chap. III.

PARAPHRASE.

21. If then the promiſed Inheritance come not to the Seed of *Abraham* by the Law, is the Law oppoſite, by the Curſe it denounces againſt Tranſgreſſors, to the Promiſes that God made of the Bleſſing to *Abraham*? No by no means. For if there had been a Law given, which could have put us in a State of Life, (*x*) certainly Righteouſneſs ſhould have been by Law. (*y*)

22. But we find the quite contrary by the Scripture, which makes no Diſtinction betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile* in this Reſpect, but has ſhut up together all Mankind, (*z*) *Jews* and *Gentiles* under Sin (*a*) and Guilt, that the Bleſſing which was promiſed to that which is *Abraham*'s true and intended Seed by Faith (*b*) in Chriſt,

23. might be given to thoſe who believe. But before Chriſt and the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith (*c*) in him came, we *Jews* were ſhut up as a Company of Priſoners together, under the Cuſtody and inflexible Rigor of the Law, unto the Coming of the Meſſiah, when the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith (*d*) in him

24. ſhould be revealed. So that the Law by its Severity ſerved as a School-maſter to bring us to Chriſt, that

25. we might be juſtified by Faith. But Chriſt being come, and with him the Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith, we are ſet free from this School-maſter, there is no longer any Need of him.

TEXT.

Is the law then againſt the promiſes of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under ſin, that the promiſe by faith of Jeſus Chriſt might be given to them that believe. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, ſhut up unto the faith which ſhould afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our ſchool-maſter to bring us unto Chriſt, that we might be juſtified by faith. But, after that faith is come, we are no longer under a ſchool-maſter.

21 22 23 24 25

NOTES.

which was between God, and the *Iſraelites* and *Gentiles* together, becauſe God was but one of the Parties to that Covenant; the other, which was the *Gentiles* as well as *Iſraelites*, *Moſes* appeared or tranſacted not for. And ſo what was done at Mount *Sinai*, by the Mediation of *Moſes*, could not affect a Covenant made between Parties, whereof one only was there. How neceſſary it was for St. *Paul* to add this, we ſhall ſee, if we conſider, that without it, his Argument of 430 Years Diſtance would have been deficient and hardly concluſive. For if both the Parties concerned in the Promiſe had tranſacted by *Moſes* the Mediator, (as they might if none but the Nation of the *Iſraelites* had been concerned in the Promiſe made by God to *Abraham*) they might by mutual Conſent have altered or ſet aſide the former Promiſe, as well four hundred Years, as four Days after. That which hinder'd it was, that at *Moſes*'s Mediation at Mount *Sinai*, God, who was but one of the Parties to the Promiſe, was preſent: But the other Party, *Abraham*'s Seed, conſiſting of *Iſraelites* and *Gentiles* together, was not there; *Moſes* tranſacted for the Nation of the *Iſraelites* alone: The other Nations were not concern'd in the Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, as they were in the Promiſe made to *Abraham* and his Seed; which therefore could not be diſanulled without their Conſent. For that both the Promiſe, both to *Abraham* and his Seed, and the Covenant with *Iſrael* at Mount *Sinai*, was National, is in it ſelf evident.

21 (*x*) Ζωοποιῆσαι, *Put into a State of Life.* The Greek Word ſignifies to *make alive*. St. *Paul* conſiders all Men here, as in a mortal State, and to be put out of that mortal State into a State of Life, he calls being *made alive*. This he ſays the Law could not do, becauſe it could not confer Righteouſneſs.

(*y*) ἐκ νόμε, *by Law*, i. e. by Works or Obedience to that Law, which tended towards Righteouſneſs, as well as the Promiſe, but was not able to reach or confer it. See *Rom.* 8. 3. *i. e.* Frail Men were not able to attain Righteouſneſs by any exact Conformity of their Actions to the Law of Righteouſneſs.

22 (*z*) Τὰ πάντα, *All*, is uſed here for *All Men*. The Apoſtle, *Rom.* 3. 9, and 19. expreſſes the ſame thing by πάντας, *all Men*; and πᾶς ὁ Κόσμος, *all the World*. But ſpeaking in the Text here of the *Jews* in particular, he ſays, *We*, meaning thoſe of his own Nation, as is evident from *v.* 24, 25.

(*a*) *Under Sin*, i. e. rank them all together, as one guilty Race of Sinners: See this proved, *Rom.* 3. 9. 1. 18. *&c.* To the ſame Purpoſe of putting both *Jews* and *Gentiles* into one State, St. *Paul* uſes συνέκλεισε πάντας, *hath ſhut them up all together*, Rom. 11. 22.

(*b*) The thing *promiſed* in this Chapter, ſometimes called *Bleſſing*, *v.* 9. 14. ſometimes *Inheritance*, *v.* 18. ſometimes *Juſtification*, *v.* 11, 24. ſometimes *Righteouſneſs*, *v.* 21. and ſometimes *Life*, *v.* 11, 21.

(*c*) *By Faith*, ſee *v.* 14.

23 (*d*) *Juſtification by Faith*, ſee *v.* 24.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. III. 26——29.

CONTENTS.

AS a farther Argument to diſſuade them from Circumciſion, he tells the *Galatians*, that by Faith in Chriſt, all, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, are made the Children of God, and ſo they ſtood in no need of Circumciſion.

TEXT.

26 For ye are all the children of God by faith in Chriſt
27 Jeſus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Chriſt, have put on Chriſt.
28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Chriſt
29 Jeſus. And if ye be Chriſt's, then are ye Abraham's ſeed, and heirs according to the promiſe.

PARAPHRASE.

For ye are (*e*) all the Children of God by Faith in 26.
Chriſt Jeſus. For as many of you as have been 27.
baptized into Chriſt, have put on (*f*) Chriſt. There
is no Diſtinction of *Jew* or *Gentile*, of Bond or Free,
of Male or Female. For ye are all one Body, making 28.
up one Perſon in Chriſt Jeſus. And if ye are all one 29.
in Chriſt Jeſus, (*g*) ye are the true ones, Seed of *Abraham*, and Heirs according to the Promiſe.

NOTES.

26 (*e*) *All*, i. e. Both *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

27 (*f*) *Put on Chriſt*. This, which at firſt Sight may ſeem a very bold Metaphor, if we conſider what St. *Paul* has ſaid, *ver.* 16, and 26, is admirably adapted to expreſs his Thoughts in few Words, and has a great Grace in it. He ſays, *ver.* 16. that *the Seed* to which the Promiſe was made, *was but one, and that one was Chriſt*. And *v.* 26. he declares, that *by Faith in Chriſt they all became the Sons of God*. To lead them into an eaſie Conception how this is done, he here tells them, that by taking on them the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, *they have* as it were *put on Chriſt*; ſo that to God, now looking on them, there appears nothing but Chriſt. They are, as it were, cover'd all over with him, as a Man is with the Clothes he hath put on. And hence he ſays in the next Verſe, that *they are all one in Chriſt Jeſus*, as if there were but that one Perſon.

29 (*g*) The *Clermont* Copy reads εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστὲ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, *And if we are one in Chriſt Jeſus*, more ſuitable, as it ſeems, to the Apoſtle's Argument. For *v.* 28. he ſays, *they are all one in Chriſt Jeſus*; from whence the Inference in the following Words of the *Clermont* Copy is natural: *And if ye be one in Chriſt Jeſus, then are ye* Abraham's *Seed, and Heirs according to Promiſe*.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 1——11.

CONTENTS.

IN the firſt Part of this Section he farther ſhews, that the Law was not againſt the Promiſe, in that the Child is not diſinherited by being under Tutors. But the chief Deſign of this Section is to ſhew, that tho' both *Jews* and *Gentiles* were intended to be the Children of God, and Heirs of the Promiſe by Faith in Chriſt, yet they both of them were left in Bondage, the *Jews* to the Law, *v.* 3. and the *Gentiles* to falſe Gods, *ver.* 8. till Chriſt in due time came to redeem them both; and therefore it was Folly in the *Galatians*, being redeem'd from one Bondage, to go backwards, and put themſelves again in a State of Bondage, tho' under a new Maſter.

PARAPHARSE.

1. NOW I ſay that the Heir, as long as he is a
Child, differeth nothing from a Bondman, (*b*)
2. tho' he be Lord of all, but is under Tutors and Guar-
3. dians, until the Time prefix'd by his Father. So we
(*i*) *Jews*, whilſt we were Children, were in Bondage
4. under the Law. (*k*) But when the Time appointed for
the Coming of the Meſſias was accompliſhed, God
ſent forth his Son made of a Woman, and ſubjected
5. to the Law; That he might redeem thoſe who were
under the Law, and ſet them free from it, that we
who believe might be put out of the State of Bond-
6. men into that of Sons. Into which State of Sons, it
is evident that you *Galatians*, who were heretofore
Gentiles, are put; for as much as God hath ſent forth
his Spirit (*l*) into your Hearts, which enables you to
7. cry *Abba*, Father; ſo that thou art no longer a Bond-
man, but a Son: And if a Son, then an Heir (*m*) of
8. God, or of the Promiſe of God through Chriſt. But
then, *i. e.* before ye were made the Sons of God, by
Faith in Chriſt, now under the Goſpel, ye not know-
ing God, were in Bondage to thoſe who were in
9. Truth no Gods. But now that ye know God, yea
rather, that ye are known (*n*) and taken into Favour
by him, how can it be that you who have been put
out of a State of Bondage into the Freedom of Sons,

TEXT.

NOW I ſay, that the 1
heir as long as he is
a child, differeth nothing
from a ſervant, tho' he be
lord of all; But is under 2
tutors and governours, un-
til the time appointed of
the father. Even ſo we, 3
when we were children,
were in bondage under the
elements of the world: But 4
when the fulneſs of the time
was come, God ſent forth
his Son made of a woman,
made under the law, to re- 5
deem them that were un-
der the law, that we might
receive the adoption of
ſons. And becauſe ye are 6
ſons, God hath ſent forth
the Spirit of his Son into
your hearts, crying Abba,
Father. Wherefore thou 7
art no more a ſervant, but
a ſon; and if a ſon, then
an heir of God through
Chriſt. Howbeit then, 8
when ye knew not God, ye
did ſervice unto them
which by nature are no
gods. But now after that 9

NOTES.

1 (*b*) *Bondman*; ſo δοῦλος ſignifies; and unleſs it be ſo tranſlated, *v.* 7, 8. *Bondage*, *v.* 3, 7. will ſcarce be underſtood by an Engliſh Reader, but St. *Paul*'s Senſe will be loſt to one, who by *Servant* underſtands not one in a State of *Bondage*.

3 (*i*) *We*. 'Tis plain, St. *Paul* ſpeaks here in the Name of the *Jews* or *Jewiſh* Church, which, though God's peculiar People, yet was to paſs its Nonage (ſo St. *Paul* calls it) under the Reſtraint and Tutorage of the Law, and not to receive the Poſſeſſion of the promiſed Inheritance till Chriſt came.

(*k*) *The Law*, he calls here στοιχεῖα τῦ κόσμε, *Elements*, or *Rudiments of the World*. Becauſe the Obſervances and Diſcipline of the Law, which had Reſtraint and Bondage enough in it, led them not beyond the Things of this World, into the Poſſeſſion or Taſte of their ſpiritual and heavenly Inheritance.

6 (*l*) The ſame Argument of proving their Son-ſhip from their having the *Spirit*, St. *Paul* uſes to the *Romans*, *Rom.* 8. 16. And he that will read 2 *Cor.* 4. 17 ——5, 6. and *Eph.* 11—— 14. will find, that the Spirit is look'd on as the Seal and Aſſurance of the Inheritance of Life to thoſe *who have received the Adoption of Sons*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks here, *v.* 5. The Force of the Argument ſeems to lie in this, that as he that has the Spirit of a Man in him, has an Evidence that he is the Son of a Man, ſo he that hath the Spirit of God, has thereby an Aſſurance that he is the Son of God. Conformable hereunto the Opinion of the *Jews* was, that the Spirit of God was given to none but themſelves, they alone being the People or Children of God, for God calls the People of *Iſrael* his Sons, *Exod.* 4. 22, 23. And hence we ſee, that when, to the Aſtoniſhment of the *Jews*, the Spirit was given to the *Gentiles*, the *Jews* no longer doubted that the Inheritance of eternal Life was alſo conferred on the *Gentiles*. Compare *Acts* 10. 44—48. with *Acts* 11. 15—18.

7 (*m*) St. *Paul* from the *Galatians* having received the Spirit (as appears *Ch.* 3. 2.) argues, that they are the Sons of God without the Law, and conſequently Heirs of the Promiſe without the Law; for, ſays he, *ver.* 1. —6. the *Jews* themſelves were fain to be redeem'd from the Bondage of the Law by Jeſus Chriſt, that as Sons they might attain to the Inheritance. But you, *Galatians*, ſays he, have by the Spirit that is given you by the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, an Evidence that God is your Father; and being Sons, are free from the Bondage of the Law, and Heirs without it. The ſame Sort of Reaſoning St. *Paul* uſes to the *Romans*, *Ch.* 8. 14——17.

9 (*n*) *Known*. It has been before obſerved, how apt St. *Paul* is to repeat his Words, though ſomething varied in their Signification. We have here another Inſtance of it, having ſaid, Ye have known God, he ſubjoins, or *rather are known of him*, in the Hebrew Latitude of the Word *known*, in which Language it ſometimes ſignifies *knowing* with Choice and Approbation. See *Amos* 3. 2. 1 *Cor.* 8. 3.

ſhould

TEXT.

ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?
10 Ye observe days, and months, and times, and
11 years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

PARAPHRASE.

should go backwards, and be willing to put yourselves under the (o) weak and beggarly Elements (p) of the World, into a State of Bondage again? Ye observe 10.
Days and Months, and Times, and Years, in Compliance with the Mosaical Institution. I begin to be 11.
afraid of you, and to be in Doubt, whether all the Pains I have taken about you, to set you at Liberty in the Freedom of the Gospel, will not prove lost Labour.

NOTES.

(o) The Law is here called *weak*, because it was not able to deliver a Man from Bondage and Death, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, *Rom.* 8. 1——3. And it is called *beggarly*, because it kept Men in the poor Estate of Pupils, from the full Possession and Enjoyment of the Inheritance, *v.* 1——3.

(p) The Apostle makes it matter of Astonishment, how they who had been in Bondage to false Gods, having been once set free, could endure the Thoughts of parting with their Liberty, and of returning into any sort of Bondage again, even under the mean and beggarly Rudiments of the Mosaical Institution, which was not able to make them Sons, and install them in the Inheritance. For St. *Paul*, *v.* 7. expressly opposes Bondage to Sonship; so that all who are in the State of Sons, are in the State of Bondage. Πάλιν, *again*, cannot here refer to [illegible] *Elements*, which the *Galatians* had never been under hitherto, but to *Bondage*, which tells them, *v.* 8. they had been in to false Gods.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 12——20.

CONTENTS.

HE presses them with the Remembrance of the great Kindness they had for him when he was amongst them, and assures them that they have no reason to be alienated from him, though that be it which the Judaizing Seducers aim at.

TEXT.

12 Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am: for I am as ye are; ye have not injured me at
13 all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto
14 you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.
15 Where is then the Blessedness you spake of? for I

PARAPHRASE.

I beseech you, Brethren, let you and I be as if we 12.
were all one. Think your selves to be very me; as I in my own Mind put no Difference at all between you and my self; you have done me no manner of Injury: On the contrary, ye know, that through Infirmity of 13.
the Flesh, I heretofore preach'd the Gospel to you, and yet ye despised me not for the Trial I underwent 14.
in the Flesh, (q) you treated me not with Contempt and Scorn: But you received me as an Angel of God, yea as Jesus Christ himself. What Benedictions (r) did 15.
you then pour out upon me? For I bear you witness,

NOTES.

14 (q) What this *Weakness* and *Trial in the Flesh* was, since it has not pleased the Apostle to mention it, is impossible for us to know: But may be remarked here, as an Instance once for all, of that unavoidable Obscurity of some Passages in Epistolary Writings, without any Fault in the Author. For some things, necessary to the Understanding of what is writ, are usually of course, and justly omitted, because already known to him the Letter is writ to, and it would be sometimes ungraceful, oftentimes superfluous, particularly to mention them.

15 (r) The Context makes this Sense of the Words so necessary and visible, that 'tis to be wonder'd how any one could overlook it.

had

PARAPHRASE.

had it been practicable, you would have pulled out
16. your very Eyes, and given them me. But is it so that
I am become your Enemy (*s*) in continuing to tell you
17. the Truth? They who would make you of that
Mind, shew a Warmth of Affection to you; but it is
not well: For their Business is to exclude me, that
18. they may get into your Affection. It is good to be
well and warmly affected towards a good Man (*t*) at
all times, and not barely when I am present with you.
19. My little Children, for whom I have again the Pains
of a Woman in Child-birth till Christ be formed in
you, (*u*) *i. e.* till the true Doctrine of Christianity be
20. settled in your Minds. But I would willingly be this
very Moment with you, and change (*w*) my Discourse
as I should find Occasion. For I am at a Stand about
you, and know not what to think of you.

TEXT.

bear you record, that if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore 16
become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?
They zealously affect you, 17
but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that you might affect them.
But it is good to be zea- 18
lously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you. My little children, 19
of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you: I desire to 20
be present with you now, and to change my voice, for I stand in doubt of you.

NOTES.

16 (*s*) *Your Enemy.* See *Ch.* 1. 6.

18 (*t*) That by καλῷ here he means a Person and himself, the Scope of the Context evinces. In the six preceding Verses he speaks only of himself, and the Change of their Affection to him since he left them. There is no other thing mentioned, as peculiarly deserving their Affection, to which the Rule given in this Verse could refer. He had said, *ver.* 17. ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς, *they affect you*; and ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε, *that you might affect them*; this is only of Persons, and therefore ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ, which immediately follows, may best be understood of a Person, else the following Part of the Verse, tho' join'd by the Copulative δέ, *and*, will make but a disjointed Sense with the preceding. But there can be nothing plainer, nor more coherent than this, which seems to be St. *Paul*'s Sense here. *You were very affectionate to me when I was with you. You are since estranged from me; it is the Artifice of the Seducers that have cooled you to me. But if I am the good Man you took me to be, you will do well to continue the Warmth of your Affection to me, when I am absent, and not to be well affected towards me, only when I am present among you.* Though this be his Meaning, yet the Way he has taken to express it, is much more elegant, modest and graceful. Let any one read the Original and see whether it be not so.

19 (*u*) If this Verse be taken for an entire Sentence by it self, it will be a Parenthesis, and that not the most necessary or congruous that is to be found in St. *Paul*'s Epistles; or δὲ *But*, must be left out, as we see it is in our Translation. But if τεκνία μου *my little Children*, be join'd on by Apposition to ὑμᾶς, *You*, the last Word of the foregoing Verse, and so the two Verses 18, and 19, be read as one Sentence, the 20 *v.* with δὲ, *But*, in it, follows very Naturally. But as we now read it in our English Bible δὲ, *But*, is forced to be left out, and the 20th *v.* stands alone by itself, without any Connexion with what goes before, or follows.

20 (*w*) Ἀλλάξαι φωνὴν, to *change the Voice*, seems to signifie the speaking higher or lower; changing the Tone of the Voice suitably to the Matter one delivers, *v. g.* whether it be Advice, or Commendation, or Reproof, &c. For each of these have their distinct Voices. St. *Paul* wishes himself with them, that he might accommodate himself to their present Condition and Circumstances, which he confesses himself to be ignorant of, and in doubt about.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. IV. 21.—V. 1.

CONTENTS.

HE exhorts them to stand fast in the Liberty with which Christ hath made them free, shewing those who are so zealous for the Law, that if they mind what they read in the Law, they will there find, that the Children of the Promise, or of the New *Jerusalem*, were to be free; but the Children after the Flesh, of the Earthly *Jerusalem*, were to be in Bondage, and to be cast out, and not to have the Inheritance.

Tell

TEXT.

21 Tell me, ye that desire to
be under the law, do ye
22 not hear the law? For it
is written, that Abraham
had two sons; the one by
a bond-maid, the other by
23 a free-woman. But he
who was of the bond-wo-
man, was born after the
flesh: but he of the free-
woman was by promise.
24 Which things are an alle-
gory; for these are the two
covenants; the one from
the mount Sinai, which
gendreth to bondage, which
25 is Agar. For this Agar
is mount Sinai in Arabia,
and answereth to Jerusalem
which now is, and is in
bondage with her chil-
26 dren. But Jerusalem which
is above, is free, which is
27 the Mother of us all. For
it is written, Rejoice thou
barren that beareſt not;
break forth and cry, thou
that travaileſt not: for the
desolate hath many more
children than she which
28 hath an Husband. Now
we brethren, as Isaac was,
are the children of pro-
29 mise. But as then he that
was born after the flesh,
persecuted him that was
born after the Spirit, even
30 so it is now. Nevertheless,
what saith the scripture?
Cast out the bond-woman,
and her son: for the son of
the bond-woman shall not
be heir with the son of the
31 free-woman. So then, bre-
thren, we are not children
of the bond-woman, but of
the free.

1 STand fast therefore in
the liberty wherewith
Christ hath made us free,
and be not intangled again
with the yoke of bondage.

PARAPHRASE.

Tell me, you that would so fain be under the Law, 21.
do you not acquaint your selves with what is in the
Law, either by reading (x) it, or having it read in
your Assemblies? For it is there written, (y) *Abraham* 22.
had two Sons, one by a Bond-maid, the other by a
Free-woman; but he that was of the Bond-woman 23.
was born according to the Flesh, in the ordinary
Course of Nature; but he that was of the Free-woman
Abraham had by Virtue of the Promise, after he and
his Wife were past the Hopes of another Child. These 24.
things have an Allegorical Meaning: For the two
Women are the two Covenants, the one of them deli-
ver'd from Mount *Sinai*, and is represented by *Agar*,
who produces her Issue into Bondage. (For *Agar* is 25.
Mount *Sinai* in *Arabia*, and answers to *Jerusalem* that
now is, and is in Bondage with her Children. But 26.
the Heavenly *Jerusalem* which is above, and answers to
Sarah, the Mother of the promised Seed, is free, the
Mother of us all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who believe.
For it was of her that it is written, (z) *Rejoyce thou bar-* 27.
ren that beareſt not; break out into loud Acclamations of Joy,
thou that haſt not the Travails of Child-birth, for more are the
Children of the Desolate than of her that hath an Husband.
And 'tis we, my Brethren, who, as *Isaac* was, are the 28.
Children of Promise. But as then *Ishmael*, who was 29.
born in the ordinary Course of Nature, (a) persecu-
ted *Isaac*, who was born by an extraordinary Power
from Heaven, working miraculously; so is it now.
But what saith the Scripture, (b) *Cast out the Bond-* 30.
woman and her Son. For the Son of the Bond-woman shall
not share the Inheritance with the Son of the Free-woman. So 31.
then, Brethren, we who believe in Christ, are not
the Children of the Bond-woman, but of the Free. (c)
Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ Ver. 1.
hath made you free, and do not put on again a Yoke
of bondage, by putting your selves under the Law.

NOTES.

21 (x) The Vulgar has, after some Greek Manuscripts, *Read.*

22 (y) *Written there*, (viz.) *Gen.* 16. 15. and 21. 1. The Term *Law* in the foregoing Verse comprehends the five Books of *Moses.*

27 (z) *Written*, (viz.) *Isai.* 54. 1.

29 (a) Ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθεὶς, *Born after the Flesh*; and ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα, *Born after the Spirit.* These Expressions have in their Original Brevity, with Regard to the whole View wherein St. *Paul* uses them, an admirable Beauty and Force, which cannot be retained in a Paraphrase.

30 (b) *Scripture*, (viz.) *Gen.* 20. 10.

31 (c) The Apostle, by his allegorical History, shews the *Galatians*, that they who are Sons of *Agar*, i. e. under the Law given at Mount *Sinai*, are in Bondage, and intended to be cast out, the Inheritance being designed for those only, who are the free-born Sons of God, under the Spiritual Covenant of the Gospel. And thereupon he exhorts them in the following Words, to preserve themselves in that State of Freedom.

SECT.

SECT. X.

CHAP. V. 2——13.

CONTENTS.

IT is evident from Verſe 11. that the better to prevail with the *Galatians* to be circumciſed, it had been reported that St. *Paul* himſelf preach'd up Circumciſion. St. *Paul*, without taking expreſs Notice of this Calumny, *Ch.* 1. 6. & 2. 21. gives an Account of his paſt Life in a large Train of Particulars, which all concur to make ſuch a Character of him, as renders it very incredible, that he ſhould ever declare for the Circumciſion of the *Gentile* Converts, or for their Submiſſion to the Law. Having thus prepared the Minds of the *Galatians*, to give him a fair Hearing, as a fair Man, ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ, he goes on to argue againſt their ſubjecting themſelves to the Law. And having eſtabliſh'd their Freedom from the Law by many ſtrong Arguments, he comes here at laſt openly to take Notice of the Report had been raiſed of him, that he preach'd Circumciſion, and directly confutes it.

1. By poſitively denouncing to them himſelf, very ſolemnly, that they who ſuffer'd themſelves to be circumciſed, put themſelves into a perfect legal State, out of the Covenant of Grace, and could receive no Benefit by Jeſus Chriſt, *ver.* 2—4.

2. By aſſuring them, that he and thoſe that followed him, expected juſtification only by Faith, *v.* 5—6.

3. By telling them, that he had put them in the right Way, and that this new Perſuaſion came not from him that converted them to Chriſtianity, *ver.* 7—8.

4. By inſinuating to them, that they ſhould agree to paſs Judgment on him that troubled them with this Doctrine, *v.* 9——10.

5. By his being perſecuted, for oppoſing the Circumciſion of the Chriſtians. For this was the great Offence which ſtuck with the *Jews*, even after their Converſion, *v.* 11.

6. By wiſhing thoſe cut off that trouble them with this Doctrine, *v.* 12.

This will, I doubt not, by whoever weighs it, be found a very skilful Management of the argumentative Part of this Epiſtle, which ends here. For though he begins with ſapping the Foundation on which the judaizing Seducers ſeem'd to have laid their main Streſs, (*viz.*) the Report of his preaching Circumciſion; yet he reſerves the direct and open Confutation of it to the End, and ſo leaves it with them, that it may have the more forcible and laſting Impreſſion on their Minds.

PARAPHRASE.

2. TAke Notice that I *Paul (d)* who am falſly reported to preach up Circumciſion in other Places, ſay unto you, that if you are circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall be
3. of no Advantage to you. For I repeat here again what I have always preach'd, and ſolemnly teſtifie to every one who yields to be circumciſed, in Compliance with thoſe who ſay that now under the Goſpel he cannot be ſaved without it, (*e*) that he is under an Obligation

TEXT.

Behold, I Paul ſay unto 2
you, that if ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing. For I teſtifie 3
again to every man that is circumciſed, that he is a debter to the whole law

NOTES.

2 (*d*) Ἴδε, ἐγὼ Παῦλος, *Behold, I Paul*, I the ſame *Paul*, who am reported to preach Circumciſion, μαρτύρομαι πάλιν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, *v.* 3. *Witneſs again*, continue my Teſtimony, *to every Man*, to you and all Men. This ſo emphatical Way of ſpeaking, may very well be underſtood to have Regard to what he takes Notice, *v.* 11. to be caſt upon him, (*viz.*) his preaching Circumciſion, and is a very ſignificant Vindication of himſelf.

3 (*e*) *Cannot be ſaved.* This was the Ground upon which the *Jews* and *Judaizing* Chriſtians urged Circumciſion. See *Acts* 15. 1.

to

TEXT.

4 Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from
5 grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by
6 faith. For in Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which
7 worketh by love. Ye did run well, who did hinder you, that ye should not
8 obey the truth? This persuasion cometh not of him
9 that calleth you. A little leaven leaveneth the whole
10 lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that you will be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you, shall bear his judgment, who-
11 soever he be. And I, brethren, if I yet preach circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? then is the offence of the cross

PARAPHRASE.

to the whole Law, and bound to observe and perform every tittle of it. Christ is of no use to you, who 4.
seek Justification by the Law: Whosoever do so, be ye what you will, ye are fallen from the Covenant of Grace. But I (*f*) and those who with me are true 5.
Christians, we who follow the Truth of the Gospel (*g*) and the Doctrine of the Spirit of God, have no other Hope of Justification but by Faith in Christ. For in the State of the Gospel under Jesus the Messiah, 6.
'tis neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision that is of any Moment; All that is available is Faith alone, working by Love. (*h*) When you first entered into the 7.
Profession of the Gospel, you were in a good way, and went on well: Who has put a Stop to you, and hindered you, that you keep no longer to the Truth of the Christian Doctrine? This Persuasion, that it is 8.
necessary for you to be circumcised, cometh not from him (*i*) by whose Preaching you were call'd to the Profession of the Gospel. Remember that a little Lea- 9.
ven leaveneth the whole Lump; the Influence of one Man (*k*) entertain'd among you, may mislead you all: I have Confidence in you, that by the Help of the 10.
Lord, you will be all of this same mind (*l*) with me; and consequently he that troubles you shall fall under the Censure he deserves for it, (*m*) whoever he be. But as 11.
for me, Brethren, If I at last am become a Preacher of Circumcision, why am I yet persecuted? (*n*) If it be so that the *Gentile* Converts are to be circumcised,

NOTES.

5 (*f*) *We.* 'Tis evident from the Context, that St. *Paul* here means himself. But *We* is a more graceful way of speaking than *I*, though he be vindicating himself alone from the Imputation of setting up Circumcision.

(*g*) *Spirit.* The Law and the Gospel opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, we may see, *Ch.* 3. 3. of this Epistle. The same Opposition it stands in here to the *Law* in the foregoing Verse, points out the same Signification.

6 (*h*) *Which worketh by Love.* This is added to express the Animosities which were amongst them, probably raised by this Question about Circumcision. See *v.* 19——15.

8 (*i*) This Expression of *him that called*, or *calleth you*, he used before, *Ch.* 1. 6. and in both Places means himself, and here declares, that this πεισμονὴ (whether taken for *Persuasion*, or for *Subjection*, as it may be in St. *Paul*'s Style, considering πείθεσθαι, in the End of the foregoing Verse) came not from him, for he called them to Liberty from the Law, and not Subjection to it; See *v.* 13. *You were going on well in the Liberty of the Gospel, who stopp'd you? I, you may be sure, had no Hand in it; I, you know, call'd you to Liberty, and not to Subjection to the Law; and therefore you can by no means suppose that I should preach of Circumcision.* Thus St. *Paul* argues here.

9 (*k*) By this and the next Verse, it looks as if all this Disorder arose from one Man.

10 (*l*) *Will not be otherwise minded*, will beware of this Leaven, so as not to be put into a Ferment, nor shaken in your Liberty, which you ought to stand fast in, and to secure it, I doubt not (such Confidence I have in you) will with one Accord cast out him that troubles you. For, as for me, you may be sure I am not for Circumcision, in that the *Jews* continue to persecute me. This is evidently his Meaning, though not spoken out, but managed warily, with a very skilful and moving Insinuation. For as he says himself, *Ch.* 4. 20. he knew not at that Distance what Temper they were in.

(*m*) Κρίμα, *Judgment*, seems here to mean Expulsion by a Church-censure, see *v.* 12. We shall be the more inclin'd to this, if we consider, that the Apostle uses the same Argument of *a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump*, 1 Cor. 5. 6. where he would persuade the *Corinthians* to purge out the Fornicator.

11 (*n*) *Persecution.* The *Persecution* St. *Paul* was still under, was a convincing Argument, that he was not for Circumcision and Subjection to the Law, for it was from the *Jews*, upon that Account, that at this Time rose all the Persecution which the Christians suffered, as may be seen through all the History of the *Acts*. Nor are there wanting clear Footsteps of it in several Places of this Epistle, besides this here, as *Ch.* 3. 4. and 6. 12.

PARAPHRASE.

and ſo ſubjected to the Law, the great Offence of the Goſpel (*o*) in relying ſolely on a crucified Saviour for
12. Salvation, is removed. But I am of another Mind, and wiſh that they may be cut off who trouble you
13. about this Matter, and they ſhall be cut off. For, Brethren, ye have been call'd by me unto Liberty.

TEXT.

ceaſed. I would they were even cut off which trouble you. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty.

12 13

NOTES.

(*o*) Offence of the Croſs, ſee *ch.* 6. 12—14.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. V. 13—26.

CONTENTS.

FRom the mention of Liberty which he tells them they are called to under the Goſpel, he takes a Riſe to caution them in the uſe of it, and ſo exhorts them to a Spiritual or true Chriſtian Life, ſhewing the Difference and Contrariety between that and a Carnal Life, or a Life after the Fleſh.

PARAPHRASE.

Though the Goſpel to which ye are called, be a State of Liberty from the Bondage of the Law, yet pray take great care you do not miſtake that Liberty, nor think it affords you an Opportunity, in the Abuſe of it, to ſatisfie the Luſt of the Fleſh, but ſerve (*p*) one
14. another in Love. For the whole Law concerning our Duty to others, is fulfill'd in obſerving this one Pre-
15. cept, (*q*) *Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf.* But if you bite and tear one another, take heed that you be
16. not deſtroy'd and conſumed by one another. This I ſay to you, conduct your ſelves by the Light that is in your Minds, (*r*) and do not give your ſelves up to the Luſts of the Fleſh, to obey them in what they put
17. upon you. For the Inclinations and Deſires of the Fleſh are contrary to thoſe of the Spirit: And the Dictates and Inclinations of the Spirit, are contrary to thoſe of the Fleſh; ſo that under theſe contrary Impulſes you do not do the things that you purpoſe to

TEXT.

Only uſe not liberty for an occaſion to the fleſh, but by love ſerve one another.

For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not conſumed one of another. This I ſay then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye ſhall not fulfil the luſt of the fleſh. For the fleſh luſteth againſt the Spirit, and the Spirit againſt the fleſh; and theſe are contrary the one to the other; ſo that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

14 15 16 17

NOTES.

13 (*p*) Δουλεύετε, *Serve*, has a greater Force in the Greek, than our Engliſh word *ſerve* does in the common Acceptation of it expreſs. For it ſignifies the Oppoſite to ἐλευθερία, *Freedom.* And ſo the Apoſtle elegantly informs them, that though by the Goſpel they are called to a State of *Liberty* from the Law; yet they were ſtill as much bound and ſubjected to their Brethren in all the Offices and Duties of Love and Good-will, as if in that reſpect they were their Vaſſals and Bondmen.

14 (*q*) *Lev.* 19. 18.

16 (*r*) That which he here, and in the next Verſe, calls *Spirit*, he calls, *Rom.* 7. 22. *the inward Man*; *v.* 23. *the law of the Mind*; *v.* 25. *the Mind.*

your

TEXT.

18 But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under
19 the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies;
20 21 envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.
22 But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-
23 suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, tem-

PARAPHRASE.

your selves. (*s*.) But if you give your selves up to the Conduct of the Gospel (*t*) by Faith in Christ, ye are not under the Law. (*u*.) Now the Works of the Flesh, as is manifest, are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, (*w*) Enmities, Quarrels, Emulations, Animosities, Strife, Seditions, Sects, Envyings, Murders, Drunkenness, Revellings, (*x*) and such like, concerning which I forewarn you now, as heretofore I have done, that they who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But on the other side, the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Sweetness of Disposition, Beneficence, Faithfulness, Meekness, Temperance: Against these and the like there is no

18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23.

NOTES.

17 (*s*) *Do not*; So it is in the Greek, and our's is the only Translation that I know, which renders it *cannot*.

16, 17. There can be nothing plainer, than that the State St. *Paul* describes here in these two Verses, he points out more at large, *Rom.* 7. 17, &c. Speaking there in the Person of a *Jew*. This is evident, that St. *Paul* supposes two Principles in every Man, which draw him different Ways, the one he calls *Flesh*, the other *Spirit*. These, though there be no other Appellations given them, are the most common and usual Names given them in the New Testament: *By Flesh* is meant all those vicious, and irregular Appetites, Inclinations and Habitudes, whereby a Man is turn'd from his Obedience to that eternal Law of Right, the Observance whereof God always requires and is pleased with. This is very properly call'd *Flesh*, this bodily State being the Source from which all our Deviations from the streight Rule of Rectitude, do for the most part take their Rise, or else do ultimately terminate in: On the other side, *Spirit* is the Part of a Man which is endowed with Light from God, to know and see what is Righteous, Just and Good, and which being consulted and hearken'd to, is always ready to direct and prompt us to that which is good. The *Flesh* then, in the Gospel-Language, is that Principle which inclines and carries Men to Ill; the *Spirit* that Principle which dictates what is Right, and inclines to Good. But because, by prevailing Custom and contrary Habits, this Principle was very much weaken'd, and almost extinct in the *Gentiles*, see *Eph.* 4. 17—21. He exhorts them to be *renewed in the Spirit of their Minds*, v. 23. and to *put off the old Man*, i. e. Fleshly corrupt Habits, and to put on the *New Man*, which he tells them, *v.* 24. is created *in Righteousness and true Holiness*. This is also called *renewing of the Mind*, Rom. 12. 2. *Renewing of the inward Man*, 2 *Cor.* 4. 16. Which is done by the Assistance of the Spirit of God, *Eph.* 3. 16.

18 (*t*) The Reason of this Assertion we may find, *Rom.* 8. 14. *viz.* Because, *they who are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God*, and so Heirs, and free without the Law, as he argues here, *Ch.* 3. and 4.

(*u*) This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle, who teaches all along in the former Part of this Epistle, and also that to the *Romans*, that those that put themselves under the Gospel, are not under the Law: The Question then that remains, is only about the Phrase, *led by the Spirit*. And as to that, it is easie to observe how Natural it is for St. *Paul*, having in the foregoing Verses more than once mentioned the *Spirit*, to continue the same Word, though somewhat varied in the Sense. In St. *Paul*'s Phraseology, as the Irregularities of Appetite, and the Dictates of right Reason, are opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, as we have seen: So the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace, Law, and Gospel, are opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. 8. he calls the Gospel *Spirit*, and *Rom.* 7. 5. *In the Flesh*, signifies in the legal State. But we need go no farther than *Ch.* 3. 3. of this very Epistle, to see the Law and the Gospel opposed by St. *Paul* under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*. The Reason of thus using the Word *Spirit*, is very apparent in the Doctrine of the New Testament, which teaches, that those who receive Christ by Faith, with him receive his Spirit, and its Assistance against the Flesh; See *Rom.* 8. 9.——11. Accordingly, for the attaining of Salvation, St. *Paul* joins together Belief of the Truth, and Sanctification of the Spirit, 1 *Thes.* 2. 13. And so *Spirit* here may be taken for the *Spirit of their Minds*, but renewed and strengthen'd by the Spirit of God; See *Eph.* 3. 16. and 4. 23.

20 (*w*) Φαρμακεία signifies *Witchcraft*, or *Poisoning*.

21 (*x*) Κῶμοι, *Revellings*, were amongst the *Greeks*, disorderly spending of the Night in Feasting, with a licentious indulging to Wine, good Cheer, Musick, Dancing, &c.

Chap. VI.

PARAPHRASE.

Law. Now they who belong (*y*) to Chriſt, and are his Members, have (*z*) crucified the Fleſh, with the Affections and Luſts thereof. If our Life then (our Fleſh having been crucified) be as we profeſs by the Spirit, whereby we are alive from that State of Sin we were dead in before, let us regulate our Lives and Actions by the Light and Dictates of the Spirit. Let us not be led by an itch of vain Glory to provoke one another, or to envy one another. (*a*)

TEXT.

perance: againſt ſuch there is no law. And they that are Chriſt's, have crucified the Fleſh, with the affections and luſts. If we live in the Spirit, let us alſo walk in the Spirit. Let us not be deſirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

NOTES.

24 (*y*) Οἱ τῦ Χριςῦ, *Thoſe who are of Chriſt*, are the ſame *with thoſe who are led by the Spirit*, *v.* 18. and are oppoſed to *thoſe who live after the Fleſh*, Rom. 8. 13. Where it is ſaid, conformably to what we find here, *they through the Spirit mortifie the Deeds of the Body.*

(*z*) *Crucified the Fleſh.* That Principle in us, from whence ſpring vicious Inclinations and Actions, is, as we have obſerved, above called, ſometimes the *Fleſh*, ſometimes the *Old Man.* The ſubduing and mortifying of this evil Principle, ſo that the Force and Power wherewith it uſed to rule in us, is extinguiſhed; the Apoſtle, by a very engaging Accommodation to the Death of our Saviour, calls, *Crucifying the Old Man*, Rom. 6. 6. *Crucifying the Fleſh*, here. *Putting off the Body of the Sins of the Fleſh*, Col. 2. 11. *Putting off the Old Man*, Eph. 4. 2. Col. 3. 8, 9. It is alſo called, *Mortifying the Members which are on Earth*, Col. 3. 5. *Mortifying the Deeds of the Body*, Rom. 8. 13.

26 (*a*) Whether the *vain Glory* and *envying* here were about their ſpiritual Gifts, a Fault which the *Corinthians* were guilty of, as we may ſee at large, 1 *Cor.* 12. 13, 14. or upon any other Occaſion, and ſo contained in *v.* 15. of this Chapter, I ſhall not curiouſly examine: Either way, the Senſe of the Words will be much the ſame, and accordingly this Verſe muſt end the 5*th* or begin the 6*th* Chapter.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. VI. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

HE here exhorts the Stronger to Gentleneſs and Meekneſs towards the Weak.

PARAPHRASE.

BRethren, if a Man by Frailty or Surpriſe, fall into a Fault, do you who are eminent in the Church for Knowledge, Practice, and Gifts, (*b*) raiſe him up again, and ſet him right, with Gentleneſs and Meekneſs, conſidering that you yourſelves are not out of the Reach of Temptations. Bear with one another's Infirmities, and help to ſupport each other under your Burdens, (*c*) and ſo fulfil the Law of Chriſt. (*d*) For if any one be conceited of himſelf,

TEXT.

BRethren, if a Man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are Spiritual, reſtore ſuch an one in the ſpirit of meekneſs; conſidering thy ſelf, leſt thou alſo be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and ſo fulfil the law of Chriſt. For if a man think himſelf to be ſomething, when he

NOTES.

1 (*b*) Πνευματικοὶ, *Spiritual*, in 1 *Cor.* 3. 1. and 12. 1. taken together, has this Senſe.

2 (*c*) See a parallel Exhortation, 1 *Theſſ.* 5. 14. which will give Light to this, as alſo *Rom.* 15. 1.

(*d*) See *John* 13, 34, 35. and 14. 2. There were ſome among them very zealous for the Obſervation of the Law of *Moſes*; St. *Paul* here puts them in mind of a Law, which they were under, and were oblig'd to obſerve, *viz. the Law of Chriſt.* And he ſhews them how to do

TEXT.

is nothing, he deceiveth
4 himself. But let every
man prove his own work
and then shall he have re-
joycing in himself alone,
5 and not in another. For
every man shall bear his
own burden.

PARAPHRASE.

as if he were something, a Man of Weight, fit to prescribe to others, when indeed he is not, he deceiveth himself. But let him take care that what he himself doth be right, and such as will bear the Test, and then he will have matter of glorying (*e*) in himself, and not in another. For every one shall be accountable only for his own Actions. 4. 5.

NOTES.

do it, (*viz.*) by helping to bear one another's Burdens, and not increasing their Burdens by the Observances of the Levitical Law. Though the Gospel contain the Law of the Kingdom of Christ, yet I do not remember that St. *Paul* any where calls it *the Law of Christ*, but in this Place, where he mentions it in Opposition to those who thought a Law so necessary, that they would retain that of *Moses* under the Gospel.

4 (*e*) Καύχημα, I think should have been translated here, *Glorying*: Καυχήσονται is, v. 13. The Apostle in both Places meaning the same Thing, (*viz.*) Glorying in another, in having brought him to Circumcision, and other ritual Observances of the Mosaical Law. For thus St. *Paul* seems to me to discourse in this Section. "Brethren, there be some among you that would bring "others under the ritual Observances of the Mosaical Law, a Yoke which was too heavy for us, "and our Fathers to bear. They would do much better to ease the Burdens of the Weak; this "is suitable to the Law of Christ, which they are under, and is the Law which they ought "strictly to obey. If they think, because of their spiritual Gifts, that they have Power to pre-"scribe in such Matters, I tell them, that they have not, but do deceive themselves. Let "them rather take care of their own particular Actions, that they be right, and such as they "ought to be. This will give them matter of Glorying in themselves, and not vainly in "others, as they do when they prevail with them to be Circumcised. For every Man shall be "answerable for his own Actions." Let the Reader judge whether this does not seem to be St. *Paul*'s View here, and suit with his way of Writing?

Ἔχειν Καύχημα, is a Phrase whereby St. *Paul* signifies *to have matter of Glorying*, and to that Sense it is render'd, *Rom.* 4. 2.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. VI. 1——10.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* having laid some Restraint upon the Authority and Forwardness of the Teachers, and leading Men amongst them, who were, as it seems, more ready to impose on the *Galatians*, what they should not, than to help them forward in the Practice of Gospel-Obedience; he here takes care of them in respect of their Maintenance, and exhorts the *Galatians* to Liberality towards them; and in general, towards all Men, especially Christians.

TEXT.

6 Let him that is taught in
the word, communicate
unto him that teacheth, in
7 all good things. Be not
deceived; God is not mock-
ed: for whatsoever a man
soweth, that shall be also
8 reap. For he that soweth

PARAPHRASE.

LET him that is taught the Doctrine of the Gospel, freely communicate the good things of this World, to him that teaches him. Be not deceived, God will not be mocked. For as a Man soweth, (*f*) so also shall he reap. He that lays out the Stock of good things he has, only for the Satisfaction of his 6. 7. 8.

NOTES.

7 (*f*) *Soweth.* A Metaphor used by St. *Paul* for Men's laying out their Worldly Goods. See 2 *Cor.* 9. 6, &c.

own

Chap. VI.

PARAPHRASE.

own bodily Neceſſities, Conveniencies or Pleaſures, ſhall at the Harveſt find the Fruit and Product of ſuch Husbandry to be Corruption and periſhing. (*g*) But he that lays out this worldly Subſtance according to the Rules dictated by the Spirit of God in the Goſpel,
9. ſhall of the Spirit reap Life Everlaſting. In doing thus what is good and right, let us not wax weary, for in due Seaſon, when the Time of Harveſt comes, we ſhall reap, if we continue on to do good, and flag
10. not. Therefore as we have Opportunities, let us do Good unto all Men, eſpecially to thoſe who profeſs Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, *i. e.* the Chriſtian Religion.

TEXT.

to his fleſh, ſhall of the fleſh reap corruption: but he that ſoweth to the Spirit, ſhall of the Spirit reap life everlaſting. And let 9
us not be weary in well-doing: for in due ſeaſon we ſhall reap, if we faint not.
As we have therefore op- 10
portunity, let us do good unto all men, eſpecially unto them who are of the houſhold of faith.

NOTES.

8 (*g*) *Rom.* 8. 13. and 2. 12.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. VI. 11——18.

CONTENTS.

ONE may ſee what lay upon St. *Paul*'s Mind, in writing to the *Galatians*, by what he inculcates to them here, even after he had finiſhed his Letter. The like we have in the laſt Chapter to the *Romans*. He here winds up all with Admonitions to the *Galatians*, of a different End and Aim they had to get the *Galatians* circumciſed, from what he had in preaching the Goſpel.

PARAPHRASE.

11. You ſee how long a Letter I have writ to you with
12. my own Hand. (*b*) They who are willing to carry it ſo fairly in the ritual Part of the Law, and to make Oſtentation of their Compliance therein, conſtrain you to be circumciſed, only to avoid Perſecution, for owning their Dependance for Salvation ſolely on a crucified Meſſiah, (*i*) and not on the Obſervance of
13. the Law. For even they themſelves who are circumciſed do not keep the Law. But they will have you to be circumciſed, that this Mark in your Fleſh may afford them matter of Glorying, and of recommending themſelves to the good Opinion of the *Jews*. (*k*)
14. But as for me, whatever may be ſaid of me, (*l*) God forbid that I ſhould glory in any thing, but in having

TEXT.

Ye ſee how large a letter I 11
have written unto you with mine own hand. As many 12
as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh, they conſtrain you to be circumciſed; only leſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of Chriſt. For nei- 13
ther they themſelves who are circumciſed keep the law; but deſire to have you circumciſed, that they may glory in your fleſh.
But God forbid that I 14
ſhould glory ſave in the croſs of our Lord Jeſus

NOTES.

11 (*b*) St. *Paul* mentions the *Writing with his own Hand*, as an Argument of his great Concern for them in the Caſe. For it was not uſual for him to write his Epiſtles with his own Hand, but to dictate them to others who writ them from his Mouth. See *Rom.* 16. 22. 1 *Cor.* 16. 21.

12 (*i*) *In the Fleſh*, i. e. in the ritual Obſervances of the Law, which, *Heb.* 9. 10. are called, δικαιώματα σαρκός.

13 (*k*) See *Ch.* 5. 11.

14 (*l*) See *Ch.* 5. 11.

Jeſus

TEXT.

Chriſt, by whom the world is crucified unto me,
15 and I unto the world. For in Chriſt Jeſus neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion,
16 but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Iſrael of God.
17 From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks
18 of the Lord Jeſus. Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your ſpirit, Amen. ¶ Unto the Galatians, written from Rome.

PARAPHRASE.

Jeſus Chriſt who was crucified, for my ſole Lord and Maſter, whom I am to obey and depend on, which I ſo entirely do, without regard to any thing elſe, that I am wholly dead to the World, and the World dead to me, and it has no more Influence on me than if it were not. For as to the obtaining a Share in the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Privileges and Advantages of it, neither Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion, ſuch outward Differences in the Fleſh, avail any thing, but the New Creation, wherein by a thorough Change, a Man is diſpoſed to Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs in good Works. (*m*) And on all thoſe who walk by this Rule, *viz.* that it is the New Creation alone, and not Circumciſion, that availeth under the Goſpel, Peace and Mercy ſhall be on them, they being that *Iſrael* which are truly the People of God. (*n*) From henceforth, let no Man give me trouble by Queſtions, or Doubt, whether I preach Circumciſion or no. 'Tis true, I am circumciſed. But yet the Marks I now bear in my Body, are the Marks of Jeſus Chriſt, that I am his. The Marks of the Stripes which I have received from the *Jews*, and which I ſtill bear in my Body for preaching Jeſus Chriſt, are an Evidence that I am not for Circumciſion. Brethren, *The Favour of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with your Spirit.* Amen.

15. 16. 17. 18.

NOTES.

15 (*m*) See *Eph.* 2. 10. and 4. 24.

16 (*n*) St. *Paul* having in the foregoing Verſe aſſerted, that it is the New Creation alone that puts Men into the Kingdom of Chriſt, and into the Poſſeſſion of the Privileges thereof, this Verſe may be underſtood alſo as Aſſertory, rather than as a Prayer, unleſs there were a Verb that expreſſed it; Eſpecially conſidering that he writes this Epiſtle to encourage them to refuſe Circumciſion. To which End the aſſuring them, that thoſe who do ſo ſhall have Peace and Mercy from God, is of more Force than to tell them, that he prays that they may have Peace and Mercy. And for the ſame reaſon I underſtand the *Iſrael of God*, to be the ſame with *thoſe who walk by this Rule*, though join'd with them by the Copulative Καὶ, *And*; no very unuſual way of ſpeaking.

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

First Epiſtle of St. *PAUL*

TO THE

CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

SAint *Paul*'s firſt coming to *Corinth* was *Anno Chriſti* 52, where he firſt applied himſelf to the Synagogue, *Acts* 18. 4. But finding them obſtinate in their Oppoſition to the Goſpel, he turn'd to the Gentiles, *ver.* 6. out of whom this Church at *Corinth* ſeems chiefly to be gathered, as appears, *Acts* 18. & 1 *Cor.* 12. 2.

His Stay here was about two Years, as appears from *Acts* 18. 11, 18. compared: In which time it may be concluded he made many Converts, for he was not idle there, nor did he uſe to ſtay long in a Place where he was not incouraged by the Succeſs of his Miniſtry. Beſides what his ſo long Abode in this one City, and his indefatigable Labour every where might induce one to preſume of the Number of Converts he made in that City; the Scripture itſelf, *Acts* 18. 10. gives ſufficient Evidence of a numerous Church gathered there.

Corinth itſelf was a rich Merchant-Town, the Inhabitants Greeks, a People of quick Parts, and inquiſitive, 1 *Cor.* 1. 22. but naturally vain and conceited of themſelves.

Theſe things conſider'd may help us in ſome meaſure the better to underſtand St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles to this Church, which ſeems to be in greater Diſorder than any other of the Churches which he writ to.

This Epiſtle was writ to the *Corinthians*, *Anno Chriſti* 57. between two and three Years after St. *Paul* had left them. In this Interval there was got in amongſt them a new Inſtructor, a Jew by Nation, who had raiſed a Faction againſt St. *Paul*. With this Party, whereof he was the Leader, this falſe Apoſtle had gain'd great Authority, ſo that they admired, and gloried in him, with an apparent Diſeſteem and Diminiſhing of St. *Paul*.

Why I ſuppoſe the Oppoſition to be made to St. *Paul* in this Church by one Party under one Leader, I ſhall give the Reaſons that make it probable to me, as they come in my Way, going through theſe two Epiſtles, which I ſhall leave to the Reader to judge, without poſitively determining on either Side: And therefore ſhall, as it happens, ſpeak of theſe Oppoſers of St. *Paul* ſometimes in the ſingular, and ſometimes in the plural Number.

This at leaſt is evident, that the main Deſign of St. *Paul* in this Epiſtle, is to ſupport his own Authority, Dignity, and Credit, with that part of the Church which ſtuck to him; to vindicate himſelf from the Aſperſions and Calumnies of the oppoſite Party; to leſſen the Credit of the chief and leading Men in it, by intimating their Miſcarriages, and ſhewing their no Cauſe of glorying, or being gloried in; that ſo withdrawing their Party from the Admiration and Eſteem of thoſe their Leaders, he might break the Faction; and putting an End to the Diviſion, might re-unite them with the uncorrupted part of the Church, that they might all unanimouſly ſubmit to the Authority of his Divine Miſſion, and with one Accord receive and keep the Doctrine and Directions he had deliver'd to them.

This is the whole Subject from *Ch.* 1. 10. to the End of *Ch.* 6. In the remaining part of this Epiſtle he anſwers ſome Queſtions they had propoſed to him; and reſolves ſome Doubts not without a Mixture, on all Occaſions, of Reflections on his Oppoſers, and of other things that might tend to the breaking of their Faction.

SECT. I.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

CHAP. I. V. 1—9.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, called to be ſo by the Will of God (*a*) and *Soſthenes* (*b*) our Brother in the Chriſtian Faith, to the Church of God
2. which is at *Corinth*, to them that are ſeparated from the reſt of the World by Faith in *Chriſt Jeſus*, (*c*) called to be Saints, with all that are every where called

TEXT.

1 PAUL called to be an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt through the will of God and Soſthenes our brother.
2 Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are ſanctified in Chriſt Jeſus, called to be Saints, with all that in e-

NOTES.

1 (*a*) St. *Paul* in moſt of his Epiſtles mentions his being *call'd to be an Apoſtle by the Will of God*, which way of ſpeaking being peculiar to him, we may ſuppoſe him therein to intimate his extraordinary and miraculous Call, *Acts* 9. and his receiving the Goſpel by immediate Revelation, *Gal.* 1. 11, 12. For he doubted not of the Will and Providence of God governing all things.

(*b*) *Acts* 18. 17.

2 (*c*) Ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, *Sanctified in Chriſt Jeſus*, does not ſignifie here, whoſe Lives are pure and holy, for there were many amongſt thoſe he writ to, who were quite otherwiſe; but *ſanctified* ſignifies ſeparate from the common State of Mankind, to be the People of God, and to ſerve him. The Heathen World had revolted from the true God, to the Service of Idols and falſe Gods, *Rom.* 1. 18——25. The Jews being ſeparated from this corrupted Maſs, to be the peculiar People of God, were called *Holy*, Exod. 19. 5, 6. Numb. 15. 40. They being caſt off, the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity were ſeparated to be the People of God, and ſo became holy, 1 *Pet.* 11. 9, 10.

by

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

very place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours:
3 Grace be unto you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord
4 Jesus Christ. I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God, which is given you by Je-
5 sus Christ; That in every thing ye are enriched by him in all utterance, and
6 in all knowledge: Even as the testimony of Christ
7 was confirmed in you. So that ye come behind in no Gift; waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus
8 Christ: Who shall also confirm you unto the end, that ye may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus
9 Christ. God is faithful, by whom ye were called unto the fellowship of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

by the Name of *Jesus Christ* (*d*) their Lord (*e*) and ours; Favour and Peace be unto you from God our Father, and from the Lord *Jesus Christ*. 3.

I thank God always on your Behalf, for the Favour of God which is bestow'd on you through *Jesus Christ*; 4.
so that by him you are inriched with all Knowledge 5.
and Utterance, and all extraordinary Gifts, as at first 6.
by those miraculous Gifts the Gospel of *Christ* was confirmed among you: So that in no spiritual Gift are 7.
of you short or deficient, (*f*) waiting for the Coming our Lord *Jesus* Christ, who shall also confirm you unto 8.
the End, that in the Day of the Lord *Jesus Christ* there may be no Charge against you. For God who 9.
has called you unto the Fellowship of his Son *Jesus Christ* our Lord, may be relied on for what is to be done on his Side.

NOTES.

(*d*) Επικαλουμενοι ονομα Χριστου, *that are called Christians*; these Greek Words being a Periphrasis for Christians, as is plain from the Design of this Verse. But he that is not satisfied with that, may see more Proofs of it in Dr. *Hammond* upon the Place.

(*e*) What the Apostle means by *Lord*, when he attributes it to Christ, *Vid.* 8. 6.

7 (*f*) Vid. 2 *Cor.* 12. 12, 13.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 10—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

THere were great Disorders in the Church of *Corinth*, caused chiefly by a Faction raised there against St. *Paul*: The Partisans of the Faction mightily cried up and gloried in their Leaders, who did all they could to disparage St. *Paul*, and lessen him in the Esteem of the *Corinthians*. St. *Paul* makes it his Business in this Section to take off the *Corinthians* from siding with and glorying in this pretended Apostle, whose Followers and Scholars they profess'd themselves to be, and to reduce them into one Body as the Scholars of Christ united in a Belief of the Gospel, which he had preached to them, and in an Obedience to it, without any such Distinction of Masters or Leaders, from whom they denominated themselves. He also here and there intermixes a Justification of himself against the Aspersions which were cast upon him by his Opposers. How much St. *Paul* was set against their Leaders, may be seen, 2 *Cor.* 11. 13—15.

The Arguments used by St. *Paul* to break the opposite Faction, and put an End to all Divisions amongst them being various, we shall take notice of them under their several Heads, as they come in the Order of his Discourse.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. II. N. 1.

CHAP. I. 10——16.

CONTENTS.

SAint *Paul*'s first Argument is, That in Christianity they all had but one Master, *viz. Christ*; and therefore were not to fall into Parties denominated from distinct Teachers, as they did in their Schools of Philosophy.

PARAPHRASE.

10. NOW I beseech you, Brethren, by the Name (*g*) of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that ye hold the same Doctrine, and that there be no Divisions among you; but that ye be framed together into one entire Body,
11. with one Mind, and one Affection. For I understand my Brethren, (*h*) by some of the House of *Chloe*, that
12. there are Quarrels and Dissentions amongst you: So that ye are all fallen into Parties, ranking your selves under different Leaders or Masters, one saying, I am of *Paul*, another, I of *Apollos*, I of *Cephas*, I of *Christ*.
13. Is *Christ*, who is our only Head and Master, divided? Was *Paul* crucified for you? Or were you baptized
14. into (*i*) the Name of *Paul*? I thank God that I bap-
15. tized none of you but *Crispus* and *Gaius*; lest any one
16. should say I had baptized into my own Name. I baptized also the Household of *Stephanas*: Farther I know not whether I baptized any other.

TEXT.

Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye 10
all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared 11
unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of Chloe, that there are contentions among you. Now this I 12
say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ. Is Christ 13
divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of Paul? I thank God that I 14
baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius: Lest 15
any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. And I baptized also 16
the household of Stephanas: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other.

NOTES.

10 (*g*) Of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth, is and ought to be named. If any one has thought St. *Paul* a loose Writer, it is only because he was a loose Reader. He that takes notice of St. *Paul*'s Design, shall find that there is not a Word scarce, or Expression that he makes use of, but with Relation and Tendency to his present main Purpose: As here, intending to abolish the Names of Leaders they distinguish'd themselves by, he beseeches them by the *Name* of Christ, a Form that I do not remember he elsewhere uses.

11 (*h*) *Brethren*, a Name of Union and Friendship used here twice together by St. *Paul* in the Entrance of his Persuasion to them, to put an End to their Divisions.

13 (*i*) Εἰς properly signifies *into*, so the *French* translate it here: The Phrase βαπτισθῆναι εἰς, *to be baptized into any one's Name, or into any one*, is solemnly by that Ceremony to enter himself a Disciple of him into whose Name he is baptized, with Profession to receive his Doctrine and Rules, and submit to his Authority: a very good Argument here why they should be called by no one's Name but *Christ's*.

SECT.

An Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 17.—31.

CONTENTS.

THE next Argument of St. *Paul* to ſtop their Followers from glorying in theſe falſe Apoſtles, is, that neither any Advantage of Extraction nor Skill in the Learning of the *Jews*, nor in the Philoſophy and Eloquence of the Greeks, was that for which God choſe Men to be Preachers of the Goſpel. Thoſe whom he made choice of for overturning the Mighty and the Learned, were mean plain illiterate Men.

TEXT.

17 For Chriſt ſent me not to baptize, but to preach the goſpel: not with wiſdom of words, leſt the croſs of Chriſt ſhould be
18 made of none effect. For the preaching of the croſs is to them that periſh, fooliſhneſs: but unto us which are ſaved, it is the
19 power of God. For it is written, I will deſtroy the wiſdom of the wiſe, and will bring to nothing the underſtanding of the pru-
20 dent. Where is the wiſe? where is the ſcribe? where is the diſputer of this world? hath not God made fooliſh the wiſdom of
21 this world? For after that, in the wiſdom of God, the world by wiſdom knew not God, it pleaſed God by the fooliſhneſs of preaching to ſave them that be-
22 lieve. For the Jews require a ſign, and the Greeks ſeek after wiſdom:

PARAPHRASE.

For *Chriſt* ſent me not to baptize, but to preach the Goſpel: not with learned and eloquent Harangues, leſt thereby the Virtue and Efficacy of *Chriſt*'s Sufferings and Death ſhould be overlook'd and neglected, if the Streſs of our Perſuaſion ſhould be laid on the Learning and Quaintneſs of our Preaching. For the plain inſiſting on the Death of a crucified Saviour is by thoſe, who periſh, received as a fooliſh contemptible thing; though to us, who are ſaved, it be the Power of God, conformable to what is propheſied by *Iſaiah*: I will deſtroy the Wiſdom of the Wiſe, and I will bring to nothing the Underſtanding of the Prudent. Where is the Philoſopher skill'd in the Wiſdom of the Greeks? Where the Scribe (*k*) ſtudied in the Learning of the Jews? Where the Profeſſor of humane Arts and Sciences? Hath not God render'd all the Learning and Wiſdom of this World fooliſh and uſeleſs for the Diſcovery of the Truths of the Goſpel? For ſince the World by their natural Parts and Improvements in what with them paſſed for Wiſdom, acknowledg'd not the one only true God, tho' he had manifeſted himſelf to them in the wiſe Contrivance and admirable Frame of the viſible Works of the Creation; it pleaſed God by the plain, and (as the World eſteems it) fooliſh Doctrine of the Goſpel, to ſave thoſe who receive and believe it. Since (*l*) both the *Jews* de-

17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.

NOTES.

20 (*k*) *Scribe* was the Title of a learned Man amongſt the *Jews*; One verſed in their Law and Rites, which was the Study of their Doctors and Rabbies. It is likely the falſe Apoſtle ſo much concern'd in theſe two Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, who was a *Jew*, pretended to ſomething of this kind, and magnified himſelf thereupon, otherwiſe it is not probable that Saint *Paul* ſhould name to the *Corinthians*, a Sort of Men not much known or valued amongſt the *Greeks*. This therefore may be ſuppoſed to be ſaid to take off their glorying in their falſe Apoſtle.

22 (*l*) Ἐπειδὴ καὶ, *ſince both*. Theſe Words uſed here by St. *Paul* are not certainly idle and inſignificant, and therefore I ſee not how they can be omitted in the Tranſlation.

Ἐπειδὴ is a Word of Reaſoning, and if minded, will lead us into one of St. *Paul*'s Reaſonings here, which the Neglect of this Word makes the Reader overlook. St. *Paul* in *ver.* 21. argues thus in general. "Since the World by their natural Parts and Improvements did not attain to "a right and ſaving Knowledge of God, God by the preaching of the Goſpel, which ſeems "Fooliſhneſs to them, was pleaſed to communicate that Knowledge to thoſe who believed.

In the three following Verſes he repeats the ſame Reaſoning a little more expreſly applied to the People he had here in his View, *viz.* *Jews* and *Greeks*: and his Senſe ſeems to be this; "Since the *Jews*, to make any Doctrine go down with them, require extraordinary Signs of "the

PARAPHRASE.

mand extraordinary Signs and Miracles; and the
23. *Greeks* ſeek Wiſdom; but I have nothing elſe to preach to them but Chriſt crucified, a Doctrine offenſive to the Hopes and Expectations of the *Jews*; and fooliſh
24. to the acute Men of Learning, the *Greeks*; but yet it is to theſe, both *Jews* and *Greeks* (when they are converted) *Chriſt* the Power of God, and *Chriſt* the Wiſ-
25. dom of God: Becauſe that which ſeems Fooliſhneſs in thoſe who came from God, ſurpaſſes the Wiſdom of Man; and that which ſeems Weakneſs in thoſe ſent
26. by God, ſurpaſſes the Power of Men. For reflect upon your ſelves, Brethren, and you may obſerve, that there are not many of the wiſe and learned Men, not many Men of Power or of Birth among you that are
27. called. But God hath choſen the fooliſh Men in the Account of the World, to confound the Wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak Men of the World to con-
28. found the Mighty: The mean Men of the World, and contemptible, has God choſen, and thoſe that are of no Account, and are nothing, (*m*) to diſplace thoſe that
29. are: That ſo there might be no Room or Pretence for
30. any one to glory in his Preſence: Natural humane Abilities, Parts or Wiſdom, could never have reach'd this Way to Happineſs: 'Tis to his Wiſdom alone that ye owe the Contrivance of it: To his revealing of it that ye owe the Knowledge of it, and 'tis from him alone that you are in *Chriſt Jeſus*, whom God has made to us *Chriſtians* Wiſdom, and Righteouſneſs and Sanctification, and Redemption, which is all the Dignity and Pre-eminence, all that is of any value, amongſt
31. us *Chriſtians*; That, as it is written, He that glorieth ſhould glory only in the Lord.

TEXT.

But we preach Chriſt crucified, unto the Jews a ſtumbling block, and unto the Greeks fooliſhneſs; 23
But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Chriſt, the power of God, and the wiſdom of God. 24
Becauſe the fooliſhneſs of God is wiſer than men; and the weakneſs of God is ſtronger than men. 25
For ye ſee your calling, brethren, how that not many wiſe men after the fleſh, not many mighty, not many noble are called. 26
But God hath choſen the fooliſh things of the world, to confound the wiſe; and God hath choſen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; 27
And baſe things of the world, and things which are deſpiſed, hath God choſen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are: 28
That no fleſh ſhould glory in his preſence. 29
But of him are ye in Chriſt Jeſus, who of God is made unto us wiſdom, and righteouſneſs, and ſanctification, and redemption: 30
That according as it is written, He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord. 31

NOTES.

" the *Power* of God to accompany it, and nothing will pleaſe the nice Palates of the learned " *Greeks* but *Wiſdom*, and though our preaching of a crucified *Meſſiah* be a Scandal to the *Jews*, " and Fooliſhneſs to the *Greeks*; yet we have what they both ſeek, for both *Jew* and *Gentile*, " when they are called, find the *Meſſiah* whom we preach to be the *Power* of God, and the " *Wiſdom* of God.

25, 27, 28. He that will read the Context, cannot doubt but that St. *Paul*, by what he expreſſes in theſe Verſes in the Neuter Gender, means Perſons, the whole Argument of the Place being about Perſons, and their Glorying, and not about things.

28 (*m*) Τὰ μὴ ὄντα, *Things that are not*, I think may well be underſtood of the *Gentiles*, who were not the People of God, and were counted as nothing by the *Jews*; and we are pointed to this Meaning by the Words καλαισχύνη & καλαργήσῃ, By *the fooliſh and weak things*, *i. e.* by ſimple, illiterate and mean Men, God would *make aſham'd* the learned Philoſophers and great Men of the Nations: But by the μὴ ὄντα, things that are not, he would aboliſh the things that are, as in effect he did aboliſh the *Jewiſh* Church by the Chriſtian, taking in the *Gentiles* to be his People, in the Place of the rejected *Jews*, who till then were his People. This St. *Paul* mentions here not by Chance, but purſuant to his main Deſign to ſtay their glorying in their falſe Apoſtle, who was a *Jew*; by ſhewing that whatever that Head of the Faction might claim under that Pretence, as it is plain he did ſtand upon it (See 2 *Cor.* 11. 21, 22.) He had not any the leaſt Title to any Eſteem or Reſpect upon that Account; ſince the *Jewiſh* Nation was laid aſide, and God had choſen the *Gentiles* to take their Place, and to be his Church and People inſtead of them: *Vid.* Note on *Chap.* 2. *v.* 6. there one may ſee, who are the καλαργέμενοι, *the aboliſhed*, whom God ſays here, καλαργήσω, he will *aboliſh*.

SECT.

An. Cl. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. II. 1——5.

CONTENTS.

FArther to keep them from glorying in their Leaders, he tells them, that as the Preachers of the Gospel of God's chooſing were mean and illiterate Men, ſo the Goſpel was not to be propagated, nor Men to be eſtabliſhed in the Faith by humane Learning and Eloquence, but by the Evidence it had from the Revelation contain'd in the Old Teſtament, and from the Power of God accompanying and confirming it with Miracles.

TEXT.

1 AND I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of ſpeech, or of wiſdom, declaring unto you the te-
2 ſtimony of God. For I determined not to know any thing among you, ſave Jeſus Chriſt, and him crucified. And I was with you
3 in weakneſs, and in fear, and in much trembling.
4 And my ſpeech, and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the Spirit, and

PARAPHRASE.

AND I, Brethren, when I came and preach'd the Goſpel to you, I did not endeavour to ſet it off with any Ornaments of Rhetorick, or the Mixture of humane Learning or Philoſophy, but plainly declar'd it to you as a Doctrine coming from God, reveal'd and atteſted (*n*) by him. For I reſolv'd to own or ſhow no other Knowledge among you, but the Knowledge (*o*) or Doctrine of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of him crucified. All my Carriage among you had nothing in it, but the Appearance of Weakneſs and Humility, and fear of offending you: (*p*) Neither did I in my Diſcourſes, or Preaching, make uſe of any humane Art of Perſuaſion to inveagle you. But the Doctrine of the Goſpel which I propoſed, I confirmed, and inforced by what the Spirit (*q*) had revealed and demonſtrated of it in the Old Teſtament, and by the Power

1 2 3 4

NOTES.

1 (*n*) Τὸ μαρτύριον τῦ Θεῦ, *The Teſtimony of God*, i. e. what God hath revealed and teſtifies in the Old Teſtament: The Apoſtle here declares to the Corinthians, that when he brought the Goſpel to them, he made no uſe of any humane Science, Improvement or Skill, no Inſinuations of Eloquence, no philoſophical Speculations or Ornaments of humane Learning appear'd in any thing he ſaid to perſuade them: All his Arguments were, as he tells them, *ver.* 4. from the Revelation of the Spirit of God in the Predictions of the Old Teſtament, and the Miracles which he *Paul* did among them, that their Faith might be built wholly upon the Spirit of God, and not upon the Abilities and Wiſdom of Man: Tho' μαρτύριον τῦ Θεῦ, *The Teſtimony of God*, agrees very well with ſo much of St. *Paul*'s Meaning as relates to his founding his Preaching on the Teſtimony of God, yet thoſe Copies which read μυστήριον, *Myſtery*, for μαρτύριον, *Teſtimony*, ſeem more perfectly to correſpond with St. *Paul*'s Senſe in the whole latitude of it. For tho' he owns the Doctrine of the Goſpel dictated by the Spirit of God, to be contain'd in the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, and builds upon Revelation: yet he every where teaches, that it remain'd a Secret there, not underſtood till they were led into the hidden Evangelical Meaning of thoſe Paſſages by the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*; and by the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit in the Times of the *Meſſiah*, and then publiſh'd to the World by the Preachers of the Goſpel: And therefore he calls it, eſpecially that part of it which relates to the *Gentiles*, almoſt every where, μυστήριον *Myſtery*. See particularly, *Rom.* 16. 25, 26.

2 (*o*) St. *Paul* who was himſelf a learned Man, eſpecially in the Jewiſh Knowledge, having in the foregoing Chapter told them, that neither the *Jewiſh* Learning, nor *Grecian* Sciences, give a Man any Advantage, as a Miniſter of the Goſpel; he here reminds them, that he made no Shew or Uſe of either when he planted the Goſpel amongſt them; intimating thereby, that thoſe were not things for which their Teachers were to be valued, or followed.

3 (*p*) St. *Paul* by thus ſetting forth his own modeſt and humble Behaviour amongſt them, reflects on the contrary Carriage of their falſe Apoſtle, which he deſcribes in words at length, 2 *Cor.* 11. 20.

4 (*q*) There were two ſorts of Arguments wherewith the Apoſtle confirmed the Goſpel; The one was the Revelations made concerning our Saviour by Types and Figures, and Prophecies of him under the Law: The other Miracles and miraculous Gifts accompanying the firſt Preachers

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

5. Power of God accompanying it with miraculous Operations, that your Faith might have its Foundation not in the Wisdom and Endowments of Men, but in the Power of God. (r)

of power: That your faith 5 should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

NOTES.

Preachers of the Gospel in the publishing and propagating of it. The latter of these St. *Paul* here calls *Power*, the former in this Chapter he terms *Spirit*; so *ver* 12. 14 *Things of the Spirit of God, and spiritual things*, are things which are revealed by the Spirit of God, and not discoverable by our natural Faculties.

5 (r) Their Faith being built wholly on Divine Revelation and Miracles, whereby all humane Abilities were shut out, there could be no reason for any of them to boast themselves of their Teachers, or value themselves upon their being the Followers of this or that Preacher, which St. *Paul* hereby obviates.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. II. 6——16.

CONTENTS.

THE next Argument the Apostle uses to shew them, that they had no reason to glory in their Teachers, is, that the Knowledge of the Gospel was not attainable by our natural Parts, however they were improved by Arts and Philosophy, but was wholly owing to Revelation.

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

6. Howbeit that which we preach is Wisdom, and known to be so among those who are throughly instructed in the *Christian* Religion, and take it upon its true Principles: (s) but not the Wisdom of this World, (t) nor of the Princes (u) or great Men of this World

Howbeit we speak wis- 6 dom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world; nor of the princes of this world, that come

NOTES.

6 (s) *Perfect* here is the same with Spiritual, *ver.* 15. one that is so perfectly well apprised of the Divine Nature and Original of the *Christian* Religion, that he sees and acknowledges it to be all a pure Revelation from God; and not in the least the Product of humane Discovery, Parts, or Learning, and so deriving it wholly from what God hath taught by his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures, allows not the least part of it to be ascribed to the Skill or Abilities of Men, as Authors of it, but received as a Doctrine coming from God alone. And thus *perfect* is opposed to *carnal*, Ch. 3. 1, 3. *i. e.* such *Babes* in Christianity, such weak and mistaken Christians, that they thought the Gospel was to be managed as humane Arts and Sciences amongst Men of the World, and those were better instructed, and were more in the right, who followed this Master or Teacher rather than another, and so glorying in being the Scholars, one of *Paul*, and another of *Apollos*, fell into Divisions and Parties about it, and vaunted one over another: Whereas in the School of *Christ* all was to be built on the Authority of God alone, and the Revelation of his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures.

6 (t) *Wisdom of this World, i. e.* the Knowledge, Arts and Sciences attainable by Man's natural Parts and Faculties; such as Man's Wit could find out, cultivate and improve; *or of the Princes of this World, i. e.* such Doctrines, Arts and Sciences, as the Princes of the World approve, incourage, and endeavour to propagate.

6 (u) Tho' by "Αρχοντες τῦ αἰῶνος τέτε, may here be understood the *Princes* or Great Men *of this World*, in the ordinary Sense of these Words, yet he that well considers *ver.* 28. of the foregoing Chapter, and *ver.* 8. of this Chapter may find reason to think, that the Apostle here principally designs the Rulers and Great Men of the *Jewish* Nation. If it be objected, that there is little Ground to think that St. *Paul* by the Wisdom he disowns, should mean that of his own Nation, which the *Greeks* of *Corinth* (whom he was writing to) had little Acquaintance with;

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 2.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

7 to nought. But we ſpeak the wiſdom of God in a Myſtery, even the hidden wiſdom which God ordained before the world

World, (*w*) who will quickly be brought to nought. (*x*) But we ſpeak the Wiſdom of God, (*z*) contained in the myſterious and the obſcure Propheſies of the Old Teſtament, (*a*) which has been therein concealed and hid: tho' it be what God predetermin'd in his own 7.

NOTES.

with; and had very little Eſteem for; I reply, that to underſtand this right, and the Pertinency of it, we muſt remember, that the great Deſign of St. *Paul* in writing to the *Corinthians*, was to take them off from the Reſpect and Eſteem that many of them had for a falſe Apoſtle that was got in among them, and had there raiſed a Faction againſt St. *Paul*. This pretended Apoſtle, 'tis plain from 2 *Cor.* 11. 22. was a *Jew*, and as it ſeems, 2 *Cor.* 5. 16, 17. valued himſelf upon that Account, and poſſibly boaſted himſelf to be a Man of Note, either by Birth or Alliance, or Place, or Learning, among that People, who counted themſelves the holy and illuminated People of God, and therefore to have a Right to ſway among theſe new Heathen Converts. To obviate this Claim of his to any Authority, St. *Paul* here tells the *Corinthians* that the Wiſdom and Learning of the *Jewiſh* Nation lead them not into the Knowledge of the Wiſdom of God, *i. e.* the Goſpel reveal'd in the Old Teſtament, evident in this, that it was their Rulers and Rabbies, who ſtifly adhering to the Notions and Prejudices of their Nation, had crucified *Jeſus* the Lord of Glory, and were now themſelves, with their State and Religion, upon the point to be ſwept away and aboliſh'd. 'Tis to the ſame purpoſe that 2 *Cor.* 4. 16—19. he tells the Corinthians, that he *knows no Man after the Fleſh*, *i. e.* that he acknowledges no Dignity of Birth or Deſcent, or outward National Privileges. The old things of the *Jewiſh* Conſtitution are paſt and gone; whoever is in *Chriſt*, and entred into his Kingdom, is in a new Creation, wherein all things are new, all things are from God; no Right, no Claim or Preference derived to any one from any former Inſtitution, but every one's Dignity conſiſts ſolely in this, that God had reconciled him to himſelf, not imputing his former Treſpaſſes to him.

6 (*w*) Αἰῶν ἔτῳ, which we tranſlate *this World*, ſeems to me to ſignifie commonly, if not conſtantly, in the New Teſtament, that State which during the Moſaical Conſtitution, Men, either *Jews* or *Gentiles*, were in, as contra-diſtinguiſh'd to the Evangelical State or Conſtitution, which is commonly called Αἰὼν μέλλων, or ἐρχόμενος, *The World to come*.

6 (*x*) Τῶν καταργουμένων, *Who are brought to nought*, *i. e.* who are vaniſhing. If *the Wiſdom of this World, and of the Princes of this World*, be to be underſtood of the Wiſdom and Learning of the World in general, as contra-diſtinguiſhed to the Doctrine of the Goſpel, then the Words are added, to ſhew what Folly it is for them to glory as they do in their Teachers, when all that worldly Wiſdom and Learning, and the Great Men, the Supporters of it, would quickly be gone, whereas all true and laſting Glory came only from *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Lord of Glory. But if theſe Words are to be underſtood of the *Jews*, as ſeems moſt conſonant both to the main Deſign of the Epiſtle, and to St. *Paul*'s Expreſſions here; then his telling them that the *Princes* of the Jewiſh Nation, *are brought to nought*, is to take them off from glorying in their Judaizing falſe Apoſtle, ſince the Authority of the Rulers of that Nation, in Matters of Religion, was now at an end, and they with all their Pretences, and their very Conſtitution it ſelf, were upon the point of being aboliſh'd and ſwept away, for having rejected and crucified the Lord of Glory.

7 (*z*) *Wiſdom of God* is uſed here for the Doctrine of the Goſpel coming immediately from God by the Revelation of his Spirit, and in this Chapter is ſet in Oppoſition to all Knowledge, Diſcoveries and Improvements whatſoever attainable by humane Induſtry, Parts, and Study, all which he calls *the Wiſdom of the World*, and *Man's Wiſdom*. Thus diſtinguiſhing the Knowledge of the Goſpel which was derived wholly from Revelation, and could be had no other way, from all other Knowledge whatſoever.

7 (*a*) What the Spirit of God had revealed of the Goſpel, during the times of the Law, was ſo little underſtood by the *Jews*, in whoſe Sacred Writings it was contained, that it might well be called the *Wiſdom of God in a Myſtery*, *i. e.* declared in obſcure Propheſies and myſterious Expreſſions and Types. Though this be undoubtedly ſo, as appears by what the *Jews* both thought and did when *Jeſus* the *Meſſiah*, exactly anſwering what was foretold of him, came amongſt them, yet by *the Wiſdom of God in Myſtery wherein it was hid, though purpoſed by God before the ſettling of the Jewiſh Oeconomy*, St. *Paul* ſeems more particularly to mean, what the *Gentiles*, and conſequently the *Corinthians*, were more peculiarly concerned in, (*viz.*) God's purpoſe of calling the *Gentiles* to be his People under the *Meſſiah*, which tho' revealed in the Old Teſtament, yet was not in the leaſt underſtood till the times of the Goſpel, and the preaching of St. *Paul* the Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*, which therefore he ſo frequently calls a *Myſtery*. The reading and comparing *Rom.* 16. 25, 26. *Eph.* 3. 3—9. *ch.* 6. 19, 20. *Col.* 1. 26, 27. & 2. 1——3. & 4. 3, 4. will give Light to this. To which give me leave to obſerve upon the uſe of the word *Wiſdom* here, that St. *Paul* ſpeaking of God's calling the *Gentiles*, cannot in mentioning it forbear Expreſſions of his Admiration of the great and incomprehenſible Wiſdom of God therein. See *Eph.* 3. 8. 10. *Rom.* 11. 33.

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

purpoſe before the Jewiſh Conſtitution, (*b*) to the Glory of us (*c*) who underſtand, receive and preach
8. it: Which none of the Rulers amongſt the *Jews* underſtood: for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord Chriſt, who has in his hands the diſpoſing of all true Glory. But they knew it not, as it
9. is written, Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear heard, nor have the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, enter'd into the Heart or Thoughts of Man.
10. But theſe things which are not diſcoverable by Man's natural Faculties and Powers, God hath revealed to us by his Spirit, which ſearcheth out all Things, even the deep Counſels of God, which are beyond the Reach
11. of our Abilities to diſcover. For as no Man knoweth what is in the Mind of another Man, but only the Spirit of the Man himſelf that is in him; ſo much leſs doth any Man know or can diſcover the Thoughts and Counſels of God, but only the Spirit of God. But we (*d*) have received not the Spirit of the World, (*e*) but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know what things are in the purpoſe of God, out of his free Bounty to beſtow upon us, which things we

TEXT.

unto our glory. Which 8
none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is writ- 9
ten, Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entred into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But 10
God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit ſearcheth all things; yea, the deep things of God. For what 11
man knoweth the things of a man, ſave the ſpirit of a man which is in him? even ſo the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we 12
have received, not the ſpirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely gi-

NOTES.

7 (*b*) Πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ſignifies properly *before the Ages*, and I think it may be doubted whether theſe Words, *before the World*, do exactly render the Senſe of the Place, that αἰὼν or αἰῶνες, ſhould not be tranſlated *the World*, as in many places they are, I ſhall give one convincing Inſtance among many that might be brought, *viz.* *Eph.* 3. 9. compared with *Col.* 1. 26. The words in *Coloſſians* are τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, thus render'd in the Engliſh Tranſlation, *which hath been hidden from Ages*, but in *Eph.* 3. 9. a Parallel Place, the ſame words, τῷ μυστηρίῳ τῷ ἀποκεκρυμμένῳ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, are tranſlated, *The Myſtery which from the beginning of the World hath been hid.* Whereas it is plain from *Col.* 1. 26. ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, does not ſignifie the Epoch or Commencement of the Concealment, but thoſe from whom it was concealed. 'Tis plain, the Apoſtle in the Verſe immediately preceding, and that following this which we have before us, ſpeaks of the *Jews*; and therefore πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, here may be well underſtood to mean, *Before the Ages of the Jews*; and ſo ἀπ' αἰώνων, *from the Ages of the Jews*, in the other two mentioned Texts. Why αἰῶνες in theſe and other places, as *Luke* 1. 70. & *Acts* 3. 21. and elſewhere, ſhould be appropriated to the Ages of the *Jews*, may be owing to their counting by Ages or Jubilees, *Vid.* Dr. *Burthogge* in his Judicious Treatiſe, *Chriſtianity a revealed Myſtery*, c. 2. p. 17.

7 (*c*) St. *Paul* oppoſes here the true *Glory* of a *Chriſtian*, to the *glorying* which was amongſt the *Corinthians*, in the Eloquence, Learning, or any other Quality of their factious Leaders; for St. *Paul* in all his Expreſſions has an Eye on his main Purpoſe; as if he ſhould have ſaid, "Why do you make Diviſions by glorying as you do, in your diſtinct Teachers; the Glory "that God has ordain'd us *Chriſtian* Teachers and Profeſſors to, is to be Expounders, Preachers, and Believers of thoſe revealed Truths and Purpoſes of God, which though contained "in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, were not underſtood in former Ages. This "is all the Glory that belongs to us the Diſciples of *Chriſt*, who is the Lord of *all* Power and "Glory, and herein has given us what far excells all that either *Jews* or *Gentiles* had any Ex-"pectation of from what they gloried in: *Vid.* ver. 9." Thus St. *Paul* takes away all Matter of glorying from the falſe Apoſtle, and his factious Followers among the *Corinthians*. The Excellency of the Goſpel-Miniſtration ſee alſo, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6——11.

12 (*d*) *We* the true Apoſtles, or rather *I*, for tho' he ſpeaks in the plural Number to avoid Oſtentation, as it might be interpreted; yet he is here juſtifying himſelf, and ſhewing the *Corinthians*, that none of them had reaſon to forſake and ſlight him, to follow and cry up their falſe Apoſtle. And that he ſpeaks of himſelf, is plain from the next Verſe, where he ſaith, *We ſpeak not in the Words which Man's Wiſdom teacheth*, the ſame which he ſays of himſelf, *Chap.* 1. *v.* 17. *I was ſent to preach not with Wiſdom of Words.* And *Ch.* 11. *v.* 1. *I came to you not with Excellency of Speech, or of Wiſdom.*

12 (*e*) As he puts Princes of the World, *ver.* 6, 8. for the Rulers of the *Jews*, ſo here he puts *Spirit of the World*, for the Notions of the *Jews*, that worldly Spirit wherewith they interpreted the Old Teſtament, and the Propheſies of the *Meſſiah* and his Kingdom; which Spirit, in Contra-diſtinction to the Spirit of God, which the *Roman* Converts had received, he calls *the Spirit of Bondage*, Rom. 8. 15.

not

TEXT.

13 ven to us of God. Which things alſo we ſpeak, not in the words which man's wiſdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghoſt teacheth; comparing ſpiritual things with ſpiritual.
14 But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are fooliſhneſs unto him; neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned. But he
15 that is ſpiritual, judgeth all things, yet he himſelf
16 is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may inſtruct him? but we have the mind of Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

not only know, but declare alſo; not in the Language and Learning taught by humane Eloquence and Philoſophy, but in the Language and Expreſſions which the Holy Ghoſt teacheth in the Revelations contained in the Holy Scriptures, comparing one part of Revelation (*f*) with another. (*g*) But a Man who hath 13. 14.
no other Help but his own natural Faculties, how much ſoever improved by humane Arts and Sciences, cannot receive the Truths of the Goſpel, which are made known by another Principle only, *viz.* the Spirit of God revealing them, and therefore ſeem fooliſh and abſurd to ſuch a Man; nor can he by the bare Uſe of his natural Faculties, and the Principles of humane Reaſon, ever come to the Knowledge of them: 15.
Becauſe it is by the ſtudying of Divine Revelation alone that we can attain the Knowledge of them: But he that lays his Foundation in Divine Revelation, can judge what is, and what is not the Doctrine of the Goſpel and of Salvation; he can judge who is, and who is not a good Miniſter and Preacher of the Word of God: But others who are bare Animal (*g*) Men, that go not beyond the Diſcoveries made by the natural Faculties of humane Underſtanding, without the Help and Study of Revelation, cannot judge of ſuch an one, whether he preacheth right and well, or not. For who, by the bare uſe of his natural Parts, can come to know the Mind 16.
of the Lord in the Deſign of the Goſpel, ſo as to be able to inſtruct him (*h*) [the ſpiritual Man] in it? But I, who renouncing all humane Learning and Knowledge in the Caſe, take all that I preach from Divine Revelation alone, I am ſure that therein I have the Mind of Chriſt; And therefore there is no Reaſon why any of you ſhould prefer other Teachers to me, glory in them who oppoſe and vilifie me; and count it an Honour to go for their Scholars, and be of their Party.

NOTES.

13 (*f*) 'Tis plain the *ſpiritual things* he here ſpeaks of, are the unſearchable Councils of God, revealed by the Spirit of God, which therefore he calls *ſpiritual things*.

14, 15 (*g*) Ψυχικὸς, *the animal Man*, and πνευματικὸς, *the ſpiritual Man*, are oppoſed by St. *Paul* in *ver.* 14, 15. the one ſignifying a Man that has no higher Principles to build on than thoſe of natural Reaſon, the other a Man that founds his Faith and Religion on Divine Revelation. This is what appears to be meant by *natural*, or rather *animal* Man and Spiritual, as they ſtand oppoſed in theſe two Verſes.

16 (*h*) Αὐτὸν, *him*, refers here to *ſpiritual Man* in the former Verſe, and not to *Lord* in this. For St. *Paul* is ſhewing here, not that a *natural Man* and a meer Philoſopher cannot inſtruct Chriſt, this no body pretending to be a Chriſtian could own; but that a Man by his bare natural Parts, not knowing the Mind of the Lord, could not inſtruct, could not judge, could not correct a Preacher of the Goſpel who built upon Revelation, as he did, and therefore 'twas ſure he had the Mind of Chriſt.

SECT. II. *N.* 4.

CHAP. III. 1—IV. 20.

CONTENTS.

THE next Matter of boaſting which the Faction made uſe of to give the Pre-eminence and Preference to their Leader above St. *Paul*, ſeems to have been this, that their new Teacher had led them farther, and given them a deeper Inſight into the Myſteries of the Goſpel than St. *Paul* had done.

*An.Ch.*57. *Neronis* 3. To take away their glorying on this Account St. *Paul* tells them, that they were carnal, and not capable of thoſe more advanced Truths, or any thing beyond the firſt Principles of Chriſtianity which he had taught them; and tho' another had come and watered what he had planted, yet neither Planter, nor Waterer, could aſſume to himſelf any Glory from thence, becauſe it was God alone that gave the Increaſe. But whatever new Doctrines they might pretend to receive from their magnified new Apoſtle, yet no Man could lay any other Foundation in a Chriſtian Church, but what he St. *Paul* had laid, *viz.* that *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*; and therefore there was no reaſon to glory in their Teachers; becauſe upon this Foundation they poſſibly might build falſe or unſound Doctrines, for which they ſhould receive no Thanks from God, tho' continuing in the Faith, they might be ſaved. Some of the particular Hay and Stubble which this Leader brought into the Church at *Corinth*, he ſeems particularly to point at, *Ch.* 3. 16, 17. *viz.* their defiling the Church, by retaining, and as it may be ſuppos'd, patronizing the Fornicator, who ſhould have been turned out, *Ch.* 5. 7—13. He further adds, that theſe extolled Heads of their Party were at beſt but Men; and none of the Church ought to glory in Men: For even *Paul*, and *Apollos*, and *Peter*, and all the other Preachers of the Goſpel, were for the Uſe and Benefit, and Glory of the Church, as the Church was for the Glory of Chriſt.

Moreover he ſhews them, that they ought not to be puffed up upon the Account of theſe their new Teachers, to the undervaluing of him, tho' it ſhould be true, that they had learned more from them than from himſelf, for theſe Reaſons:

1. Becauſe all the Preachers of the Goſpel are but Stewards of the Myſteries of God; and whether they have been faithful in their Stewardſhip, can not be now known, and therefore they ought not to be ſome of them magnified and extolled, and others depreſſed and blamed by their Hearers here, till *Chriſt* their Lord came, and then he, knowing how they have behaved themſelves in their Miniſtry, will give them their due Praiſes. Beſides, theſe Stewards have nothing but what they have received, and therefore no Glory belongs to them for it.

2. Becauſe if theſe Leaders were (as was pretended) Apoſtles, Glory, and Honour, and outward Affluence here, was not their Portion, the Apoſtles being deſtined to Want, Contempt, and Perſecution.

3. They ought not to be honour'd, followed and gloried in as Apoſtles, becauſe they had not the Power of Miracles, which he intended ſhortly to come and ſhew they had not.

PARAPHRASE.

1. AND I, Brethren, found you ſo given up to Pride and Vain-Glory, in Affectation of Learning and Philoſophical Knowledge, (*i*) that I could not ſpeak to you as Spiritual, (*k*) *i. e.* as to Men not wholly depending on Philoſophy, and the Diſcoveries of natural Reaſon; as to Men who had reſigned themſelves up in Matters of Religion to Revelation, and the Knowledge which comes only from the Spirit of

TEXT.

AND I, brethren, I could not ſpeak unto you as unto ſpiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Chriſt.

NOTES.

(*i*) Vid. *Ch.* 1. 22. & 3. 18.

(*k*) Here πνευματικοὺς *Spiritual*, is oppoſed to σαρκικοὺς *Carnal*, as *Ch.* 2. 14. it is to ψυχικὸς *Natural*, or rather *Animal*; ſo that here we have three Sorts of Men, 1. *Carnal*, i. e. ſuch as are ſway'd by fleſhly Paſſions and Intereſts: 2. *Animal*, ſuch as ſeek Wiſdom, or a way to Happineſs only by the Strength and Guidance of their own natural Parts, without any ſupernatural Light coming from the Spirit of God, *i. e.* by Reaſon without Revelation, by Philoſophy without Scripture. 3. *Spiritual*, i. e. ſuch as ſeek their Direction to Happineſs, not in the Dictates of natural Reaſon and Philoſophy, but in the Revelations of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures.

God;

TEXT. PARAPHRASE. An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

God; But as to Carnal, (*l*) even as to Babes who yet retain'd a great many childish and wrong Notions about it: This hinder'd me that I could not go so far as I desired in the Mysteries of the *Christian* Religion, but was fain to content myself with instructing you in the first Principles (*m*) and more obvious and easie

2 I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.

Doctrines of it. I could not apply myself to you, as 2.
to spiritual Men, (*n*) that could compare spiritual things with spiritual, one part of Scripture with another, and thereby understand the Truths reveal'd by the Spirit of God, discerning true from false Doctrines, good and useful from evil (*o*) and vain Opinions. A further Discovery of the Truths and Mysteries of Christianity, depending wholly on Revelation, you were not able to bear then, nor are you yet able to

3 For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?

bear; Because you are carnal, full of Envyings and 3.
Strife, and Factions, upon the Account of your Knowledge, and the Orthodoxie of your particular Parties.

4 For while one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?

(*p*) For whilst you say one, I am of *Paul*; and another, I am of *Apollos*, (*q*) are ye not carnal and manage 4.
yourselves in the Conduct both of your Minds and Actions, according to barely humane Principles, and do not as spiritual Men acknowledge all that Information, and all those Gifts wherewith the Ministers of Jesus Christ are furnish'd for the Propagation of the Gospel, to come wholly from the Spirit of

NOTES.

(*l*) Here σαρκικὸς *carnal*, is opposed to πνευματικὸς *spiritual*, in the same Sense that ψυχικὸς *natural* or *animal*, is opposed to πνευματικὸς *spiritual*, Ch. 2. 14. as appears by the Explication which St. *Paul* himself gives here to σαρκικὸς *carnal*: For he makes the *carnal* to be all one with *Babes in Christ*, v. 1. *i. e.* such as had not their Understandings yet fully opened to the true Grounds of the Christian Religion, but retain'd a great many childish Thoughts about it, as appear'd by their Divisions; one for the Doctrine of his Master *Paul*, another for that of his Master *Apollos*, which if they had been *spiritual*, *i. e.* had looked upon the Doctrine of the Gospel to have come solely from the Spirit of God, and to be had only from Revelation, they could not have done. For then all humane Mixtures of any thing deriv'd either from *Paul* or *Apollos*, or any other Man, had been wholly excluded. But they in these Divisions profess'd to hold their Religion, one from one Man, and another from another; and were thereupon divided into Parties. This he tells them was to be *carnal*, and περιπατεῖν κατ' ἄνθρωπον, to be led by Principles purely humane, *i. e.* to found their Religion upon Men's natural Parts and Discoveries, whereas the Gospel was wholly built upon Divine Revelation, and nothing else, and from thence alone those who were πνευματικοὶ took it.

(*m*) That this is the Meaning of the Apostle's Metaphor of *Milk* and *Babes*, may be seen *Heb.* 5. 12——14.

(*n*) Vid. *ch.* 2. 13.

(*o*) Vid. *Heb.* 5. 14.

3 (*p*) κατ' ἄνθρωπον, speaking according to Man, signifies speaking according to the Principles of natural Reason, in Contra-distinction to Revelation, *Vid.* 1 Cor. 9. 8. Gal. 1. 11. and so *walking according to Man*, must here be understood.

4 (*q*) From this 4*th* Verse compared with *ch.* 4. 6. it may be no improbable Conjecture that the Division in this Church was only into two opposite Parties, whereof the one adhered to St. *Paul*, the other stood up for their Head, a false Apostle, who opposed St. *Paul*. For the *Apollos* whom St. *Paul* mentions here was one (as he tells us, *ver.* 6.) who came in and water'd what he had planted, *i. e.* when St. *Paul* had planted a Church at *Corinth*, this *Apollos* got into it, and pretended to instruct them farther, and boasted in his Performances amongst them, which St. *Paul* takes notice of again, 2 *Cor.* 10. 15, 16. Now the *Apollos* that he here speaks of, he himself tells us, *ch.* 4. 6. was another Man under that borrow'd Name. 'Tis true St. *Paul*, in his Epistles to the *Corinthians*, generally speaks of these his Opposers in the plural Number; but it is to be remember'd, that he speaks so of himself too, which as it was the less invidious way in regard of himself; so it was the softer way towards his Opposers, tho' he seems to intimate plainly, that it was one Leader that was set up against him.

God?

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

5. God? What then are any of the Preachers of the Gospel, that you should glory in them, and divide into Parties under their Names? Who, for Example, is *Paul*, or who *Apollos*? What are they else but bare Ministers, by whose Ministry according to those several Abilities and Gifts which God has bestowed upon each of them, ye have received the Gospel? They are only Servants imploy'd to bring unto you a Religion deriv'd entirely from Divine Revelation, wherein humane Abilities, or Wisdom had nothing to do. The Preachers of it are only Instruments by whom this Doctrine is conveyed to you, which whether you look on it in its Original, it is not a thing of humane Invention or Discovery; or whether you look upon the Gifts of the Teachers who instruct you in it, all is entirely from God alone, and affords you not the least
6. Ground to attribute any thing to your Teachers. For Example, I planted it amongst you, and *Apollos* water'd it, but nothing can from thence be ascribed to either of us; there is no Reason for your calling your
7. selves some of *Paul*, and others of *Apollos*. For neither the Planter nor the Waterer have any Power to make it take Root and grow in your Hearts; they are as nothing in that respect, the Growth and Success is
8. owing to God alone. The Planter and the Waterer on this Account are all one, neither of them to be magnified or preferred before the other; they are but Instruments concurring to the same End, and therefore ought not to be distinguish'd, and set in Opposition one to another, or cried up as more deserving
9. one than another. We the Preachers of the Gospel are but Labourers employ'd by God about that which is his Work and from him shall receive Reward hereafter, every one according to his own Labour, and not from Men here, who are liable to make a wrong Estimate of the Labours of their Teachers, preferring those who do not labour together with God, who do not carry on the Design or Work of God in the Gospel, or perhaps do not carry it on equally with others who are undervalued by them.
10. Ye who are the Church of God are God's Building, in which I, according to the Skill and Knowledge which God of his free Bounty has been pleased to give me, and therefore ought not to be to me or any other matter of Glorying, as a skilful Architect have laid a
11. sure Foundation, which is Jesus the Messiah, the sole and only Foundation of Christianity, besides which no Man can lay any other. But tho' no Man who pretends to be a Preacher of the Gospel can build upon any other Foundation, yet you ought not to cry up your new Instructer (r) (who has come and built upon the Foundation that I laid) for the Doctrines he builds thereon, as if there were no other Minister

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Who then is Paul, and 5
who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?

I have planted, Apol- 6
los watered; but God gave the increase.

So then, neither is he 7
that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth: but God that giveth the increase.

Now he that planteth, 8
and he that watereth, are one: and every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour.

For we are labourers 9
together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.

According to the grace 10
of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.

For other Foundation 11
can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

11 (r) *Ch.* 4. 15. In this he reflects on the false Apostle, 2 *Cor.* 10. 15, 16.

of

TEXT.

12 Now if any Man build upon this foundation, gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, wood, hay, ſtubble :

13 Every man's work ſhall be made manifeſt. For the day ſhall declare it, becauſe it ſhall be reveal-ed by fire: and the fire ſhall try every man's work, of what ſort it is.

14 If a man's work abide which he hath built there-upon, he ſhall receive a reward.

15 If any man's work ſhall be burnt, he ſhall ſuffer loſs : but he himſelf ſhall be ſaved ; yet ſo, as by fire.

16 Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ?

17 If any man defile the temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy : for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.

18 Let no man deceive himſelf : if any man a-mong you ſeemeth to be wiſe in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wiſe.

19 For the wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with God : for it is written, He taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſs.

20 And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wiſe, that they are vain.

21 Therefore let no man glory in men : for all things are yours :

22 Whether Paul, or A-pollos, or Cephas, or the

PARAPHRASE.

of the Goſpel but he : For 'tis poſſible a Man may build upon that true Foundation Wood, Hay, and Stubble, things that will not bear the Teſt when the Trial by Fire at the laſt Day (*s*) ſhall come ; at that Day every Man's Work ſhall be tried and diſco-ver'd of what Sort it is, if what he hath taught be found and good, and will ſtand the Trial, as Silver and Gold, and precious Stones abide in the Fire, he ſhall be rewarded for his Labour in the Goſpel : But if he hath introduced falſe or unſound Doctrines into Chriſtianity, he ſhall be like a Man whoſe Building being of Wood, Hay, and Stubble, is conſumed by the Fire, all his Pains in Building is loſt, and his Works deſtroy'd and gone, tho' he himſelf ſhould eſcape and be ſaved. I told you, that ye are God's Building, (*t*) yea, more than that, ye are the Temple of God, in which his Spirit dwelleth : If any Man by corrupt Do-ctrine or Diſcipline defileth (*u*) the Temple of God, he ſhall not be ſaved with Loſs as by Fire, but him will God deſtroy, for the Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are. Let no Man deceive himſelf by his Succeſs in carrying his Point: (*w*) If any one ſeemeth to himſelf or others wiſe, (*x*) in worldly Wiſ-dom, ſo as to pride himſelf in his Parts and Dexterity, in compaſſing his Ends, let him renounce all his natu-ral and acquir'd Parts, all his Knowledge and Abili-ty, that he may become truly wiſe in embracing and owning no other Knowledge but the Simplicity of the Goſpel. For all other Wiſdom, all the Wiſdom of the World is Fooliſhneſs with God . For it is written, He taketh the Wiſe in their own Craftineſs. And again, the Lord knoweth the Thoughts of the Wiſe, that they are vain. Therefore let none of you glory in any of your Teachers, for they are but Men. For all your Teachers, whether *Paul*, or *Apollos*, or *Peter*, even the Apoſtles themſelves, nay all the World, and even the the World to come, all things are your's, for your ſake and uſe ; as you are Chriſt's, Subjects of his Kingdom for his Glory ; and Chriſt and his Kingdom for the

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22.

NOTES.

13 (*s*) When the Day of Trial and Recompenſe ſhall be; ſee *Ch.* 4. 5. where he ſpeaks of the ſame thing.

16 (*t*) Vide *ver.* 9.

17 (*u*) It is not incongruous to think, that by *any Man* here St. *Paul* deſigns one particular Man, *viz.* the falſe Apoſtle, who 'tis probable by the Strength of his Party ſupporting and retaining the Fornicator mentioned *Ch.* 5. in the Church, had defiled it, which may be the Reaſon why St. *Paul* ſo often mentions Fornication in this Epiſtle, and that in ſome Places with particular Emphaſis, as *Ch.* 5. 9. & 6. 13——20. moſt of the Diſorders in this Church we may look on as owing to this falſe Apoſtle, which is the Reaſon why St. *Paul* ſets himſelf ſo much againſt him in both theſe Epiſtles, and makes almoſt the whole Buſineſs of them to draw the *Corinthians* off from this Leader, judging, as 'tis like, that this Church could not be reformed as long as that Perſon was in Credit, and had a Party among them.

18 (*w*) What it was wherein the Craftineſs of the Perſon mentioned had appear'd, it was not neceſſary for St. *Paul*, writing to the *Corinthians*, who knew the Matter of Fact, to par-ticularize to us, therefore it is left to gueſs, and poſſibly we ſhall not be much out, if we take it to be the keeping the Fornicator from Cenſure, ſo much inſiſted on by St. *Paul*, Ch. 5.

(*x*) That by σοφὸς here the Apoſtle means a cunning Man in Buſineſs, is plain from his Quo-tation in the next Verſe, where the Wiſe ſpoken of are the Crafty.

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23. Glory of God. Therefore if all your Teachers, and ſo many other greater things are for you, and for your ſakes, you can have no Reaſon to make it a Glory to you, that you belong to this or that particular Teacher amongſt you; your true Glory is, that you are Chriſt's, and Chriſt and all his are God's, and not that you are this or that Man's Scholar or Follower.

1. As for me, I pretend not to ſet up a School amongſt you, and as a Maſter to have my Scholars denominated from me; no, let no Man have higher Thoughts of me than as a Miniſter of Chriſt employ'd as his Steward to diſpenſe the Truths and Doctrines of the Goſpel, which are the Myſteries which God wrapped up in Types and obſcure Predictions, where they have lain hid till by us his Apoſtles he now reveals them.
2. Now that which is principally required and regarded in a Steward, is, that he be faithful in diſpenſing what
3. is committed to his Charge. But as for me, I value it not, if I am cenſured by ſome of you, or by any Man, as not being a faithful Steward: Nay, as to
4. this, I paſs no Judgment on my ſelf. For tho' I can truly ſay that I know nothing by my ſelf, yet am I not hereby juſtified to you: But the Lord, whoſe Steward I am, at the laſt Day will pronounce Sentence on my Behaviour in my Stewardſhip, and then you will
5. know what to think of me. Then judge not either me or others before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and ſecret Counſels of Men's Hearts, in preaching the Goſpel: and then ſhall every one have that Praiſe, that Eſtimate ſet upon him by God himſelf, which he truly deſerves. But Praiſe ought not to be given them before the time by
6. their Hearers, who are ignorant, fallible Men. On this Occaſion I have named *Apollos* and myſelf, (*y*) as the magnified and oppoſed Heads of diſtinct Factions amongſt you; not that we are ſo, but out of reſpect to you, that I might offend no body by naming them; and that you might learn by us, of whom I have written, (*z*) that we are but Planters, Waterers, and Stewards, not to think of the Miniſters of the Goſpel above what I have written to you of them, that you be not puffed up each Party in the vain Glory of their one extolled Leader, to the crying down and Contempt of any other who is well eſteemed of by others.
7. For what maketh one to differ from another? or what Gifts of the Spirit, what Knowledge of the Goſpel has any Leader amongſt you which he received not as intruſted to him of God, and not acquired by his own
8. Abilities? And if he received it as a Steward, why does he glory in that which is not his own? However you are mightily ſatisfied with your preſent State, you now are full, you now are rich, and

TEXT.

world, or life, or death, or things preſent, or things to come; all are yours:

And ye are Chriſt's; and Chriſt is God's. 23

Let a man ſo account of 1 us, as of the miniſters of Chriſt, and ſtewards of the myſteries of God.

Moreover it is required 2 in ſtewards, that a man be found faithful.

But with me it is a 3 very ſmall thing that I ſhould be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own ſelf.

For I know nothing by 4 my ſelf, yet am I not hereby juſtified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.

Therefore judge no- 5 thing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkneſs, and will make manifeſt the counſels of the hearts: and then ſhall every man have praiſe of God

And theſe things, bre- 6 thren, I have in a figure transferred to my ſelf, and to Apollos for your ſakes: that ye might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one againſt another.

For who maketh thee to 7 differ from another? and what haſt thou that thou didſt not receive? now if thou didſt receive it, why doſt thou glory, as if thou hadſt not received it?

Now ye are full, now 8 ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us:

NOTES.

6 (*y*) Vid. *ch.* 3. 4.
(*z*) Vid. *ch.* 3. 6. 9. *ch.* 4. 1.

abound

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and I would to God ye did reign, that we alſo might reign with you.

9 For I think that God hath ſet forth us the apoſtles laſt, as it were appointed to death. For we are made a ſpectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.

10 We are fools for Chriſt's ſake, but ye are wiſe in Chriſt: we are weak, but ye are ſtrong: ye are honourable, but we are deſpiſed.

11 Even unto this preſent hour we both hunger, and thirſt, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place;

12 And labour working with our own hands: being reviled, we bleſs: being perſecuted, we ſuffer it:

13 Being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the off-ſcouring of all things unto this day.

14 I write not theſe things to ſhame you, but as my beloved ſons I warn you.

15 For though you have ten thouſand inſtructors in Chriſt, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Chriſt Jeſus I have begotten you through the goſpel.

16 Wherefore I beſeech you, be ye followers of me.

17 For this cauſe have I ſent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved ſon, and faithful in the Lord, who ſhall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Chriſt, as I

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abound in every thing you deſire; you have not need of me, but have reigned like Princes without me; and I wiſh truly you did reign, that I might come and ſhare in the Protection and Proſperity you enjoy now you are in your Kingdom. For I being made an Apoſtle laſt of all, it ſeems to me as if I were brought laſt (*a*) upon the Stage, to be in my Sufferings and Death a Spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men. I am a Fool for Chriſt's Sake, but you manage your Chriſtian Concerns with Wiſdom. I am weak and in a ſuffering Condition (*b*); you are ſtrong and flouriſhing; you are honourable, but I am deſpiſed, even to this preſent Hour I both hunger and thirſt, and want Clothes, and am buffeted, wandering without Houſe or Home, and maintain my ſelf with the Labour of my Hands. Being reviled, I bleſs: Being perſecuted, I ſuffer patiently: Being defamed, I intreat: I am made as the Filth of the World, and the Off-ſcouring of all things unto this Day. I write not theſe things to ſhame you. But as a Father to warn you my Children, that ye be not the devoted zealous Partiſans and followers of ſuch whoſe Carriage is not like this; under whom, however you may flatter your ſelves, in truth, you do not reign; but on the contrary, ye are domineer'd over, and fleeced by them (*c*). I warn you, I ſay, as your Father; For how many Teachers ſoever you may have, you can have but one Father; It was I that begot you in Chriſt, *i. e.* I converted you to Chriſtianity; Wherefore I beſeech you be ye Followers of me (*d*). To this purpoſe I have ſent my beloved Son *Timothy* to you, who may be relied upon; he ſhall put you in mind, and inform you, how I behave my ſelf every where

9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

NOTES.

9 (*a*) The Apoſtle ſeems here to allude to the Cuſtom of bringing thoſe laſt upon the Theater, who were to be deſtroy'd by wild Beaſts.

10 (*b*) So he uſes the word Weakneſs often, in his Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, applied to himſelf; *Vid.* 2 Cor. 12. 10.

14 (*c*) *Vid.* 2 Cor. 11. 20. St. *Paul* here, from *v.* 8, to 17. by giving an Account of his own Carriage, gently rebukes them for following Men of a different Character, and exhorts them to be followers of himſelf.

16 (*d*) This he preſſes again, *ch.* 11. 1. and 'tis not likely he would have propoſed himſelf over and over again to them, to be followed by them, had the Queſtion and Conteſt amongſt them been only whoſe Name they ſhould have born, his or their new Teacher's. His propoſing himſelf therefore thus to be followed, muſt be underſtood in direct Oppoſition to the falſe Apoſtle, who miſled them, and was not to be ſuffered to have any Credit or Followers amongſt them.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

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18. in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel (e). Some indeed are puffed up, and make their Boaſts as if I would not
19. come to you. But I intend, God willing, to come ſhortly, and then will make Trial, not of the Rhetorick or Talking of thoſe Boaſters, but of what
20. miraculous Power of the Holy Ghoſt is in them. For the Doctrine and Prevalency of the Goſpel, the Propagation and Support of Chriſt's Kingdom, by the Converſion and Eſtabliſhment of Believers, does not conſiſt in talking, nor in the Fluency of a glib Tongue, and a fine Diſcourſe, but in the miraculous Operations of the Holy Ghoſt.

TEXT.

teach every where in every church.

Now ſome are puffed up 18 as though I would not come to you.

But I will come to you 19 ſhortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the ſpeech of them which are puffed up, but the power.

For the Kingdom of 20 God is not in word, but in power.

NOTES.

17 (e) This he does to ſhew that what he taught them, and preſſed them to, was not in a pique againſt his Oppoſer, but to convince them, that all he did at *Corinth* was the very ſame, and no other than what he did every where as a faithful Steward and Miniſter of the Goſpel.

SECT. II. N. 5.

CHAP. IV. 21.---VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

ANother Means which St. *Paul* makes uſe of to bring off the *Corinthians* from their falſe Apoſtle, and to ſtop the Veneration of him, and their glorying in him, is by repreſenting to them the Fault and Diſorder which was committed in that Church, by not judging and expelling the Fornicator, which Neglect, as may be gueſs'd, was owing to that Faction.

1. Becauſe it is natural for a Faction to ſupport and protect an Offender that is of their ſide.

2. From the great Fear St. *Paul* was in, whether they would obey him in cenſuring the Offender, as appears by the Second Epiſtle, which he could not fear but from the oppoſite Faction. They who had preſerv'd their Reſpect to him, being ſure to follow his Orders.

3. From what he ſays, *Ch.* 4. 16. After he had told them, *ver.* 6. of that Chapter, that they ſhould not be puffed up for any other againſt him, for ſo the whole Scope of his Diſcourſe here imports, he beſeeches them to be his Followers, *i. e.* leaving their other Guides to follow him in puniſhing the Offender. For that we may conclude from his immediately inſiſting on it ſo earneſtly, he had in his View, when he beſeeches them to be Followers of him, and conſequently that they might joyn with him, and take him for their Leader, *Ch.* 5. 3, 4. he makes himſelf by his Spirit, as his Proxie, the Preſident of their Aſſembly, to be convened for the puniſhing that Criminal.

4. It may further be ſuſpected, from what St. *Paul* ſays, *Ch.* 6. 1. that the oppoſite Party, to ſtop the Church-Cenſure, pretended that this was a matter to be judg'd by the Civil Magiſtrate: nay, poſſibly from what is ſaid, *ver.* 6. of that Chapter, it may be gathered, that they had got it brought before the Heathen Judge; or at leaſt from *v.* 12. that they pleaded, that what he had done was lawful, and might be juſtified before the Magiſtrate. For the Judging ſpoken of, *Ch.* 6. muſt be underſtood to relate to the ſame matter

matter it does, *ch.* 5. it being a Continuation of the ſame Diſcourſe and Argument: As is eaſie to be obſerved by any one who will read it without regarding the Diviſions into Chapters and Verſes, whereby ordinary People (not to ſay others) are often diſturbed in reading the Holy Scripture, and hindered from obſerving the true Senſe and Coherence of it. The whole *6th* Chapter is ſpent in proſecuting the Buſineſs of the Fornicator begun in the *5th.* That this is ſo, is evident from the latter End, as well as Beginning of the *6th* Chapter. And therefore what St. *Paul* ſays of *lawful*, ch. 6. 12. may without any Violence be ſuppoſed to be ſaid, in anſwer to ſome, who might have alledg'd in Favour of the Fornicator, that what he had done was *lawful*, and might be juſtified by the Laws of the Country, which he was under; why elſe ſhould St. *Paul* ſubjoin ſo many Arguments (wherewith he concludes this *6th* Chapter, and this Subject) to prove the Fornication in queſtion to be by the Law of the Goſpel a great Sin, and conſequently fit for a Chriſtian Church to cenſure in one of its Members, however it might paſs for *lawful* in the Eſteem, and by the Laws of Gentiles? *An. Ch.* 57. *Neronis* 3.

There is one Objection which at firſt ſight ſeems to be a ſtrong Argument againſt this Suppoſition, that the Fornication here ſpoken of was held lawful by the Gentiles of *Corinth*, and that poſſibly this very Caſe had been brought before the Magiſtrate there, and not condemned. The Objection ſeems to lie in theſe Words; *ch.* 5. 1. *There is Fornication heard of amongſt you, and ſuch Fornication as is not heard of amongſt the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his Father's Wife.* But yet I conceive the Words, duly conſider'd, have nothing in them contrary to my Suppoſition.

To clear this, I take Liberty to ſay, it cannot be thought that this Man had his Father's Wife whilſt by the Laws of the Place ſhe actually was his Father's Wife; for then it had been μοιχεία and Adultery, and ſo the Apoſtle would have called it, which was a Crime in *Greece*; nor could it be tolerated in any Civil Society, that one Man ſhould have the uſe of a Woman, whilſt ſhe was another Man's Wife, *i. e.* another Man's Right and Poſſeſſion.

The Caſe therefore here ſeems to be this; The Woman had parted from her Husband; which it is plain, from *ch.* 7. 10, 11, 13. at *Corinth* Women could do. For if by the Law of that Country a Woman could not divorce herſelf from her Husband, the Apoſtle had there in vain bid her not leave her Husband.

But however known and allow'd a Practice it might be amongſt the *Corinthians*, for a Woman to part from her Husband, yet this was the firſt time it was ever known that her Husband's own Son ſhould marry her. This is that which the Apoſtle takes notice of in theſe Words, *Such a Fornication as is not named amongſt the Gentiles.* Such a Fornication this was, ſo little known in practice amongſt them, that it was not ſo much as heard, named, or ſpoken of by any of them. But whether they held it unlawful that a Woman, ſo ſeparated, ſhould marry her Husband's Son, when ſhe was looked upon to be at Liberty from her former Husband, and free to marry whom ſhe pleaſed, that the Apoſtle ſays not. This indeed he declares, that by the Law of Chriſt a Woman's leaving her Husband, and marrying another, is unlawful, *ch.* 7. 11. and this Woman's marrying her Husband's Son, he declares, *ch.* 5. 1. (the place before us) to be Fornication, a peculiar ſort of Fornication, whatever the *Corinthians* or their Law might determine in the Caſe: And therefore a Chriſtian Church might and ought to have cenſured it within themſelves, it being an Offence againſt the Rule of the Goſpel; which is the Law of their Society: And they might and ſhould have expelled this Fornicator out of their Society, for not ſubmitting to the Laws of it; Notwithſtanding that the Civil Laws of the Country, and the Judgment of the Heathen Magiſtrate might acquit him. Suitably hereunto it is very remarkable, that the Arguments that St. *Paul* uſes, in the Cloſe of this Diſcourſe, *ch.* 6. 13—20. to prove Fornication unlawful, are all drawn ſolely from the Chriſtian Inſtitution, *v.* 9. That our Bodies are made for the Lord, *v.* 13. That our Bodies are Members of Chriſt, *v.* 15. That our Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, *v.* 19. That we are not our own, but bought with a Price, *v.* 20. all which Arguments concern Chriſtians only; and

*An.Ch.*57. *Neronis* 3. there is not in all this Diſcourſe againſt Fornication, one word to declare it to be unlawful by the Law of Nature to Mankind in general. That was altogether needleſs, and beſides the Apoſtle's purpoſe here, where he was teaching and exhorting Chriſtians what they were to do as Chriſtians, within their own Society, by the Law of Chriſt; which was to be their Rule, and was ſufficient to oblige them, whatever other Laws the reſt of Mankind obſerved, or were under. Thoſe he profeſſes, *ch.* 5. 12, 19. not to meddle with, nor to judge: For having no Authority amongſt them, he leaves them to the Judgment of God, under whoſe Government they are.

Theſe Conſiderations afford Ground to conjecture, that the Faction which oppoſed St. *Paul*, had hinder'd the Church of *Corinth* from cenſuring the Fornicator, and that St. *Paul* ſhewing them their Miſcarriage herein, aims thereby to leſſen the Credit of their Leader, by whoſe Influence they were drawn into it. For as ſoon as they had unanimouſly ſhewn their Obedience to St. *Paul* in this Matter, we ſee his Severity ceaſes, and he is all Softneſs and Gentleneſs to the Offender; 2 *Cor.* 11. 5—8. And he tells them in expreſs Words, *v.* 9. that his end in writing to them of it, was to try their Obedience: To which let me add, that this Suppoſition, though it had not all the Evidence for it which it has, yet being ſuited to St. *Paul*'s principal Deſign in this Epiſtle, and helping us the better to underſtand theſe two Chapters, may deſerve to be mentioned.

PARAPHRASE.

21. I Purpoſed to come unto you: But what would you have me do? Shall I come to you with a Rod to chaſtiſe you? Or with Kindneſs, and a peaceable
1. Diſpoſition of Mind? (*f*) In ſhort, it is commonly reported, that there is Fornication (*g*) among you, and ſuch Fornication as is not known (*h*) ordinarily among the Heathen, that one ſhould have his Father's
2. Wife, and yet ye remain puffed up, though it would better have become you to have been dejected for this ſcandalous Fact amongſt you, and in a mournful Senſe of it, to have removed the Offender out of the
3. Church. For I truly, though abſent in Body, yet as preſent in Spirit, have thus already judg'd, as if I were perſonally with you, him that committed this
4. Fact: When in the Name of the Lord Jeſus ye are aſſembled, and my Spirit, *i. e.* my Vote, as if I were preſent, making one by the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus

TEXT.

What will ye? ſhall I 21
come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the ſpirit of meekneſs?

It is reported common- 1
ly that there is fornication among you, and ſuch fornication as is not ſo much as named amongſt the Gentiles, that one ſhould have his father's wife.

And ye are puffed up, 2
and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you.

For I verily as abſent in 3
body, but preſent in ſpirit, have judged already, as though I were preſent, concerning him that hath ſo done this deed;

In the name of our 4
Lord Jeſus Chriſt, when

NOTES.

21 (*f*) He that ſhall carefully read 2 *Cor.* 1. 20—2. 11. will eaſily perceive that this laſt Verſe here of this 4*th* Chapter is an Introduction to the ſevere Act of Diſcipline which St. *Paul* was going to exerciſe amongſt them, tho' abſent, as if he had been preſent. And therefore this Verſe ought not to have been ſeparated from the following Chapter, as if it belonged not to that Diſcourſe.

1 (*g*) Vid. *ch.* 4 3, 10. The Writers of the New Teſtament ſeem to uſe the Greek word πορνεια, which we tranſlate Fornication, in the ſame Senſe that the Hebrews uſed זְנוּת, which we alſo tranſlate Fornication, tho' it be certain both theſe words, in Sacred Scripture, have a larger Senſe than the word *Fornication* has in our Language; for זְנוּת, amongſt the Hebrews, ſignified, *Turpitudinem*, or *Rem turpem*, Uncleanneſs, or any flagitious ſcandalous Crime, but more eſpecially the Uncleanneſs of unlawful Copulation and Idolatry; and not preciſely Fornication in our Senſe of the Word, *i. e.* the unlawful Mixture of an unmarried Couple.

(*h*) *Not known.* That the marrying of a Son-in-law and a Mother-in-law, was not prohibited by the Laws of the Roman Empire, may be ſeen in *Tully*; but yet it was look'd on as ſo ſcandalous and infamous, that it never had any Countenance from Practice. His Words in his Oration *pro Cluentio*, §. 4. are ſo agreeable to the preſent Caſe, that it may not be amiſs to ſet them

TEXT.

ye are gathered together, and my ſpirit, with the power of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

5 To deliver ſuch an one unto Satan for the deſtruction of the fleſh, that the ſpirit may be ſaved in the day of the Lord Jeſus.

6 Your glorying is not good: know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?

7 Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Chriſt our paſſover is ſacrificed for us.

8 Therefore let us keep the feaſt, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedneſs; but with the unleavened bread of ſincerity and truth.

9 I wrote unto you in an epiſtle, not to company with fornicators.

10 Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then muſt ye needs go out of the world.

11 But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with ſuch an one, no, not to eat.

12 For what have I to do to judge them alſo that are without? do not ye judge them that are within?

13 But them that are without, God judgeth. Therefore put away from among your ſelves that wicked perſon.

1 Dare any of you, having a matter againſt another, go to law before the

PARAPHRASE.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

Chriſt, deliver the Offender up to Satan, that being put thus into the Hands and Power of the Devil, his Body may be afflicted and brought down, that his Soul may be ſaved when the Lord Jeſus comes to judge the World. Your glorying (*i*) as you do in a Leader, who drew you into this ſcandalous Indulgence (*k*) in this Caſe, is a fault in you, ye that are knowing, know you not that a little Leaven leaveneth the whole (*l*) Lump? Therefore laying by that Deference and Veneration ye had for thoſe Leaders you gloried in, turn out from among you that Fornicator, that the Church may receive no taint from him, that you may be a pure new Lump or Society, free from ſuch a dangerous Mixture, which may corrupt you. For Chriſt our Paſſover is ſlain for us, therefore let us in commemoration of his Death, and our Deliverance by him, be a holy People to him. (*m*) I wrote to you before that you ſhould not keep Company with Fornicators. You are not to underſtand by it, as if I meant, that you are to avoid all unconverted Heathens, that are Fornicators, or Covetous, or Rapacious, or Idolaters: For then you muſt go out of the World. But that which I now write unto you, is, that you ſhould not keep company, no nor eat with a Chriſtian by Profeſſion, who is laſcivious, covetous, idolatrous, a Railer, Drunkard, or Rapacious. For what have I to do to judge thoſe who are out of the Church? Have ye not a Power to judge thoſe who are Members of your Church? But as for thoſe who are out of the Church, leave them to God, to judge them belongs to him: Therefore do ye what is your Part; remove that wicked one the Fornicator out of the Church. Dare any of you, having a Controverſie with another, bring it before an Heathen Judge to be

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11.

12.

13.

1.

NOTES.

them down: *Nubit genero ſocrus, nullis auſpitiis, nullis auctoribus. O ſcelus incredibile & præter hanc unam in omni vita inauditum!*

6 (*i*) Glorying is all along in the beginning of this Epiſtle ſpoken of the Preference they gave to their new Leader, in Oppoſition to St. *Paul*.

(*k*) If their Leader had not been guilty of this Miſcarriage, it had been out of St. *Paul*'s way here to have reproved them for their glorying in him. But St. *Paul* is a cloſe Writer, and uſes not to mention things where they are impertinent to his Subject.

(*l*) What Reaſon he had to ſay this, *Vid.* 2 Cor. 12. 21——*Grex totus in agris unius Scabie cadit & porrigine porci.*

7 & 8. (*m*) In theſe two Verſes he alludes to the *Jews* clearſing their Houſes at the Feaſt of the Paſſover, from all Leaven, the Symbol of Corruption and Wickedneſs.

tried

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PARAPHRASE.

tried, and not let it be decided by Chriſtians? (*n*)
2. Know ye not that Chriſtians ſhall judge the World? and if the World ſhall be judg'd by you, are ye unworthy
3. to judge ordinary ſmall Matters? Know ye not that we Chriſtians have Power over evil Spirits? How much more over the little things relating to this ani-
4. mal Life? If then ye have at any time Controverſies amongſt you concerning things pertaining to this Life, let the Parties contending chooſe Arbitrators
5. (*o*) in the Church, *i. e.* out of Church-Members. Is there not among you, I ſpeak it to your Shame, who ſtand ſo much upon your Wiſdom, one (*p*) wiſe Man, whom ye can think able enough to refer your Contro-
6. verſies to? But one Chriſtian goeth to Law with another, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Hea-
7. then Courts of Juſtice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and Defect in you, that you ſo far conteſt Matters of Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial or Judgment: Why do ye not rather ſuffer Loſs and
8. Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Father's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (*q*) one to another, and ſtick not to do Injuſtice even to your
9. Chriſtian Brethren. Know ye not that the Tranſgreſſors of the Law of Chriſt ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Deceive not your ſelves, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Effeminate, nor Abuſers of themſelves with Mankind,

TEXT.

unjuſt, and not before the
faints?
2 Do ye not know that the ſaints ſhall judge the world? and if the world ſhall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the ſmalleſt matters?
3 Know ye not that we ſhall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life?
4 If then ye have judgments of things pertaining to this life, ſet them to judge who are leaſt eſteemed in the church.
5 I ſpeak to your ſhame. Is it ſo, that there is not a wiſe man amongſt you? no not one that ſhall be able to judge between his brethren?
6 But brother goeth to law with brother, and that before the unbelievers.
7 Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, becauſe ye go to law one with another: why do ye not rather take wrong? why do ye not rather ſuffer your ſelves to be defrauded?
8 Nay, you do wrong and defraud, and that your brethren.
9 Know ye not that the unrighteous ſhall not inherit the kingdom of God? be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abuſers of themſelves with mankind,

NOTES.

1 (*n*) Ἅγιοι Saints, is put for Chriſtians; ἄδικοι Unjuſt, for Heathens.

4 (*o*) Ἐξουθενημένους, *Judices non Authenticos*. Among the Jews there was *conſeſſus triumviralis authenticus*, who had Authority, and could hear and determine Cauſes *ex Officio*: there was another *conſeſſus triumviralis*, which were choſen by the Parties, theſe, tho' they were not *Authentick*, yet could judge and determine the Cauſes referred to them; theſe were thoſe whom St. *Paul* calls here, Ἐξουθενημένους, *Judices non Authenticos*, *i. e.* Referees choſen by the Parties. See *de Dieu*: That St. *Paul* does not mean by Ἐξουθενημένους, thoſe *who are leaſt eſteemed*, as our Engliſh Tranſlation reads it, is plain from the next Verſe.

(5) (*p*) σοφὸς, *wiſe Man*. If St *Paul* uſes this Word in the Senſe of the Synagogue, it ſignifies one ordained, or a Rabbi, and ſo capacitated to be a Judge; for ſuch were called *wiſe Men*. If in the Senſe of the Greek Schools, then it ſignifies a Man of Learning, Study and Parts: If it be taken in the latter Senſe, it may ſeem to be with ſome Reflection on their pretending to Wiſdom.

8 (*q*) That the Wrong here ſpoken of, was the Fornicator's taking and keeping his Father's Wife, the words of St. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 7. 12. inſtancing this very Wrong, are a ſufficient Evidence. And it is not wholly improbable there had been ſome Hearing of this Matter before a Heathen Judge, or at leaſt talked of, which if ſuppoſe, will give a great Light to this whole Paſſage, and ſeveral other in theſe Chapters. For thus viſibly runs St. *Paul*'s Argument, *ch.* 5. 12, 13. *ch.* 6. 1, 2, 3, &c. coherent and eaſe to be underſtood, if it ſtood together as it ſhould, and were not chop'd in pieces by a Diviſion into two Chapters. Ye have a Power to judge thoſe who are of your Church, therefore put away from among you that Fornicator: You do ill to let it come before a Heathen Magiſtrate. Are you, who are to judge the World and Angels, not worthy to judge ſuch a Matter as this?

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TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
10 Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.	nor Thieves, nor Covetous, nor Drunkards, nor Revilers, nor Extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdom of God. And such were some of you; but your past Sins	10.
11 And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.	are washed away and forgiven you, upon your receiving of the Gospel by Baptism: But ye are sanctified (*r*), *i. e.* ye are Members of Christ's Church, which consists of Saints, and have made some Advances in the Reformation of your Lives (*s*) by the Doctrine of Christ, confirmed to you by the extraordinary Operations of the Holy Ghost. But	11.
12 All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.	(*t*) supposing Fornication were in it self as lawful as eating promiscuously all Sorts of Meat that are made for the Belly, on purpose to be eaten; yet I would not so far indulge either Custom or my Appetite, as to bring my Body thereby into any disadvantageous State of Subjection: As in Eating and Drinking,	12.
13 Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication,	though Meat be made purposely for the Belly, and the Belly for Meat; yet because it may not be expedient (*u*) for me, I will not in so evidently a lawful thing as that, go to the utmost Bounds of my Liberty,	13.

NOTES.

11 (*r*) Ἡγιάσθητε, *sanctified*, *i. e.* have Remission of your Sins, so *sanctified*, signifies *Heb.* 10. 10 & 18. compared. He that would perfectly comprehend, and be satisfied in the Meaning of this place, let him read *Heb.* 9. 10. particularly 9. 13——23.

(*s*) Ἐδικαιώθητε, ye are *become just*, *i. e.* are reformed in your Lives. See it so used, *Rev.* 22. 11.

12 (*t*) St. *Paul* having, upon occasion of Injustice amongst them particularly in the matter of the Fornicator, warned them against that and other Sins that exclude Men from Salvation, he here re-assumes his former Argument about Fornication, and by his reasoning here, it looks as if some among them had pleaded that Fornication was lawful. To which he answers, that granting it to be so, yet the Lawfulness of all wholsome Food reach'd not the Case of Fornication, and shews by several Instances (as particularly the degrading the Body, and making what in a Christian is the Member of Christ, the Member of an Harlot) that Fornication upon several accounts might be so unsuitable to the State of a Christian Man, that a Christian Society might have reason to animadvert upon a Fornicator, though Fornication might pass for an indifferent Action in another Man.

(*u*) *Expedient*, and *brought under Power*, in this Verse seems to refer to the two Parts of the following Verse: The first of them to eating in the first part of the 13*th* Verse, and the latter of them to Fornication in the latter part of the 13*th* Verse. To make this the more intelligible, it may be fit to remark, that St. *Paul* here seems to obviate such a sort of Reasoning as this, in behalf of the Fornicator. "All sorts of Meats are lawful to Christians who are set "free from the law of *Moses*, and why are they not so in regard of Women who are at their "own Disposals? To which St. *Paul* replies, Though my Belly was made only for eating, and "all sorts of Meat were made to be eaten, and so are lawful for me; yet I will abstain from "what is lawful, if it be not convenient for me, though my Belly will be certain to receive no "prejudice by it, which will affect it in the other World, since God will there put an end to "the Belly, and all use of Food. But as to the Body of a Christian, the Case is quite other-"wise; That was not made for the Enjoyment of Women, but for a much nobler End, to be "a Member of Christ's Body, and so shall last for ever, and not be destroy'd as the Belly shall "be. Therefore supposing Fornication to be lawful in itself, I will not so debase and subject "my Body, and do it that prejudice, as to take that which is a Member of Christ, and make "it the Member of an Harlot; this ought to be had in Detestation by all Christians." The Context is so plain in the Case, that Interpreters allow St. *Paul* to discourse here upon a Supposition of the Lawfulness of Fornication. Nor will it appear at all strange, that he does so, if we consider the Argument he is upon. He is here convincing the *Corinthians*, that though Fornication were to them an indifferent thing, and were not condemn'd in their Country more than eating any forbidden Meat; yet there might be Reasons why a Christian Society might punish it in their own Members by Church-Censures, and Expulsion of the Guilty. Conformably hereunto we see in what follows here, that all the Arguments used by St. *Paul* against Fornication, are brought from the Incongruity it hath with the State of a Christian as a Christian, but nothing is said against it as a Fault in a Man as a Man, no Plea used that it is a Sin in all Men by the Law of Nature. A Christian Society, without entring into that Enquiry, or going so far as that, had Reason to condemn and censure it, as not comporting with the Dignity and Principles of that Religion which was the Foundation of their Society.

though

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though there no Danger that I ſhould thereby bring any laſting Damage upon my Belly, ſince God will ſpeedily put an end both to Belly and Food. But the Caſe of the Body, in reference to Women, is far different from that of the Belly in reference to Meats. For the Body is not made to be joyn'd to a Woman (*w*), much leſs to be joyn'd to an Harlot in Fornication, as the Belly is made for Meat, and then to be put an end to when that Uſe ceaſes. But the Body is for a much nobler Purpoſe, and ſhall ſubſiſt when the Belly and Food ſhall be deſtroy d. The Body is for our Lord Chriſt, to be a Member of him, as our Lord Chriſt has taken a Body (*x*), that he might partake of our
14. Nature, and be our Head; So that as God has already raiſed him up, and given him all Power, ſo he will raiſe us up likewiſe who are his Members, to (*y*) the partaking in the Nature of his glorious Body, and
15. the Power he is veſted with in it. Know ye not, ye who are ſo knowing, that our Bodies are the Members of Chriſt? Will ye then take the Members of Chriſt, and make them the Members of an
16. Harlot? What! know ye not that he who is joyn'd to an Harlot is one Body with her? For two, ſaith
17. God, ſhall be united into one Fleſh: But he who is join'd to the Lord, is one with him, by that one Spirit that unites the Members to the Head, which is a nearer and ſtricter Union, whereby what Indignity
18. is done to the one equally affects the other. Flee Fornication: All other Sins that a Man commits debaſe only the Soul, but are in that reſpect as if they were done out of the Body, the Body is not debaſed, ſuffers no Loſs of its Dignity by them: But he who committeth Fornication, ſinneth againſt the end for which his Body was made, degrading his Body from the Dignity and Honour it was deſigned to, making that the

TEXT.

but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.

14 And God hath both raiſed up the Lord, and will alſo raiſe up us by his own power.

15 Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Chriſt? ſhall I then take the members of Chriſt and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.

16 What, know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot, is one body? for two (ſaith he) ſhall be one fleſh.

17 But he that is joined unto the Lord, is one ſpirit.

18 Flee fornication. Every ſin that a man doeth, is without the body: but he that committeth fornication, ſinneth againſt his own body.

NOTES.

13 (*w*) *Woman.* I have put in this to make the Apoſtle's Senſe underſtood the eaſier. For he arguing here as he does, upon the Suppoſition that Fornication is in itſelf lawful, Fornication in theſe words muſt mean the ſuppoſed lawful Enjoyment of a Woman, otherwiſe it will not anſwer the foregoing Inſtance of the Belly and Eating.

(*x*) *And the Lord for the Body*, ſee *Heb.* 2. 5——18.

14 (*y*) Διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῦ, *To his Power.* The Context and Deſign of St. *Paul* in this place, ſtrongly incline one to take διὰ here to ſignifie as it does, 2 *Pet.* 1. 3. *to* and not *by.* St. *Paul* is here making out to the *Corinthian* Converts, that they have a Power to judge. He tells them, that they ſhall judge the World, *v.* 2. And that they ſhall judge Angels, much more then things of this Life, *v.* 3. And for their not judging he blames them, and tells them, 'tis a leſſening to them, not to exerciſe this Power, *v.* 7. And for it he gives a Reaſon in this Verſe, *viz.* That Chriſt is raiſed up into the Power of God, and ſo ſhall they be. Unleſs it be taken in this Senſe, this Verſe ſeems to ſtand alone here. For what Connection has the mention of the Reſurrection in the ordinary Senſe of this Verſe, with what the Apoſtle is ſaying here, but raiſing us up with Bodies to be Members of his glorious Body, and to partake in his Power in judging the World? This adds a great Honour and Dignity to our Bodies, and is a Reaſon why we ſhould not debaſe them into the Members of an Harlot. Theſe Words alſo give a Reaſon of his ſaying, *he would not be brought under the Power of any thing*, v. 13. (*viz.*) "Shall I, whoſe Body is a Member of Chriſt, and ſhall be raiſed to the Power he has now in "Heaven, ſuffer my Body to be a Member, and under the Power of an Harlot, that I will "never do, let Fornication in it ſelf be ever ſo lawful? If this be not the Meaning of St. *Paul* here, I deſire to know to what purpoſe it is that he ſo expreſly declares that the Belly and Meat ſhall be deſtroyed, and does ſo manifeſtly put an Oppoſition between the Body and the Belly? *ver.* 13.

Member

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TEXT.

What know ye not that
19 your body is the temple of the holy Ghoſt which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?
20 For ye are bought with a price: therefore glorifie God in your body, and in your ſpirit, which are God's.

PARAPHRASE.

Member of an Harlot which was made to be a Member of Chriſt. What, know ye not (z) that your Body is the Temple of the Holy Ghoſt that is in you, which Body you have from God, and ſo it is not your own to beſtow on Harlots? Beſides ye are bought with a Price, *viz.* the precious Blood of Chriſt, and therefore are not at your own Diſpoſal: But are bound to glorify God with both Body and Soul. For both Body and Soul are from him, and are God's. 19. 20.

NOTES.

19 (z) This Queſtion, *Know ye not?* is repeated ſix times in this one Chapter, which may ſeem to carry with it a juſt Reproach to the *Corinthians*, who had got a new and better Inſtructer than himſelf, in whom they ſo much gloried, and may not unfitly be thought to ſet on his Irony, *ch.* 4. 10. where he tells them they are *wiſe*.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VII. 1——40.

CONTENTS.

THE chief Buſineſs of the foregoing Chapters we have ſeen to be the leſſening the falſe Apoſtle's Credit, and the extinguiſhing that Faction. What follows is in Anſwer to ſome Queſtions they had propoſed to St. *Paul*. This Section contains conjugal Matters, wherein he diſſuades from Marriage thoſe who have the Gift of Continence. But Marriage being appointed as a Remedy againſt Fornication, thoſe who cannot forbear ſhould marry, and render to each other due Benevolence. Next he teaches that Converts ought not to forſake their unconverted Mates, inſomuch as Chriſtianity changes nothing in Men's civil Eſtate, but leaves them under the ſame Obligations they were tied by before. And laſt of all, he gives Directions about marrying, or not marrying their Daughters.

TEXT.

1 NOW concerning the things whereof ye wrote unto me: it is good for a man not to touch a woman.
2 Nevertheleſs, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband.
3 Let the husband render unto the wife due benevolence: and likewiſe alſo the wife unto the husband.

PARAPHRASE.

CONcerning thoſe things that ye have writ to me about, I anſwer, it is moſt convenient not to have to do with a Woman: But becauſe every one cannot forbear, therefore they that cannot contain, ſhould, both Men and Women, each have their own peculiar Husband and Wife to avoid Fornication. And thoſe that are married, for the ſame Reaſon are to regulate themſelves by the Diſpoſition and Exigency of their reſpective Mates; and therefore let the Husband render to the Wife that Benevolence (a) which is her due, and ſo likewiſe the Wife to the 1. 2. 3.

NOTES.

3 (a) Εὔνοια, *Benevolence*, ſignifies here that Complaiſance and Compliance which every married Couple ought to have for each other, when either of them ſhew an Inclination to Conjugal Enjoyments.

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PARAPHRASE.

4. Husband, *& vice versâ*. For the Wife has not Power or Dominion over her own Body, to refuse the Husband when he desires: But this Power and Right to her Body is in the Husband. And on the other side, the Husband has not the Power and Dominion over his own Body, to refuse his Wife when she shews an Inclination; but this Power and Right to his Body, when she has Occasion, is in the Wife
5. (*b*). Do not in this matter be wanting one to another, unless it be by mutual Consent for a short time, that you may wholly attend to Acts of Devotion, when ye fast upon some solemn Occasion; and when this time of solemn Devotion is over, return to your former Freedom and Conjugal Society, lest the Devil taking Advantage of your Inability to contain, should tempt you to a Violation of your Marriage Bed.
6. As to marrying in general, I wish that you were all unmarry'd, as I am; but this I say to you by way of
7. Advice, not of Command. Every one has from God his own proper Gift, some one way, and some an-
8. other, whereby he must govern himself. To the unmarried and Widows, I say it is my Opinion, that it
9. is best for them to remain unmarried, as I am. But if they have not the Gift of Continency, let them marry, for the Inconveniencies of Marriage are to be
10. preferr'd to Flames of Lust. But to the married, I say not by way of Counsel from my self, but of Command from the Lord, that a Woman should not leave
11. her Husband: But if she has separated her self from him, let her return and be reconciled to him again, or at least let her remain unmarried. And let not the
12. Husband put away his Wife. But as to others, 'tis my Advice, not a Commandment from the Lord, That if a Christian Man hath an Heathen Wife that is content to live with him, let him not break Company
13. with her, and dissolve the Marriage: And if a Christian Woman hath an Heathen Husband that is content to live with her, let her not break Company with
14. him (*c*), and dissolve the Marriage. You need have no Scruple concerning this Matter, For the Heathen Husband or Wife, in respect of Conjugal Duty, can be no more refused, than if they were Christian. For

TEXT.

4 The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

5 Defraud you not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give your selves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that satan tempt you not for your incontinency.

6 But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment.

7 For I would that all men were even as I my self: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

8 I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.

9 But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.

10 And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband:

11 But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.

12 But to the rest speak I, not the Lord, If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

13 And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him.

14 For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were

NOTES.

4 (*b*) The Woman (who in all other Rights is inferiour) has here the same Power given her over the Man's Body, that the Man has over her's. The Reason whereof is plain: Because if she had not her Man, when she had need of him, as well as the Man his Woman, when he had need of her, Marriage would be no Remedy against Fornication.

12 & 13. (*c*) Ἀφιέτω, the Greek Word in the Original signifying *put away*, being directed here in these two Verses both to the Man and the Woman, seems to intimate the same Power and the same Act of Dismissing in both; and therefore ought in both places to be translated alike.

in

TEXT.

your children unclean: but now are they holy.

15 But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a ſiſter is not under bondage in ſuch caſes: but God hath called us to peace.

16 For what knoweſt thou, O wife, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy husband? or how knoweſt thou, O man, whether thou ſhalt ſave thy wife?

17 But as God hath diſtributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, ſo let him walk: and ſo ordain I in all churches.

18 Is any man called being circumciſed? let him not become uncircumciſed: is any called in uncircumciſion? let him not become circumciſed.

19 Circumciſion is nothing, and uncircumciſion is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.

20 Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called.

PARAPHRASE.

in this caſe the unbelieving Husband is ſanctified (*d*) or made a Chriſtian, as to his Iſſue in his Wife, and the Wife ſanctified in her Husband. If it were not ſo, the Children of ſuch Parents would be unclean (*d*), *i. e.* in the State of Heathens, but now are they holy (*d*), *i. e.* born Members of the Chriſtian Church. But if the unbelieving Party will ſeparate, let them ſeparate. A Chriſtian Man or Woman is not inſlaved in ſuch a Caſe, only it is to be remember'd, that it is incumbent on us whom God in the Goſpel has call'd to be Chriſtians, to live peaceably with all Men, as much as in us lieth, and therefore the Chriſtian Huſband or Wife is not to make a Breach in the Family, by leaving the unbelieving Party, who is content to ſtay. For what knoweſt thou, O Woman, but thou mayſt be the Means of converting, and ſo ſaving thy unbelieving Husband, if thou continueſt peaceably as a loving Wife with him? Or what knoweſt thou, O Man, but after the ſame manner thou mayſt ſave thy Wife? On this Occaſion let me give you this general Rule, whatever Condition God has allotted to any of you, let him continue and go on contentedly in the ſame (*e*) State wherein he was called, not looking on himſelf as ſet free from it by his Converſion to Chriſtianity. And this is no more than what I order in all the Churches. For example, was any one converted to Chriſtianity being circumciſed, let him not become uncircumciſed: Was any one called being uncircumciſed, let him not be circumciſed. Circumciſion or Uncircumciſion are nothing in the Sight of God, but that which he has a regard to, is an obedience to his Commands. Chriſtianity gives not any one any new Privilege to change the State, or put off (*f*) the Obligations of Civil Life, which he was in before.

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

Wert

NOTES.

14 (*d*) Ἡγίασται *ſanctified*, ἅγια *holy*, & ἀκάθαρτα *unclean*, are uſed here by the Apoſtle in the Jewiſh Senſe. The Jews called all that were Jews, *holy*; and all others they called *unclean*. Thus, *proles genita extra ſanctitatem*, was a Child begot by Parents whilſt they were yet Heathens; *genita intra ſanctitatem*, was a Child begot by Parents after they were Proſelytes. This way of ſpeaking St. *Paul* transfers from the Jewiſh into the Chriſtian Church, calling all that are of the Chriſtian Church *Saints*, or holy, by which Reaſon all that were out of it were *unclean*. See *Note*, Ch. 1. 2.

17 (*e*) ὡς ſignifies here not the Manner of his Calling, but the State and Condition of Life he was in when called; and therefore ὡτως muſt ſignifie the ſame too, as the next Verſe ſhews.

20 (*f*) Μενέτω, Let him abide. 'Tis plain from what immediately follows, that this is not an abſolute Command; but only ſignifies that a Man ſhould not think himſelf diſcharg'd by the Privilege of his Chriſtian State, and the Franchiſes of the Kingdom of Chriſt, which he was entered into, from any Ties or Obligations he was in as a Member of the Civil Society. And therefore for the ſettling a true Notion thereof in the Mind of the Reader, it has been thought convenient to give that which is the Apoſtle's Senſe to *Ver.* 17, 20, & 24. of this Chapter, in words ſomewhat different from the Apoſtle's. The thinking themſelves freed by Chriſtianity from the Ties of Civil Society and Government, was a Fault, it ſeems, that thoſe Chriſtians were very apt to run into. For St. *Paul*, for their preventing their Thoughts of any Change of any thing of their Civil State upon their embracing Chriſtianity, thinks it neceſſary to warn them againſt it three times in the Compaſs of ſeven Verſes, and that in the Form of a direct Command not to change their Condition or State of Life. Whereby he intends that they ſhould not change upon a Preſumption that Chriſtianity gave them a new or peculiar Liberty ſo to do. For, notwithſtanding the Apoſtle's poſitively bidding them remain in the

PARAPHRASE.

21. Wert thou called being a Slave, think thy ſelf not the leſs a Chriſtian for being a Slave, but yet prefer Freedom to Slavery, if thou canſt obtain it.
22. For he that is converted to Chriſtianity, being a Bond-man, is Chriſt's Freed-man (*g*). And he that is converted being a Free-man is Chriſt's Bond-man, under his Command and Dominion.
23. Ye are bought with a Price (*h*), and ſo belong to Chriſt; be not, if
24. you can avoid it, Slaves to any body. In whatſoever State a Man is call'd, in the ſame he is to remain, notwithſtanding any Privileges of the Goſpel, which gives him no Diſpenſation or Exemption from any Obligation he was in before to the Laws of his Coun-
25. try. Now concerning Virgins (*i*) I have no expreſs Command from Chriſt to give you; but I tell you my Opinion, as one whom the Lord has been graciouſly pleaſed to make credible (*k*), and ſo you may
26. truſt and rely on in this Matter. I tell you therefore that I judge a ſingle Life to be convenient, becauſe of the preſent Streights of the Church; and that it is beſt
27. for a Man to be unmarried. Art thou in the Bonds of Wedlock? Seek not to be looſed: Art thou looſed
28. from a Wife? Seek not a Wife. But if thou marrieſt thou ſinneſt not: Or if a Virgin marry, ſhe ſins not: But thoſe that are married ſhall have worldly Troubles: But I ſpare you, by not repreſenting to you, how little Enjoyment Chriſtians are like to have from a married Life in the preſent State of things, and ſo I
29. leave you to the Liberty of marrying. But give me leave to tell you, that the time for enjoying Husbands and Wives is but ſhort (*l*). But be that as it will, this is certain, that thoſe who have Wives, ſhould be as if they had them not, and not ſet their Hearts upon
30. them: And they that weep as if they wept not; and they that rejoyce, as if they rejoyced not; and they that buy, as if they poſſeſſed not: All theſe things

TEXT.

Art thou called, being a 21
ſervant? care not for it; but if thou mayſt be made free, uſe it rather.

For he that is called in 22
the Lord, being a ſervant, is the Lord's free-man: likewiſe alſo he that is called being free, is Chriſt's ſervant.

Ye are bought with a 23
price, be not ye the ſervants of men.

Brethren, let every man 24
wherein he is called, therein abide with God.

Now concerning vir- 25
gins, I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.

I ſuppoſe therefore, that 26
this is good for the preſent diſtreſs, I ſay, that it is good for a man ſo to be.

Art thou bound unto a 27
wife? ſeek not to be looſed. Art thou looſed from a wife? ſeek not a wife.

But and if thou marry, 28
thou haſt not ſinned; and if a virgin marry, ſhe hath not ſinned: nevertheleſs, ſuch ſhall have trouble in the fleſh; but I ſpare you.

But this I ſay, brethren, 29
the time is ſhort. It remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none;

And they that weep, as 30
though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not;

NOTES.

ſame Condition in which they were at their Converſion; Yet it is certain it was lawful for them, as well as the others, to change, where it was lawful for them to change without being Chriſtians.

22 (*g*) Ἀπελεύθερος, in Latin *Libertus*, ſignifies not ſimply a *Free-man*, but one who having been a Slave, has had his Freedom given him by his Maſter.

23 (*h*) Slaves were bought and ſold in the Market, as Cattle are, and ſo by the Price paid, there was a Propriety acquired in them. This therefore here is a Reaſon for what he adviſed, *ver.* 21. that they ſhould not be Slaves to Men, becauſe Chriſt had paid a Price for them, and they belonged to him. The Slavery he ſpeaks of is Civil Slavery, which he makes uſe of here to convince the Corinthians, that the Civil Ties of Marriage were not diſſolved by a Man's becoming a Chriſtian, ſince Slavery itſelf was not; and in general in the next Verſe he tells them, that nothing in any Man's Civil Eſtate or Rights, is alter'd by his becoming a Chriſtian.

25 (*i*) By *Virgins* 'tis plain St. *Paul* here means thoſe of both Sexes, who are in a celibate State. 'Tis probable he had formerly diſſuaded them from Marriage in the preſent State of the Church. This it ſeems they were uneaſy under, *ver.* 28 & 35. and therefore ſent ſome Queſtions to St. *Paul* about it, and particularly, What then ſhould Men do with their Daughters? Upon which Occaſion, *ver.* 25—37. he gives Directions to the Unmarried about their marrying or not marrying, and in the Cloſe, *ver.* 38. anſwers to the Parents about marrying their Daughters; and then, *ver.* 39 & 40. he ſpeaks of Widows.

(*k*) In this Senſe he uſes πιστὸς ἄνθρωπος, & πιστὸς λόγος, 2 *Tim.* 2. 2.

29 (*l*) Said poſſibly out of a prophetical Foreſight of the approaching Perſecution under *Nero*.

ſhould

TEXT.

and they that buy, as tho' they poſſeſſed not;
31 And they that uſe this world, as not abuſing it: for the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.
32 But I would have you without careſulneſs. He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may pleaſe the Lord:
33 But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may pleaſe his wife.
34 There is difference alſo between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that ſhe may be holy, both in body and in ſpirit: but ſhe that is married, careth for the things of the world, how ſhe may pleaſe her huſband.
35 And this I ſpeak for your own profit, not that I may caſt a ſnare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without diſtraction.
36 But if any man think that he behaveth himſelf uncomely toward his virgin, if ſhe paſs the flower of her age, and need ſo require, let him do what he will, he ſinneth not: let them marry.
37 Nevertheleſs, he that ſtandeth ſtedfaſt in his heart, having no neceſſity, but hath power over

PARAPHRASE.

ſhould be done with Reſignation and a Chriſtian Indifferency. And thoſe who uſe this World, ſhould uſe it without an Over-reliſh of it (*m*), without giving themſelves up to the Enjoyment of it. For the Scene of things is always changing in this World, and nothing can be relied on in it (*n*). All the Reaſon why I diſſuade you from Marriage, is, that I would have you free from anxious Cares: He that is unmarried, has time and liberty to mind things of Religion, how he may pleaſe the Lord: But he that is married is taken up with the Cares of the World, how he may pleaſe his Wife. The like Difference there is between a married Woman and a Maid: She that is unmarried, has Opportunity to mind the things of Religion, that ſhe may be holy in Mind and Body; but the married Woman is taken up with the Cares of the World, how to pleaſe her Huſband. This I ſay to you for your particular Advantage, not to lay any Conſtraint upon you (*o*), but to put you in a way wherein you may moſt ſuitably, and as beſt becomes Chriſtianity, apply your ſelves to the Study and Duties of the Goſpel, without Diſtraction. But if any one thinks that he carries not himſelf as becomes him to his Virgin, if he lets her paſs the Flower of her Age unmarried, and need ſo requires, let him do as he thinks fit, he ſins not if he marry her. But whoever is ſettled in a firm Reſolution of Mind, and finds himſelf under no Neceſſity of marrying, and is Maſter of his own Will, or is at his own Diſpoſal, and has ſo determined in his Thoughts, that he will keep his Virginity, (*p*) he chooſes the better

31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.

NOTES.

31 (*m*) Καταχρώμενοι does not here ſignify *abuſing*, in our Engliſh Senſe of the word, *but intently uſing*.

(*n*) All from the beginning of *ver.* 28, to the end of *ver.* 31. I think may be looked on as a Parentheſis.

35 (*o*) Βρόχον, which we tranſlate a *Snare*, ſignifies a *Cord*, which poſſibly the Apoſtle might, according to the Language of the Hebrew School, uſe here for binding, and then his Diſcourſe runs thus. Though I have declared it my Opinion, that it is beſt for a Virgin to remain unmarried, yet I bind it not, *i. e.* I do not declare it to be unlawful to marry.

37 (*p*) Παρθένον ſeems uſed here for the Virgin State, and not the Perſon of a Virgin; whether there be Examples of the like uſe of it, I know not, and therefore I propoſe it as my Conjecture upon theſe Grounds. 1. Becauſe the Reſolution of the Mind here ſpoken of, muſt be in the Perſon to be marry'd, and not in the Father that has the Power over the Perſon concerned: For how will the Firmneſs of Mind of the Father hinder Fornication in the Child, who has not that Firmneſs? 2. The Neceſſity of Marriage can only be judg'd of by the Perſons themſelves. A Father cannot feel the Child's Flames which make the Need of Marriage. The Perſons themſelves only know whether they burn, or have the Gift of Continence. 3. Ἐξουσίαν ἔχει περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, *hath the Power over his own Will*, muſt either ſignifie, *can govern his own Deſires, is Maſter of his own Will*: But this cannot be meant here, becauſe it is ſufficiently expreſſed before by ἑδραῖος τῇ καρδίᾳ, *ſtedfaſt in Heart*; and afterwards too by κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, *decreed in Heart*: or muſt ſignifie, *has the Diſpoſal of himſelf*, i. e. is free from the Father's Power of diſpoſing their Children in Marriage. For I think the words ſhould be tranſlated, *hath a Power concerning his own Will, i. e.* concerning what he willeth. For if by it St. *Paul* meant a Power over his own Will, one might think he would have expreſſed that Thought

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

ter (q) ſide. So then he that marrieth doth well, but
38. he that marrieth (r) not doth better. It is unlawful
39. for a Woman to leave her Husband as long as he lives; but when he is dead, ſhe is at liberty to marry or not marry, as ſhe pleaſes, and to whom ſhe pleaſes; which Virgins cannot do being under the Diſpoſal of their Parents; only ſhe muſt take care to marry as a
40. Chriſtian fearing God. But in my Opinion, ſhe is happier if ſhe remain a Widow; and permit me to ſay, that whatever any among you may think or ſay of me, I have the Spirit of God, ſo that I may be relied on in this my Advice, that I do not miſlead you.

TEXT.

his own will, and hath ſo decreed in his heart, that he will keep his virgin, doth well.

So then, he that giveth 38
her in marriage, doth well: but he that giveth her not in marriage doth better.

The wife is bound by 39
the law as long as her huſband liveth: but if her husband be dead, ſhe is at liberty to be married to whom ſhe will; only in the Lord.

But ſhe is happier if ſhe 40
ſo abide, after my judgment: and I think alſo that I have the Spirit of God.

NOTES.

Thought as he does, *ch.* 9. 12. & *Rom.* 9. 21. without ϑεῷ, or by the Prepoſition ἐπὶ, as it is, *Luke* 9. 1. 4. Becauſe, if *keep his Virgin*, had here ſignified keep his Children from marrying, the Expreſſion had been more natural to have uſed the word τέκνα, which ſignifies both Sexes, than παρθένος, which belongs only to the Female. If therefore παρθένος be taken abſtractly for Virginity, the precedent Verſe muſt be underſtood thus: *But if any one think it a ſhame to paſs the Flower of his Age unmarried, and he finds it neceſſary to marry, let him do as he pleaſes, he ſins not; Let ſuch marry.* I confeſs it is hard to bring theſe two Verſes to the ſame Senſe, and both of them to the Deſign of the Apoſtle here, without taking the Words in one or both of them very figuratively. St. *Paul* here ſeems to obviate an Objection that might be made againſt his Diſſuaſion from Marriage, *viz.* that it might be an Indecency one ſhould be guilty of, if one ſhould live unmarried paſt one's prime, and afterwards be forced to marry. To which he anſwers, That no body ſhould abſtain upon the account of being a Chriſtian, but thoſe who are of ſteady Reſolutions, are at their own Diſpoſal, and have fully determin'd it in their own Minds.

(q) Καλὸς here, as in *ver.* 1. 8, & 26. ſignifies not ſimply good, but preferable.

38 (r) Παρθένος being taken in the Senſe before-mentioned, it is neceſſary in this Verſe to follow the Copies which read γαμίζων *marrying*, for ἐκγαμίζων, giving *in Marriage*.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. VIII. 1—13.

CONTENTS.

THIS Section is concerning the Eating things offered to Idols, wherein one may gueſs by St. *Paul*'s Anſwer, that they had writ to him, that they knew their Chriſtian Liberty herein, that they knew that an Idol was nothing, and therefore that they did well to ſhew their Knowledge of the Nullity of the Heathen Gods, and their Diſregard of them, by eating promiſcuouſly, and without Scruple, things offered to them. Upon which, the Deſign of the Apoſtle here ſeems to be, to take down their Opinion of their Knowledge, by ſhewing them, that notwithſtanding all the Knowledge they preſumed on, and were puffed up with, yet the eating of thoſe Sacrifices did not recommend them to God: *Vid. ver.* 8. and that they might ſin in their Want of Charity by offending their weak Brother. This ſeems plainly from *ver.* 1—3, & 11, 12. to be the Deſign of the Apoſtle's Anſwer here, and not to reſolve the Caſe of eating things offered to Idols in its full Latitude. For then he would have proſecuted it more at large here, and not have defer'd the

the Doing of it to *Chap.* 10. where under another Head he treats of it more particularly. *An. Ch.* 57. *Neronis* 3.

TEXT.

1 NOW as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but Charity edifieth.

2 And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.

3 But if any man love God, the same is known of him.

4 As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.

5 For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many)

6 But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.

7 Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience being weak, is defiled.

PARAPHRASE.

AS for things offered up unto Idols, it must not be questioned but that every one of you, who stand so much upon your Knowledge, know that the imaginary Gods, to whom the Gentiles sacrifice, are not in reality Gods, but meer Fictions; but with this pray remember, that such a Knowledge, or Opinion of their Knowledge, swells Men with Pride and Vanity. But Charity it is that improves and advances Men in Christianity (*s*). But if any one be conceited of his own Knowledge, as if Christianity were a Science for Speculation and Dispute, he knows nothing yet of Christianity as he ought to know it. But if any one love God, and consequently his Neighbour for God's sake, such an one is made to know (*t*), or has got true Knowledge from God himself. To the Question then of eating things offered to Idols, I know as well as you, that an Idol, *i. e.* that the fictitious Gods, whose Images are in the Heathen Temples, are no real Beings in the World; and there is in Truth no other but one God. For tho' there be many imaginary nominal Gods, both in Heaven and Earth (*u*), as are indeed all their many Gods, and many Lords, which are meerly titular; yet to us Christians, there is but one God, the Father and Author of all things, to whom alone we address all our Worship and Service, and but one Lord, *viz.* Jesus Christ, by whom all things come from God to us, and by whom we have Access to the Father. For notwithstanding all the great Pretences to Knowledge that are amongst you, every one doth not know that the Gods of the Heathens are but Imaginations of the Phansie, mere nothing. Some, to this day, conscious to themselves that they think those Idols to be real Deities, eat things sacrificed to them, as sacrificed to real Deities, whereby doing that which they in their Consciences, not yet sufficiently enlighten'd, think to be un-

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

NOTES.

1 (*s*) To continue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, the 7*th* Verse must be read as joyn'd on to the 1*st*, and all between looked on as a Parenthesis.

3 (*t*) Ἔγνωσαι, *is made to know*, or *is taught*. The Apostle, tho' writing in Greek, yet often uses the Greek Verbs according to the Hebrew Conjugations. So *ch.* 13. 12. ἐπιγνώσομαι, which according to the Greek Propriety, signifies, *I shall be known*, is used for *I shall be made to know*; and so *Gal.* 4. 9. γνωσθέντες is put to signifie *being taught*.

5 (*u*) *In Heaven and Earth.* The Heathen had supreme Sovereign Gods, whom they supposed eternal, remaining always in the Heavens, these were called θεοὶ *Gods*: They had besides another Order of inferior Gods: *Gods upon Earth*, who by the Will and Direction of the heavenly Gods governed terrestrial things, and were the Mediators between the Supreme Heavenly Gods and Men, without whom there could be no Communication between them. These were called in Scripture, *Baalim*, i. e. *Lords*; and by the Greeks Δαίμονες. To this the Apostle alludes here, saying, though there be in the Opinion of the Heathens, *Gods many*, i. e. many Celestial Sovereign Gods in Heaven: And *Lords many*, i. e. many *Baalim* or Lords Agents, and Presidents over earthly things; yet to us Christians there is but one Sovereign God the Father, of whom are all things, and to whom as Supreme we are to direct all our Services: And but one Lord-Agent Jesus Christ, by whom are all things that come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we find Access unto him. *Mede Disc.* on 2 *Pet.* 2. 1.

lawful,

PARAPHRASE.

8. lawful, are guilty of Sin. Food, of what kind ſoever makes not God regard us (*w*). For neither if in Knowledge and full Perſuaſion, that an Idol is nothing, we eat things offered to Idols, do we thereby add any thing to Chriſtianity: Or if not being ſo well informed, we are ſcrupulous and forbear, are we the worſe
9. Chriſtians, or are leſſened by it (*x*). But this you knowing Men ought to take ſpecial Care of: That the Power of Freedom you have to eat, be not made ſuch an uſe of as to become a Stumbling-block to weaker Chriſtians who are not convinced of that Li-
10. berty. For if ſuch an one ſhall ſee thee, who haſt this Knowledge of thy Liberty, ſit feaſting in an Idol-Temple, ſhall not his weak Conſcience, not throughly inſtructed in the matter of Idols, be drawn in by thy Example to eat what is offered to Idols, tho' he in his
11. Conſcience doubt of its Lawfulneſs? And thus thy weak Brother, for whom Chriſt died, is deſtroy'd by thy Knowledge, wherewith thou juſtifieſt thy eating.
12. But when you ſin thus againſt your Brethren, and wound their weak Conſciences, you ſin againſt Chriſt.
13. Wherefore if Meat make my Brother offend, I will never more eat Fleſh, to avoid making my Brother offend.

TEXT.

8 But meat commendeth us not to God: for neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not are we the worſe.

9 But take heed leſt by any means this liberty of yours become a ſtumbling block to them that are weak.

10 For if any man ſee thee which haſt knowledge, ſit at meat in the idols temple, ſhall not the conſcience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat thoſe things which are offered to idols?

11 And through thy knowledge ſhall the weak brother periſh, for whom Chriſt died:

12 But when ye ſin ſo againſt the brethren, and wound their weak conſcience, ye ſin againſt Chriſt.

13 Wherefore if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no fleſh while the world ſtandeth, leſt I make my brother to offend.

NOTES.

8 (*w*) ἐ παρίσησι, ſets us not before God, *i. e.* to be taken Notice of by him.

(*x*) It cannot be ſuppoſed that St. *Paul*, in anſwer to a Letter of the *Corinthians*, ſhould tell them, that if they ate things offer'd to Idols, they were not the better; or if they ate not, were not the worſe, unleſs they had expreſs'd ſome Opinion of Good in Eating.

SECT. V.

CHAP. IX. 1—27.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* had preached the Goſpel at *Corinth* about two Years, in all which time he had taken nothing of them, 2 *Cor.* 11. 7——9. This by ſome of the oppoſite Faction, and particularly as we may ſuppoſe by their Leader, was made uſe of to call in queſtion his Apoſtleſhip, 2 *Cor.* 11. 5, 6. For why, if he were an Apoſtle, ſhould he not uſe the Power of an Apoſtle, to demand Maintenance where he preached? In this Section St. *Paul* vindicates his Apoſtleſhip: And in anſwer to theſe Enquirers, gives the Reaſon why, tho' he had a Right to Maintenance, yet he preached *gratis* to the *Corinthians*. My Anſwer, ſays he, to theſe Inquiſitors, is, that tho' as being an Apoſtle, I know that I have a Right to Maintenance, as well as *Peter*, or any other of the Apoſtles, who all have a Right, as is evident from Reaſon and from Scripture; yet I never have, nor ſhall make uſe of my Privilege amongſt you, for fear that if it coſt you any thing, that ſhould hinder the Effect of my Preaching: I would neglect nothing that might promote the Goſpel. For I do not content my ſelf with doing barely what is my Duty, for by my extraordinary Call and Commiſſion, it is now incumbent on me to preach the Goſpel;

Goſpel; But I endeavour to excel in my Miniſtry, and not to execute my Commiſſion overtly, and juſt enough to ſerve the turn. For if thoſe who in the Agoniſtick Games aiming at Victory to obtain only a corruptible Crown, deny themſelves in eating and drinking, and other Pleaſures, how much more does the eternal Crown of Glory deſerve that we ſhould do our utmoſt to obtain it? To be as careful in not indulging our Bodies, in denying our Pleaſures, in doing every thing we could in order to get it, as if there were but one that ſhould have it? Wonder not therefore if I, having this in view, neglect my Body, and thoſe outward Conveniencies that I, as an Apoſtle, ſent to preach the Goſpel, might claim, and make uſe of: Wonder not that I prefer the propagating of the Goſpel, and making of Converts, to all Care and Regard of my ſelf. This ſeems the Deſign of the Apoſtle, and will give light to the following Diſcourſe, which we ſhall now take in the Order St. *Paul* writ it. *An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.*

TEXT.

1 AM I not an apoſtle? am I not free? have I not ſeen Jeſus Chriſt our Lord? are not you my work in the Lord?
2 If I be not an apoſtle unto others, yet doubtleſs I am to you: for the ſeal of mine apoſtleſhip are ye in the Lord.
3 Mine anſwer to them that do examine me, is this,
4 Have we not power to eat and to drink?
5 Have we not power to lead about a ſiſter a wife as well as other apoſtles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?
6 Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to forbear working?
7 Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?
8 Say I theſe things as a man? or ſaith not the law the ſame alſo?
9 For it is written in the law of Moſes, Thou ſhalt not muzzel the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen?
10 Or ſaith he it altogether for our ſakes? for our ſakes, no doubt, this is written: that he that ploweth ſhould plow in

PARAPHRASE.

AM I not an Apoſtle? And am I not at liberty (*a*) as much as any other of the Apoſtles, to make uſe of the Privilege due to that Office? Have I not had the Favour to ſee Jeſus Chriſt our Lord after an extraordinary manner? And are not you your ſelves, whom I have converted, an Evidence of the Succeſs of my Imployment in the Goſpel? If others ſhould queſtion my being an Apoſtle, you at leaſt cannot doubt of it: Your Converſion to Chriſtianity is, as it were, a Seal ſet to it, to make good the Truth of my Apoſtleſhip. This then is my Anſwer to thoſe who ſet up an Inquiſition upon me: Have not I a right to Meat and Drink where I preach? Have not I and *Barnabas* a Power to take along with us in our Travelling, to propagate the Goſpel, a Chriſtian Woman (*b*) to provide our Conveniencies, and be ſerviceable to us, as well as *Peter*, and the Brethren of the Lord, and the reſt of the Apoſtles? Or is it I only and *Barnabas* who are excluded from the Privilege of being maintained without Working? Who goes to the War any where, and ſerves as a Soldier at his own Charges? Who planteth a Vineyard, and eateth not of the Fruit thereof? Who feedeth a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk? This is allowed to be Reaſon, that thoſe who are ſo imploy'd, ſhould be maintain'd by their Imployments; and ſo likewiſe a Preacher of the Goſpel. But I ſay not this barely upon the Principles of humane Reaſon, Revelation teaches the ſame thing in the Law of *Moſes*: Where it is ſaid, Thou ſhalt not muzzle the Mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the Corn. Doth God take care to provide ſo particularly for Oxen by a Law? No certainly, it is ſaid particularly for our ſakes, and not for Oxen, that he who ſows may ſow in hope of enjoying the Fruits of his Labour at Harveſt, and may then threſh out and eat the Corn he hoped for.

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NOTES.

1 (*a*) It was a Law amongſt the Jews, not to receive Alms from the Gentiles.

5 (*b*) There were not in thoſe Parts, as among us, Inns, where Travellers might have their Conveniencies: and Strangers could not be accommodated with Neceſſaries, unleſs they had ſome body with them to take that care, and provide for them. They who would make it their Buſineſs to preach, and neglect this, muſt needs ſuffer great Hardſhips.

An.Ch.57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

11. If we have ſowed to you ſpiritual things, in preaching the Goſpel to you, is it unreaſonable that we ſhould expect a little Meat and Drink from you, a
12. little Share of your carnal Things? If any partake of this Power over you (*c*), why not we much rather? But I made no uſe of it, but bear with any thing that I may avoid all Hindrance to the Progreſs of the Go-
13. ſpel. Do ye not know that they who in the Temple ſerve about holy things, live upon thoſe holy things? And they who wait at the Altar, are Partakers with
14. the Altar? So has the Lord ordained, that they who
15. preach the Goſpel, ſhould live of the Goſpel. But though as an Apoſtle and Preacher of the Goſpel, I have, as you ſee, a Right to Maintenance, yet I have not taken it: Neither have I written this to demand it. For I had rather periſh for Want, than be deprived of what I glory in, *viz.* preaching the Goſpel
16. freely. For if I preach the Goſpel, I do barely my Duty, but have nothing to glory in, for I am under
17. an Obligation and Command to preach (*d*); And wo be to me, if I preach not the Goſpel; which if I do willingly, I ſhall have a Reward: If unwillingly, the Diſpenſation is nevertheleſs intruſted to me, and
18. ye ought to hear me as an Apoſtle. How therefore do I make it turn to account to my ſelf? Even thus; If I preach the Goſpel of Chriſt of free Coſt, ſo that I exact not the Maintenance I have a Right to by the
19. Goſpel. For being under no Obligation to any Man, I yet ſubject my ſelf to every one, to the end that I
20. may make the more Converts to Chriſt. To the Jews and thoſe under the Law of *Moſes*, I became as a Jew, and one under that Law, that I might gain the

TEXT.

hope; and that he that threſheth in hope, ſhould be partaker of his hope.

11 If we have ſown unto you ſpiritual things, is it a great thing if we ſhall reap your carnal things?

12 If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheleſs, we have not uſed this power; but ſuffer all things, leſt we ſhould hinder the goſpel of Chriſt.

13 Do ye not know that they which miniſter about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar?

14 Even ſo hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the goſpel, ſhould live of the goſpel.

15 But I have uſed none of theſe things. Neither have I written theſe things that it ſhould be ſo done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man ſhould make my glorying void.

16 For though I preach the goſpel, I have nothing to glory of: for neceſſity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me, if I preach not the goſpel.

17 For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if againſt my will, a diſpenſation of the goſpel is committed unto me:

18 What is my reward then? verily that when I preach the goſpel, I may make the goſpel of Chriſt without charge, that I abuſe not my power in the goſpel.

19 For though I be free from all men, yet have I made my ſelf ſervant unto all, that I might gain the more.

20 And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to

NOTES.

12 (*c*) For τῆς ἐξουσίας, I ſhould encline to read, τῆς ὑλικῆς, if there be, as *Voſſius* ſays, any MSS. to authorize it: and then the words will run thus: *If any partake of your Subſtance.* This better ſuits the foregoing Words, and needs not the Addition of the word *this*, to be inſerted in the Tranſlation, which with Difficulty enough makes it refer to a Power which he was not here ſpeaking of, but ſtands eight Verſes off: Beſides in theſe Words St. *Paul* ſeems to glance at what they ſuffered from the falſe Apoſtle, who did not only pretend to Power of Maintenance; but did actually devour them: *Vid.* 2 Cor. 11. 20.

16 (*d*) *Vid.* Acts 22. 15——21.

Jews,

TEXT.

them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law;

21 To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Chriſt) that I might gain them that are without law.

22 To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means ſave ſome.

23 And this I do for the goſpel's ſake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.

24 Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? ſo run that ye may obtain.

25 And every man that ſtriveth for the maſtery, is temperate in all things: now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.

26 I therefore ſo run, not as uncertainly: ſo fight I, not as one that beateth the air:

27 But I keep under my body, and bring it into ſubjection: leſt that by any means when I have preached to others, I my ſelf ſhould be a caſt-away.

PARAPHRASE.

Jews, and thoſe under the Law: To thoſe without the Law of *Moſes* I applied my ſelf as one not under that Law (not indeed as if I were under no Law to God, but as obeying and following the Law of Chriſt) that I might gain thoſe who were without the Law. To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak. I became all things to all Men, that I might leave no lawful thing untried, whereby I might ſave People of all ſorts. And this I do for the Goſpel's ſake, that I my ſelf may ſhare in the Benefits of the Goſpel. Know ye not that they who run a Race, run not lazily, but with their utmoſt Force: they all endeavour to be firſt, becauſe there is but one that gets the Prize? It is not enough for you to run, but ſo to run, that ye may obtain; which they cannot do, who running only becauſe they are bid, do not run with all their Might. They who propoſe to themſelves the getting the Garland in your Games, readily ſubmit themſelves to ſevere Rules of Exerciſe and Abſtinence; and yet their's is but a fading tranſitory Crown; that which we propoſe to our ſelves is everlaſting, and therefore deſerves that we ſhould endure greater Hardſhips for it; I therefore ſo run, as not to leave it to Uncertainty. I do what I do, not as one who fences for Exerciſe or Oſtentation; but I really and in earneſt keep under my Body, and entirely inſlave it to the Service of the Goſpel, without allowing any thing to the Exigences of this animal Life, which may be the leaſt Hindrance to the Propagation of the Goſpel, leſt that I, who preach to bring others into the Kingdom of Heaven, ſhould be diſapproved of, and rejected my ſelf.

21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27.

SECT. VI. *N.* 1.

CHAP. X. 1——22.

CONTENTS.

IT ſeems by what he here ſays, as if the *Corinthians* had told St. *Paul*, that the Temptations and Conſtraints they were under, of going to their Heathen Neighbours Feaſts upon their Sacrifices, were ſo many and ſo great, that there was no avoiding it: And therefore they thought they might go to them without any Offence to God, or Danger to themſelves; ſince they were the People of God, purged from Sin by Baptiſm, and fenced againſt it by partaking of the Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper. To which St. *Paul* anſwers, that notwithſtanding their Baptiſm, and partaking of that ſpiritual Meat and Drink, yet they, as well as the Jews of old did, might ſin and draw on themſelves Deſtruction from the Hand of God; That eating of things that were known and owned to be offered to Idols, was partaking in

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3. the Idolatrous Worſhip, and therefore they were to prefer even the Danger of Perſecution before ſuch a Compliance; for God would find a way for them to eſcape.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Would not have you ignorant, Brethren, that all our Fathers, the whole Congregation of the Children of *Iſrael*, at their coming out of *Egypt*, were all to a Man under the Cloud, and all paſſed through the Sea; And
2. were all by this Baptiſm (*e*) in the Cloud; And paſſing through the Water, initiated into the Moſaical Inſtitution and Government, by theſe two Miracles of
3. the Cloud and the Sea. And they all ate the ſame Meat, which had a typical and ſpiritual Signification.
4. And they all drank the ſame ſpiritual typical Drink, which came out of the Rock, and followed them, which Rock typified Chriſt: All which were typical Repreſentations of Chriſt, as well as the Bread and Wine which we eat and drink in the Lord's Supper,
5. are typical Repreſentations of him. But yet tho' every one of the Children of *Iſrael* that came out of *Egypt* were thus ſolemnly ſeparated from the reſt of the profane idolatrous World, and were made God's peculiar People, ſanctified and holy, every one of them to himſelf, and Members of his Church: Nay, tho' they did all (*f*) partake of the ſame Meat, and the ſame Drink which did typically repreſent Chriſt, yet they were not thereby privileged from Sin, but great Numbers of them provoked God, and were deſtroy'd
6. in the Wilderneſs, for their Diſobedience. Now theſe things were ſet as Patterns to us, that we, warned by theſe Examples, ſhould not ſet our Minds a-longing as they did after Meats (*g*) that would be ſafer let
7. alone: Neither be ye Idolaters, as were ſome of them; as it is written, The people ſat down to eat and
8. drink, and roſe up to play (*h*). Neither let us commit Fornication, as ſome of them committed, and fell
9. in one day Three and twenty thouſand. Neither let us provoke Chriſt, as ſome of them provoked, and
10. were deſtroyed of Serpents. Neither murmur ye, as ſome of them murmured, and were deſtroyed of the

TEXT.

1 MOreover, brethren, I would not that ye ſhould be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all paſſed through the ſea;

2 And were all baptized unto Moſes in the cloud, and in the ſea;

3 And all did eat the ſame ſpiritual meat;

4 And did drink all the ſame ſpiritual drink: (for they drank of that ſpiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Chriſt)

5 But with many of them God was not well pleaſed: for they were overthrown in the wilderneſs.

6 Now theſe things were our examples to the intent we ſhould not luſt after evil things, as they alſo luſted.

7 Neither be ye idolaters, as were ſome of them; as it is written, The people ſat down to eat and drink, and roſe up to play.

8 Neither let us commit fornication, as ſome of them committed; and fell in one day three and twenty thouſand.

9 Neither let us tempt Chriſt, as ſome of them alſo tempted, and were deſtroyed of ſerpents.

10 Neither murmur ye, as ſome of them alſo murmured, and were deſtroyed of the deſtroyer.

NOTES.

2 (*e*) The Apoſtle calls it Baptiſm, which is the initiating Ceremony into both the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Church: And the Cloud and Sea both being nothing but Water, are well ſuited to that typical Repreſentation; and that the Children of *Iſrael* were waſhed with Rain from the Cloud, may be collected from *Pſal.* 68. 9.

5 (*f*) It may be obſerved here, that St. *Paul* ſpeaking of the *Iſraelites*, uſes the word πάντες *all*, five times in the four foregoing Verſes, beſides that he carefully ſays, τὸ αὐτὸ βρῶμα, the ſame Meat, and τὸ αὐτὸ πόμα, the ſame Drink, which we cannot ſuppoſe to come by Chance, but emphatically to ſignifie to the *Corinthians*, who probably preſumed too much upon their Baptiſm, and eating the Lord's Supper, as if that were enough to keep them right in the Sight of God; that tho' the *Iſraelites* all to a Man ate the very ſame ſpiritual Food, and all to a Man drank the very ſame ſpiritual Drink; yet they were not all to a Man preſerv'd, but many of them, for all that, ſinned and fell under the avenging Hand of God in the Wilderneſs.

6 (*g*) κακῶν, *evil things*: The Fault of the *Iſraelites* which this place refers to, ſeems to be their longing for Fleſh, *Numb.* 11. which coſt many of them their Lives: And that which he warns the *Corinthians* of here, is, their great Propenſion to the Pagan Sacrifice-Feaſts.

7 (*h*) *Play, i. e.* Dance; Feaſting and Dancing uſually accompanied the Heathen Sacrifices.

Deſtroyer

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

11 Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.

12 Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.

13 There hath no temptation taken you, but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.

14 Wherefore my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.

15 I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say.

16 The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?

17 For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.

18 Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?

19 What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that which is offered in sa-

PARAPHRASE.

Destroyer (*i*). Now all these things (*k*) happened to the Jews for Examples, and are written for our Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the Ages are come (*l*). Wherefore, taught by these Examples, let him that thinks himself safe by being in the Church, and partaking of the Christian Sacraments, take heed lest he fall into Sin, and so Destruction from God overtake him. Hitherto the Temptations you have met with have been but light and ordinary: If you should come to be pressed harder, God, who is faithful, and never forsakes those who forsake not him, will not suffer you to be tempted above your Strength, but will either enable you to bear the Persecution, or open you a way out of it. Therefore my Beloved, take care to keep off from Idolatry, and be not drawn to any Approaches near it by any Temptation or Persecution whatsoever. You are satisfied that you want not Knowledge (*m*). And therefore as to knowing Men I appeal to you, and make you Judges of what I am going to say in the Case. They who drink of the Cup of Blessing (*n*) which we bless in the Lord's Supper, do they not thereby partake of the Benefits purchased by Christ's Blood shed for them upon the Cross, which they here symbolically drink? And they who eat of the Bread broken (*o*) there, do they not partake in the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ, and profess to be Members of him: For by eating of that Bread we, though many in Number, are all united, and make but one Body, as many Grains of Corn are united into one Loaf. See how it is among the Jews, who are outwardly, according to the Flesh, by Circumcision the People of God. Among them they who eat of the Sacrifice, are Partakers of God's Table the Altar, have Fellowship with him, and share in the Benefit of the Sacrifice, as if it were offered for them. Do not mistake me, as if I hereby said, that the Idols of the Gentiles are Gods in reality; or that the things

11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

NOTES.

10 (*i*) Ὀλοθρευτὴς, *Destroyer*, was an Angel that had the Power to destroy, mentioned *Exod.* 12. 23. *Heb.* 11. 28.

11 (*k*) It is to be observed, that all these Instances, mentioned by the Apostle, of Destruction, which came upon the *Israelites*, who were in Covenant with God, and Partakers in those typical Sacraments above mentioned, were occasion'd by their luxurious Appetites about Meat and Drink, by Fornication, and by Idolatry, Sins which the *Corinthians* were inclined to, and which he here warns them against.

(*l*) So I think τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων, should be render'd, and not contrary to Grammar, *the End of the World*; because it is certain that τέλη and συντελεῖα τῦ αἰῶνος, or τῶν αἰώνων cannot signifie every where, as we render it, *the End of the World*; which denotes but one certain period of Time, for the World can have but one End, whereas those words signifie in different Places, different Periods of Time, as will be manifest to any one who will compare these Texts where they occur, *viz.* *Mat.* 13. 39, 40. and 24. 3. & 28. 20. 1 *Cor.* 10 11. *Heb.* 9. 26. It may be worth while therefore to consider whether αἰὼν hath not ordinarily a more natural Signification in the New Testament, by standing for a considerable length of time, passing under some one remarkable Dispensation.

15 (*m*) Vid. *ch.* 8. 1.

16 (*n*) *Cup of Blessing*, was a Name given by the Jews to a Cup of Wine, which they solemnly drank in the Passover, with Thanksgiving.

(*o*) This was also taken from the Custom of the Jews in the Passover, to break a Cake of Unleavened Bread.

offered

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

offered to them change their Nature, and are any thing really different from what they were before, ſo
20. as to affect us in our uſe of them (*p*): No, but this I ſay, that the things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to Devils, and not to God; and I would not that you ſhould have Fellowſhip, and be in League with Devils, as they who by eating of the things offered to them, enter into Covenant, Alliance and
21. Friendſhip with them. You cannot eat and drink with God as Friends at his Table in the Euchariſt, and entertain Familiarity and Friendſhip with Devils, by eating with them, and partaking of the Sacrifices offered to them (*q*): You cannot be Chriſtians and Idolaters too: Nor if you ſhould endeavour to join theſe inconſiſtent Rites, will it avail you any thing. For your partaking in the Sacraments of the Chriſtian Church, will no more exempt you from the Anger of God, and Puniſhment due to your Idolatry, than the eating of the ſpiritual Food, and drinking of the ſpiritual Rock, kept the baptized *Iſraelites*, who offended God by their Idolatry, or other Sins, from
22. being deſtroy'd in the Wilderneſs. Dare you, then, being eſpouſed to Chriſt, provoke the Lord to Jealouſie by Idolatry, which is ſpiritual Whoredom? Are you ſtronger than he, and able to reſiſt him when he lets looſe his Fury againſt you?

TEXT.

crifice to idols is any thing?

But I ſay, that the 20
things which the Gentiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye ſhould have fellowſhip with devils.

Ye cannot drink the 21
cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.

Do we provoke the 22
Lord to jealouſie? are we ſtronger than he?

NOTES.

19 (*p*) This is evident from what he ſays, *v.* 25, 27. that things offered to Idols may be eaten as well as any other Meat, ſo it be without partaking in the Sacrifice, and without Scandal.

21 (*q*) 'Tis plain by what the Apoſtle ſays, that the thing he ſpeaks againſt here, is, their aſſiſting at the Heathen Sacrifices, or at leaſt at the Feaſts in their Temples, upon the Sacrifice, which was a federal Right.

SECT. VI. *N.* 2.

CHAP. X. 23—XI. 1.

CONTENTS.

WE have here another of his Arguments againſt things offered to Idols, wherein he ſhews the Danger might be in it, from the Scandal it might give: ſuppoſing it a thing lawful in itſelf. He had formerly treated of this Subject, *ch.* 8. ſo far as to let them ſee, that there was no Good nor Virtue in eating things offered to Idols, notwithſtanding they knew that Idols were nothing, and they might think that their free eating without Scruple, ſhew'd that they knew their Freedom in the Goſpel, that they knew that Idols were in reality nothing, and therefore they ſlighted and diſregarded them and their Worſhip as nothing; but that there might be evil in eating, by the Offence it might give to weak Chriſtians, who had not that Knowledge; He here takes up the Argument of Scandal again, and extends it to Jews and Gentiles; *Vid.* ver. 32. and ſhews, that it is not enough to juſtifie them in any Action, that the thing they do is in it ſelf lawful, unleſs they ſeek in it the Glory of God, and the Good of others.

Farther,

An Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

23 All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edifie not.

24 Let no man seek his own: but every man another's wealth.

25 Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake.

26 For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

27 If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.

28 But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not, for his sake that shewed it, and for conscience sake. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.

29 Conscience I say, not thine own, but of the others: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?

30 For, if I by grace be a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?

31 Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.

32 Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God:

33 Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.

1 Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.

PARAPHRASE.

FArther, supposing it lawful to eat things offered to Idols, yet all things that are lawful are not expedient. Things that in themselves are lawful for me, may not tend to the Edification of others, and so may be fit to be forborn. No one must seek barely his own private particular Interest alone, but let every one seek the Good of others also. Eat whatever is sold in the Shambles, without any Enquiry or Scruple, whether it had been offered to any Idol or no: For the Earth and all therein are the good Creatures of the true God, given by him to Men for their Use. If an Heathen invite you to an Entertainment, and you go, eat whatever is set before you, without making any Question or Scruple about it, whether it had been offered in Sacrifice, or no. But if any one say to you, this was offered in Sacrifice to an Idol, eat it not for his sake that mentioned it, and for Conscience sake (*r*). Conscience, I say, not thine own (for thou knowest thy Liberty, and that an Idol is nothing) but the Conscience of the other. For why should I use my Liberty, so that another Man should in Conscience think I offended? And if I with Thanksgiving partake of what is lawful for me to eat, why do I order the Matter so, that I am ill spoken of for that which I bless God for? Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatever you do, let your Care and Aim be the Glory of God. Give no Offence to the Jews, by giving them Occasion to think that Christians are permitted to worship Heathen Idols; Nor to the Gentiles, by giving them occasion to think that you allow their Idolatry, by partaking of their Sacrifices; Nor to weak Members of the Church of God, by drawing them by your Example to eat of things offered to Idols, of the Lawfulness whereof they are not fully satisfied. As I my self do, who abridge my self of many Conveniencies of Life, to comply with the different Judgments of Men, and gain the good Opinion of others, that I may be instrumental to the Salvation of as many as is possible. Imitate herein my Example, as I do that of our Lord Christ, who neglected himself for the Salvation of others (*s*).

23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 1

NOTES.

28 (*r*) The Repetition of these words, *The Earth is the Lord's and the Fulness thereof*, does so manifestly disturb the Sense, that the Syriac, Arabick, Vulgar and French Translations have omitted them, and are justified in it by the Alexandrian, and some other Greek Copies.

1 (*s*) *Rom.* 15. 3. This Verse seems to belong to the precedent, wherein he had proposed himself as an Example, and therefore this Verse should not be cut off from the former Chapter. In what St. *Paul* says in this and the preceding Verse, taken together, we may suppose he makes some Reflection on the false Apostle, whom many of the Corinthians followed as their Leader. At least it is for St. *Paul*'s Justification, that he proposes himself to be followed no farther than as he sought the Good of others, and not his own, and had Christ for his Pattern. *Vid.* Ch. 4. 16.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. XI. 2——16.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* commends them for obſerving the Orders he had left with them, and uſes Arguments to juſtifie the Rule he had given them, that Women ſhould not pray or propheſie in their Aſſemblies uncovered, which it ſeems there was ſome Contention about, and they had writ to him to be reſolved in it.

PARAPHRASE.

2. I Commend you, Brethren, for remembring all my Orders, and for retaining thoſe Rules I delivered
3. to you when I was with you. But, for your better underſtanding what concerns Women (*t*) in your Aſſemblies, you are to take notice, that Chriſt is the Head to

TEXT.

NOW I praiſe you, 2 brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you.

But I would have you 3 know, that the head of

NOTES.

3 (*t*) This about Women ſeeming as difficult a Paſſage as moſt in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, I crave leave to premiſe ſome few Conſiderations which I hope may conduce to the clearing of it.

(1.) It is to be obſerved, that it was the Cuſtom for Women who appeared in publick, to be veiled, *ver.* 13——16. Therefore it could be no Queſtion at all, whether they ought to be veiled when they aſſiſted at the Prayers and Praiſes in the Publick Aſſemblies; or if that were the thing intended by the Apoſtle, it had been much eaſier, ſhorter, and plainer for him to have ſaid, that Women ſhould be covered in the Aſſemblies.

(2.) It is plain that this covering the Head in Women, is reſtrained to ſome particular Actions which they performed in the Aſſembly, expreſſed by the words, *Praying and Propheſying*, ver. 4, and 5. which, whatever they ſignifie, muſt have the ſame Meaning, when apply'd to the Women, in the 5*th* Verſe, that they have when apply'd to the Men in the 4*th* Verſe.

It will poſſibly be objected, If Women were to be veiled in the Aſſemblies, let thoſe Actions be what they will, the Women joyning in them were ſtill to be veiled.

Anſw. This would be plainly ſo, if their Interpretation were to be followed, who are of Opinion, that by *Praying and Propheſying* here, was meant to be preſent in the Aſſembly, and joyning with the Congregation in the Prayers that were made, or Hymns that were ſung, or in hearing the Reading and Expoſition of the Holy Scriptures there. But againſt this, that the hearing of Preaching or Propheſying was never called *Preaching* or *Propheſying*, is ſo unanſwerable an Objection, that I think there can be no Reply to it.

The Caſe in ſhort ſeems to be this: The Men prayed and propheſied in the Aſſemblies, and did it with their Heads uncovered: The Women alſo ſometimes prayed and propheſied too in the Aſſemblies, which when they did, they thought, during the performing that Action, they were excuſed from being veiled, and might be bare-headed, or at leaſt open-faced, as well as the Men. This was that which the Apoſtle reſtrains in them, and directs, that tho' they pray'd or propheſied, they were ſtill to remain veiled.

(3.) The next thing to be conſidered, is, what is here to be underſtood by *Praying* and *Propheſying*. And that ſeems to me to be the performing of ſome particular publick Action in the Aſſembly by ſome one Perſon, which was for that time peculiar to that Perſon, and whilſt it laſted, the reſt of the Aſſembly ſilently aſſiſted. For it cannot be ſuppoſed, that when the Apoſtle ſays, a Man praying or propheſying, that he means an Action perform'd in common by the whole Congregation; or if he did, what Pretence could that give the Woman to be unveiled more during the Performance of ſuch an Action, than at any other time? A Woman muſt be veiled in the Aſſembly, what Pretence then or Claim could it give her to be unveiled, that ſhe joyn'd with the reſt of the Aſſembly, in the Prayer that ſome one Perſon made? Such a Praying as this could give no more Ground for her being unveiled, than her being in the Aſſembly could be thought a Reaſon for her being unveil'd. The ſame may be ſaid of Propheſying, when underſtood to ſignify a Woman's joyning with the Congregation in ſinging the Praiſes of God. But if the Woman prayed as the Mouth of the Aſſembly, *&c.* then it was like ſhe might think ſhe might have the Privilege to be unveiled.

Praying and *Propheſying*, as hath been ſhewn, ſignifying here the doing ſome peculiar Action in the Aſſembly, whilſt the reſt of the Congregation only aſſiſted, let us in the next place examine what that Action was. As to *Propheſying*, the Apoſtle in expreſs Words tells us, *Ch.* 4. 3. & 12. that it was ſpeaking in the Aſſembly. The ſame is evident as to *Praying*, that the Apoſtle means by it praying publickly with an audible Voice in the Congregation, *Vid. Ch.* 14. 14—— 19.

(4.) It

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Neronis 3.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

every man is Chriſt; and the head of the woman, is

to which every Man is ſubjected, and the Man is the Head to which every Woman is ſubjected; and that the

NOTES.

(4.) It is to be obſerv'd, that whether any one pray'd or propheſied, they did it alone, the reſt remaining ſilent, *ch.* 14. 27——33. So that even in theſe extraordinary Praiſes which any one ſung to God by the immediate Motion and Impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt, which was one of the Actions called Propheſying, they ſung alone. And indeed how could it be otherwiſe? For who could joyn with the Perſon ſo propheſying in things dictated to him alone by the Holy Ghoſt, which the others could not know, till the Perſon propheſying uttered them?

(5.) Propheſying, as St. *Paul* tells, *ch.* 14. 3. was ſpeaking unto others to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: But every ſpeaking to others to any of theſe Ends, was not Propheſying, but only then when ſuch Speaking was a ſpiritual Gift perform'd by the immediate and extraordinary Motion of the Holy Ghoſt, *Vid.* ch. 14. 1, 12, 24, 30. For example, ſinging Praiſes to God was called Propheſying; but we ſee when *Saul* propheſied, the Spirit of God fell upon him, and he was turn'd into another Man, 1 *Sam.* 10. 6. Nor do I think any Place in the New Teſtament can be produced wherein propheſying ſignifies bare reading of the Scripture, or any other Action perform'd without a ſupernatural Impulſe and Aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God. This we are ſure, that Propheſying which St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of, is one of the extraordinary Gifts given by the Spirit of God, *Vid.* ch. 12. 10. Now that the Spirit of God, and the Gift of Propheſy ſhould be poured out upon Women as well as Men, in the time of the Goſpel, is plain from *Acts* 11. 17. and then where could be a fitter place for them to utter their Propheſies in than the Aſſemblies?

It is not unlikely what one of the moſt learned and ſagacious of our Interpreters of Scripture ſuggeſts upon this place, *viz.* That Chriſtian Women might, out of a Vanity incident to that Sex, propoſe to themſelves and affect an Imitation of the Prieſts and Propheteſſes of the Gentiles, who had their Faces uncovered when they utter'd their Oracles, or officiated in their Sacrifices: But I cannot but wonder that that very acute Writer ſhould not ſee that the bare being in the Aſſembly could not give a Chriſtian Woman any Pretence to that Freedom. None of the *Bacchai* or *Pythia* quitted their ordinary modeſt Guiſe, but when ſhe was, as the Poets expreſs it, *Rapta* or *plena Deo*, poſſeſs'd and hurried by the Spirit ſhe ſerved. And ſo, poſſibly, a Chriſtian Woman, when ſhe found the Spirit of God poured out upon her, as *Joel* expreſſes it, exciting her to pray or ſing Praiſes to God, or diſcover any Truth immediately revealed to her, might think it convenient for her better uttering of it to be uncovered, or at leaſt to be no more reſtrain'd in her Liberty of ſhewing herſelf, than the Female Prieſts of the Heathens were when they delivered their Oracles: But yet even in theſe Actions the Apoſtle forbids the Women to unveil themſelves. *Mr.* Mede Diſcr. 16.

St. *Paul*'s forbidding Women to ſpeak in the Aſſemblies, will probably ſeem a ſtrong Argument againſt this: But when well conſider'd, will perhaps prove none. There be two places wherein the Apoſtle forbids Women to ſpeak in the Church, 1 *Cor.* 14. 34, 35. & 1 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. He that ſhall attentively read and compare theſe together, may obſerve that the Silence injoyn'd the Women, is for a Mark of their Subjection to the Male Sex: And therefore what in the one is expreſſed by *keeping Silence, and not ſpeaking, but being under Obedience*, in the other is call'd, *being in Silence with all Subjection, not teaching or uſurping Authority over the Man.* The Women in the Churches were not to aſſume the Perſonage of Doctors, or ſpeak there as Teachers; this carried with it the Appearance of Superiority, and was forbidden. Nay, they were not ſo much as to ask Queſtions there, or to enter into any ſort of Conference. This ſhews a kind of Equality, and was alſo forbidden: But yet tho' they were not to ſpeak in the Church in their own Names, or as if they were raiſed by the Franchiſes of Chriſtianity, to ſuch an Equality with the Men, that where Knowledge or Preſumption of their own Abilities emboldened them to it, they might take upon them to be Teachers and Inſtructors of the Congregation, or might at leaſt enter into Queſtionings and Debates there. This would have had too great an Air of ſtanding upon even Ground with the Men, and would not have well comported with the Subordination of the Sex. But yet this Subordination which God, for Order's ſake, had inſtituted in the World, hinder'd not, but that by the ſupernatural Gifts of the Spirit he might make uſe of the weaker Sex, to any extraordinary Function when ever he thought fit, as well as he did of the Men. But yet when they thus either pray'd or propheſied by the Motion and Impulſe of the Holy Ghoſt, Care was taken that whilſt they were obeying God, who was pleas'd by his Spirit to ſet them a ſpeaking, the Subjection of their Sex ſhould not be forgotten, but owned and preſerved by their being covered. The Chriſtian Religion was not to give Offence by any Appearance or Suſpicion that it took away the Subordination of the Sexes, and ſet the Women at Liberty from their natural Subjection to the Man. And therefore we ſee that in both theſe Caſes, the Aim was to maintain and ſecure the confeſſed Superiority and Dominion of the Man, and not permit it to be invaded ſo much as in appearance. Hence the Arguments in the one Caſe for Covering, and in the other for Silence, are all drawn from the natural Superiority of the Man, and the Subjection of the Woman. In the one, the Woman, without an extraordinary Call, was to keep ſilent, as a Mark of her Subjection: In the other, where ſhe was to ſpeak by an extraordinary Call and Commiſ-

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

the Head or Superior to Chriſt himſelf, is God.
4. Every Man that prayeth or propheſieth, *i. e.* by the Gift of the Spirit of God, ſpeaketh in the Church for the edifying, exhorting and comforting of the Congregation, having his Head covered, diſhonoureth Chriſt his Head, by appearing in a Garb not becoming the Authority and Dominion which God thro' Chriſt has given him over all the things of this World, the covering of the Head being a Mark of Subjection:
5. But on the contrary, a Woman praying or propheſying in the Church with her Head uncovered, diſhonoureth the Man, who is her Head, by appearing in a Garb that diſowns her Subjection to him. For to appear bare-headed in publick, is all one as to have her Hair cut off, which is the Garb and Dreſs of the
6. other Sex, and not of a Woman. If therefore it be unſuitable to the Female Sex, to have their Hair ſhorn or ſhaved off, let her for the ſame Reaſon be co-
7. vered. A Man indeed ought not to be veiled, becauſe he is the Image and Repreſentative of God in his Dominion over the reſt of the World, which is one
8. part of the Glory of God: But the Woman who was made out of the Man, made for him, and in Subjecti-
9. on to him, is Matter of Glory to the Man. But the Man not being made out of the Woman, nor for her, but the Woman made out of, and for the Man, ſhe
10. ought for this Reaſon to have a Veil on her Head, in token of her Subjection, becauſe of the Angels (*u*).
11. Nevertheleſs the Sexes have not a Being one without the other, neither the Man without the Woman, or the Woman without the Man, the Lord ſo ordering
12. it. For as the firſt Woman was made out of the Man, ſo the Race of Men ever ſince is continued and propagated by the Female Sex: But they and all other
13. things had their Being and Original from God. Be you your ſelves Judges, whether it be decent for a Woman to make a Prayer to God in the Church un-
14. covered? Does not even Nature, that has made and would have the Diſtinction of Sexes preſerved, teach you, that if a Man wear his long Hair, and dreſſed up after the Manner of Women, it is misbecoming
15. and diſhonourable to him? But to a Woman, if ſhe be curious about her Hair, in having it long, and dreſſing herſelf with it, it is a Grace and Commendation, ſince her Hair is given her for a Covering.
16. But if any ſhew himſelf to be a Lover of Contention (*w*) we the Apoſtles have no ſuch Cuſtom, nor any of the Churches of God.

TEXT.

the man; and the head of Chriſt, is God.

Every man praying or 4
propheſying, having his head covered, diſhonoureth his head.

But every woman that 5
prayeth, or propheſieth with her head uncovered, diſhonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if ſhe were ſhaven.

For if the woman be not 6
covered, let her alſo be ſhorn: but if it be a ſhame for a woman to be ſhorn or ſhaven, let her be covered.

For a man indeed ought 7
not to cover his head, foraſmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.

For the man is not of 8
the woman: but the woman of the man.

Neither was the man 9
created for the woman: but the woman for the man.

For this cauſe ought the 10
woman to have power on her head, becauſe of the angels.

Nevertheleſs, neither is 11
the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord.

For as the woman is of 12
the man, even ſo is the man alſo by the woman: but all things of God.

Judge in your ſelves: 13
is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?

Doth not even nature 14
it ſelf teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a ſhame unto him?

But if a woman have 15
long hair, it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering.

But if any man ſeem to 16
be contentious, we have no ſuch cuſtom, neither the churches of God.

NOTES.

ſion from God, ſhe was yet to continue in the Profeſſion of her Subjection in keeping herſelf covered. Here by the way it is to be obſerved, that there was extraordinary praying to God by the Impulſe of the Spirit, as well as ſpeaking unto Men for their Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: *Vid.* ch. 14. 15. *Rom.* 8. 26. Jude 20. Theſe things being premiſed, let us follow the Thread of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe.

10 (*u*) What the meaning of theſe Words is, I confeſs I do not underſtand.

16 (*w*) Why may not this *any one* be underſtood of the falſe Apoſtle here glanced at?

SECT.

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SECT. VIII.

CHAP. XI. 17——34.

CONTENTS.

ONE may obſerve from ſeveral Paſſages in this Epiſtle, that ſeveral Judaical Cuſtoms were crept into the Corinthian Church. This Church being of St. *Paul*'s own planting, who ſpent two Years at *Corinth* in forming it; it is evident theſe Abuſes had their Riſe from ſome other Teacher, who came to them after his leaving them, which was about five Years before his writing this Epiſtle. Theſe Diſorders therefore may with Reaſon be aſcribed to the Head of the Faction that oppoſed St. *Paul*, who, as has been remarked, was a Jew, and probably Judaized. And that 'tis like was the Foundation of the great Oppoſition between him and St. *Paul*, and the Reaſon why St *Paul* labours ſo earneſtly to deſtroy his Credit amongſt the Corinthians; this ſort of Men being very buſy, very troubleſome, and very dangerous to the Goſpel, as may be ſeen in other of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, particularly that to the *Galatians*.

The celebrating the Paſſover amongſt the Jews, was plainly the eating of a Meat diſtinguiſhed from other ordinary Meals by ſeveral peculiar Ceremonies. Two of theſe Ceremonies were eating of Bread ſolemnly broken, and drinking a Cup of Wine called the Cup of Bleſſing. Theſe two our Saviour transferr'd into the Chriſtian Church, to be uſed in their Aſſemblies for a Commemoration of his Death and Sufferings. In celebrating this Inſtitution of our Saviour, the Judaizing Corinthians followed the Jewiſh Cuſtom of eating their Paſſover: They ate the Lord's Supper as a part of their Meat, bringing their Proviſions into the Aſſembly, where they ate divided into diſtinct Companies, ſome Feaſting to Exceſs, whilſt others, ill provided, were in Want. This eating thus in the publick Aſſembly, and mixing the Lord's Supper with their ordinary Meal, as a part of it, with other Diſorders and Indecencies accompanying it, is the Matter of this Section. Theſe Innovations he tells them here he as much blames, as in the Beginning of this Chapter he commends them for keeping to his Directions in ſome other things.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*
17 NOw in this that I declare unto you, I praiſe you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worſe.	THO' what I ſaid to you concerning Womens Behaviour in the Church was not without Commendation of you, yet this that I am now going to ſpeak to you of, is without praiſing you, becauſe you ſo order your Meetings in your Aſſemblies, that they 17.
18 For firſt of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be diviſions among you; and I partly believe it.	are not to your Advantage but Harm. For firſt I hear, 18.
19 For there muſt be alſo hereſies among you, that they which are approved, may be made manifeſt among you.	that when you come together in the Church, you fall into Parties, and I partly believe it; Becauſe there 19. muſt be Diviſions and Factions amongſt you, that thoſe who ſtand firm upon Trial may be made manifeſt among you.
20 When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's ſupper.	You come together it's true in one 20. place, and there you eat, but yet this makes it not to be the eating of the Lord's Supper.
21 For in eating every one taketh before other, his own ſupper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken.	For in eating you 21. eat not together, but every one takes his own Supper

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

22. one before another (*x*). Have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in at home for ſatisfying your Hunger and Thirſt? Or have ye a Contempt for the Church of God, and take a Pleaſure to put thoſe out of Countenance, who have not wherewithal to feaſt there as you do? What is it I ſaid to you, that I praiſe you (*y*) for retaining what I delivered to you? In this
23. Occaſion indeed I praiſe you not for it. For what I received concerning this Inſtitution from the Lord himſelf, that I delivered unto you when I was with you; and it was this, *viz.* That the Lord Jeſus, in the
24. Night wherein he was betray'd, took Bread, and having given Thanks brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in
25. Remembrance of me. So likewiſe he took the Cup alſo when he had ſupped, ſaying, This Cup is the New Teſtament in my Blood, this do ye as often as
26. ye do it in Remembrance of Me. So that the eating of this Bread, and the drinking of this Cup of the Lord's Supper, is not to ſatisfy Hunger and Thirſt,
27. but to ſhew forth the Lord's Death till he comes. Inſomuch that he who eats this Bread, and drinks this Cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner (*z*), not ſuitable to that End, ſhall be guilty of a Miſ-uſe of the

TEXT.

What, have ye not houſes to eat and to drink in? Or deſpiſe ye the church of God, and ſhame them that have not? what ſhall I ſay to you? ſhall I praiſe you in this? I praiſe you not. 22

For I have received of the Lord, that which alſo I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jeſus, the ſame night in which he was betrayed, took bread: 23

And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and ſaid, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. 24

After the ſame manner alſo he took the cup, when he had ſupped, ſaying, This cup is the new teſtament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. 25

For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do ſhew the Lords death till he come. 26

Wherefore, whoſoever ſhall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, ſhall be guilty 27

NOTES.

21 (*x*) To underſtand this we muſt obſerve,

(1.) That they had ſometimes Meetings on purpoſe only for eating the Lord's Supper, *ver.* 33.

(2.) That to thoſe Meetings they brought their own Supper, *ver.* 21.

(3.) That tho' every one's Supper were brought into the common Aſſembly, yet it was not to eat in common, but every one fell to his own Supper apart, as ſoon as he and his Supper were there ready for one another, without ſtaying for the reſt of the Company, or communicating with them in eating, *ver.* 21, 23.

In this St. *Paul* blames three things eſpecially;

1*ſt*, That they ate their common Food in the Aſſembly, which was to be eaten at home in their Houſes, *ver.* 22, 34.

2*dly*, That tho' they ate in the common Meeting-place, yet they ate ſeparately every one his own Supper apart. So that the Plenty and Exceſs of ſome, ſhamed the Want and Penury of others, *ver.* 22. Hereby alſo the Diviſions amongſt them were kept up, *ver.* 18. they being as ſo many ſeparated and divided Societies, not as one united Body of Chriſtians commemorating their common Head, as they ſhou'd have been in celebrating the Lord's Supper, *ch.* 10. 16, 17.

3*dly*, That they mixed the Lord's Supper with their own, eating it as a part of their ordinary Meal, where they made not that Diſcrimination between it and their common Food, as they ſhould have done, *ver.* 29.

22 (*y*) He here plainly refers to what he ſaid to them, *ver.* 2. where he praiſed them for remembring him in all things, and for retaining τὰς παραδόσεις καθὼς παρέδωκα, what he had delivered to them. This Commendation he here retracts, for in this matter of Eating the Lord's Supper, they did not retain ὃ παρέδωκα, *ver.* 23. what he had *delivered* to them, which therefore in the immediately following words he repeats to them again.

27 (*z*) Ἀναξίως, *unworthily*. Our Saviour in the Inſtitution of the Lord's Supper tells the Apoſtles, that the Bread and the Cup were Sacramentally his Body and Blood, and that they were to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him, which as St. *Paul* interprets it, *ver.* 26. was to ſhew forth his Death till he came. Whoever therefore ate and drank them, ſo as not ſolemnly to ſhew forth his Death, followed not Chriſt's Inſtitution, but uſed them *unworthily*, *i. e.* not to the end to which they were inſtituted. This makes St. *Paul* tell them, *ver.* 20. that their coming together to eat it as they did, *viz.* the Sacramental Bread and Wine promiſcuouſly with their other Food, as a part of their Meal, and that tho' in the ſame place, yet not altogether at one time, and in one Company, was not the eating of the Lord's Supper.

Body

TEXT.

of the body and blood of the Lord.

28 But let a man examine himſelf, and ſo let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.

29 For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himſelf, not diſcerning the Lord's body.

PARAPHRASE.

Body and Blood of the Lord (*a*). By this Inſtitution therefore of Chriſt, let a Man examine himſelf (*b*), and according to that (*c*) let him eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. For he who eats and drinks after an unworthy manner, without a due reſpect had to the Lord's Body in a diſcriminating (*d*) and purely Sacramental Uſe of the Bread and Wine that repreſent 28. 29.

NOTES.

(*a*) Ἔνοχος ἔσται, ſhall be liable to the Puniſhment due to one who makes a wrong uſe of the Sacramental Body and Blood of Chriſt in the Lord's Supper. What that Puniſhment was, *Vid.* ver. 30.

28 (*b*) St. *Paul*, as we have obſerv'd, tells the Corinthians, *ver.* 20. That to eat it after the manner they did, was not to eat the Lord's Supper. He tells them alſo, *ver.* 29. That to eat it without a due and direct imitating Regard had to the Lord's Body (for ſo he calls the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as our Saviour did in the Inſtitution) by ſeparating the Bread and Wine from the common uſe of Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirſt, was to eat unworthily. To remedy their Diſorders herein, he ſets before them Chriſt's own Inſtitution of this Sacrament; that in it they might ſee the Manner and End of its Inſtitution, and by that every one might examine his own Comportment herein, whether it were conformable to that Inſtitution, and ſuited to that End. In the Account he gives of Chriſt's Inſtitution, we may obſerve that he particularly remarks to them, that this Eating and Drinking was no part of common Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirſt; but was inſtituted in a very ſolemn manner, after they had ſupped, and for another end, *viz.* to repreſent Chriſt's Body and Blood, and to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him: or as St. *Paul* expounds it, to ſhew forth his Death. Another thing which they might obſerve in the Inſtitution was, that this was done by all who were preſent united together in one Company at the ſame time. All which put together, ſhews us what the Examination here propoſed is. For the Deſign of the Apoſtle here being to reform what he found fault with in their celebrating the Lord's Supper, 'tis by that alone we muſt underſtand the Directions he gives them about it, if we will ſuppoſe he talked pertinently to this captious and touchy People, whom he was very deſirous to reduce from the Irregularities they were run into in this Matter, as well as ſeveral others. And if the Account of Chriſt's Inſtitution be not for their examining their Carriage by it, and adjuſting it to it, to what purpoſe is it here? The Examination therefore propos'd was no other but an Examination of their manner of eating the Lord's Supper by Chriſt's Inſtitution, to ſee how their Behaviour herein comported with the Inſtitution, and the end for which it was inſtituted. Which farther appears to be ſo by the Puniſhment annexed to their Miſcarriages herein, which was Infirmities, Sickneſs and temporal Death, with which God chaſtened them, that they might not be condemned with the unbelieving World, *ver.* 30, 32. For if the Unworthineſs here ſpoke of were either Unbelief, or any of thoſe Sins which are uſually made the Matter of Examination, 'tis to be preſumed the Apoſtle would not wholly have paſſed them over in Silence: This at leaſt is certain, that the Puniſhment of theſe Sins is infinitely greater than that which God here inflicts on unworthy Receivers, whether they who are guilty of them received the Sacrament or no.

(*c*) Καὶ ἕτως· Theſe words as to the Letter, are rightly tranſlated *and ſo*. But that Tranſlation, I imagine, leaves generally a wrong Senſe of the Place in the Mind of an Engliſh Reader. For in ordinary ſpeaking, theſe Words, *Let a Man examine, and ſo let him eat*, are underſtood to import the ſame with theſe: *Let a Man examine, and then let him eat*; as if they ſignified no more, but that Examination ſhould precede, and Eating follow, which I take to be quite different from the Meaning of the Apoſtle here, whoſe Senſe the whole Deſign of the Context ſhews to be this: *Here ſet before you the Inſtitution of Chriſt, by that let a Man examine his Carriage, καὶ ἕτως, and according to that let him eat: Let him conform the manner of his eating to that.*

(*d*) 29 Μὴ διακρίνων, not *diſcriminating*, not putting a Difference between the Sacramental Bread and Wine (which St. *Paul*, with our Saviour, calls Chriſt's Body) and other Bread and Wine in the ſolemn and ſeparate uſe of them. The Corinthians, as has been remark'd, ate the Lord's Supper in, and with their own ordinary Supper, whereby it came not to be ſufficiently diſtinguiſh'd (as became a religious and Chriſtian Obſervance ſo ſolemnly inſtituted) from common Eating for bodily Refreſhment, nor from the Jewiſh Paſcal Supper, and the Bread broken, and the Cup of Bleſſing uſed in that; nor did it in this way of eating it in ſeparate Companies, as it were in private Families, ſhew forth the Lord's Death, as it was deſigned to do by the Concurrence and Communion of the whole Aſſembly of Chriſtians, jointly united in the partaking of Bread and Wine in a way peculiar to them, with reference ſolely to Jeſus Chriſt. This was that, as appears by this place, which St. *Paul*, as we have already explained, calls *eating unworthily*.

PARAPHRASE.

it, draws Punishment (*e*) on himself by so doing.
30. And hence it is that many among you are weak and sick, and a good Number are gone to their Graves.
31. But if we would discriminate (*f*) our selves, *i. e.* by our discriminating use of the Lord's Supper, we should
32. not be judged, *i. e.* (*g*) punished by God. But being punished by the Lord, we are corrected (*h*), that we may not be condemned hereafter with the unbelie-
33. ving World. Wherefore, my Brethren, when you have a Meeting for celebrating the Lord's Supper, stay for one another, that you may eat it all together, as Partakers all in common of the Lord's Table, without
34. Division or Distinction. But if any one be hungry, let him eat at home to satisfie his Hunger, that so the Disorder in these Meetings may not draw on you the Punishment above-mentioned: What else remains to be rectified in this matter, I will set in order when I come.

TEXT.

For this cause many are 30
weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.

For if we would judge 31
our selves, we should not be judged.

But when we are judg- 32
ed, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.

Wherefore, my brethren, 33
when ye come together, to eat, tarry one for another.

And if any man hun- 34
ger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. And the rest will I set in order when I come.

NOTES.

(*e*) *Damnation*, by which our Translation renders κρίμα, is vulgarly taken for eternal Damnation in the other World, whereas κρίμα here signifies Punishment of another nature, as appears by *ver.* 30, 32.

(*f*) Διακρίνειν does no where, that I know, signifie to *judge*, as it is here translated, but always signifies to *distinguish* or *discriminate*, and in this place has the same Signification, and means the same thing that it does, *ver.* 29. He is little versed in St. *Paul's* Writings, who has not observ'd how apt he is to repeat the same word he had used before to the same purpose, tho' in a different, and sometimes a pretty hard Construction; as here he applies διακρίνειν, to the Persons discriminating, as in the 29*th* Verse, to the thing to be discriminated, tho' in both places it be put to denote the same Action.

(*g*) Ἐκρινόμεθα here signifies the same that κρίμα does, *ver.* 29.

32 (*h*) Παιδευόμεθα properly signifies to be corrected, as Scholars are by their Master for their good.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XII. 1— XIV. 40.

CONTENTS.

THE Corinthians seem to have enquired of St. *Paul*, what Order of Precedency and Preference Men were to have in their Assemblies, in regard of their Spiritual Gifts. Nay, if we may guess by his Answer, the Question they seem more particularly to have propos'd, was, whether those who had the Gift of Tongues, ought not to take place, and speak first, and be first heard in their Meetings. Concerning this there seems to have been some Strife, Maligning and Disorder amongst them, as may be collected from *Ch.* 12. 21——25. & 13. 4, 5. & 14. 40.

To this St. *Paul* answers in these three Chapters as followeth.

1. That they had all been Heathen Idolaters, and so being Deniers of Christ, were in that State none of them *Spiritual:* But that now being Christians, and owning Jesus to be the Lord (which could not be done without the Spirit of God) they were all πνευματικοὶ, *Spiritual*; and so there was no reason for one to undervalue another, as if he were not Spiritual as well as himself, *Ch.* 12. 1——3.

2. That

2. That tho' there be diverſity of Gifts, yet they are all by the ſame Spirit, from the ſame Lord, and the ſame God working them all in every one, according to his good Pleaſure. So that in this reſpect alſo there is no Difference or Precedency; no occaſion for any one's being puffed up, or affecting Priority, upon account of his Gifts, *Ch.* 12. 4——11. *An. Ch.* 57. *Neronis* 3.

3. That the Diverſity of Gifts is for the Uſe and Benefit of the Church, which is Chriſt's Body, wherein the Members (as in the natural Body) of meaner Functions are as much Parts, and as neceſſary in their Uſe to the good of the whole, and therefore to be honour'd as much as any other. The Union they have as Members in the ſame Body, makes them all equally ſhare in one another's Good and Evil, gives them a mutual Eſteem and Concern one for another, and leaves no room for Conteſts or Diviſions amongſt them, about their Gifts, or the Honour and Place due to them upon that account, *Ch.* 12. 12.——41.

4. That tho' Gifts have their Excellency and Uſe, and thoſe who have them may be zealous in the Uſe of them; yet the true and ſure way for a Man to get an Excellency and Preference above others, is the enlarging himſelf in Charity, and excelling in that, without which a Chriſtian, with all his ſpiritual Gifts, is nothing.

5. In the compariſon of ſpiritual Gifts, he gives thoſe the Precedency which edify moſt, and in particular prefers Propheſying to Tongues, *Ch.* 14. 1——40.

SECT. IX. *N.* 1.

CHAP. XII. 1—3.

TEXT.

1 NOW concerning ſpiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant.

2 Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto theſe dumb idols, even as ye were led.

3 Wherefore I give you to underſtand, that no man ſpeaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jeſus accurſed: and that no man can ſay that Jeſus is

PARAPHRASE.

AS to ſpiritual Men, or Men aſſiſted and acted by the Spirit (*i*), I ſhall inform you, for I would not have you be ignorant. You your ſelves know that you were Heathens ingaged in the Worſhip of Stocks and Stones, dumb ſenſeleſs Idols, by thoſe who were then your Leaders. Whereupon let me tell you, that no one who oppoſes Jeſus Chriſt, or his Religion, has the Spirit of God (*k*). And whoever is brought to own Jeſus to be the Meſſiah, the Lord (*l*), does it by the Holy Ghoſt. And therefore upon account of having the Spirit, you can none of you lay any Claim to Superiority; or have any Pretence to ſlight any of your Brethren, as not having the Spirit of God as well as you. For all that own our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1. 2. 3.

NOTES.

1 (*i*) Πνευματικῶν *Spiritual.* We are warranted by a like uſe of the word in ſeveral places of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, as *ch.* 2. 15. & 14. 37. of this Epiſtle; & *Gal.* 6. 1. to take it here in the Maſculine Gender, ſtanding for Perſons and not Gifts. And the Context obliges us to underſtand it ſo. For if we will have it ſtand for Gifts, and not Perſons, the Senſe and Coherence of theſe three firſt Verſes will be very hard to be made out. Beſides there is Evidence enough in ſeveral Parts of it, that the Subject of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here is πνευματικοὶ, Perſons endowed with ſpiritual Gifts, contending for Precedency in conſideration of their Gifts. See *ver.* 13, &c. of this Chapter; and to what purpoſe elſe, ſays he, *ch.* 14. 5. *Greater* is he that propheſieth than he that ſpeaketh with Tongues?

3 (*k*) This is ſpoken againſt the Jews, who pretended to the Holy Ghoſt, and yet ſpoke againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and denied that the Holy Ghoſt was ever given to the Gentiles: *Vid. Acts* 10. 45. whether their Judaizing falſe Apoſtle were at all glanced at in this, may be conſidered.

(*l*) *Lord.* What is meant by Lord, ſee *Note*, ch. 8. 6.

and

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

and believe in him, do it by the Spirit of God, *i. e.* can do it upon no other Ground, but Revelation coming from the Spirit of God.

TEXT.

the Lord, but by the holy Ghoſt.

SECT. IX. *N.* 2.

CHAP. XII. 4——11.

CONTENTS.

AN other Conſideration which *St. Paul* offers againſt any Contention for Superiority, or Pretence to Precedency, upon account of any ſpiritual Gift, is, that thoſe diſtinct Gifts are all of one and the ſame Spirit, by the ſame Lord, wrought in every one by God alone, and all for the Profit of the Church.

PARAPHRASE.

4. BE not miſtaken by the Diverſity of Gifts; for tho' there be Diverſity of Gifts amongſt Chriſtians, yet there is no Diverſity of Spirits, they all come from one and the ſame Spirit: Tho' there be Diverſi-
5. ties of Offices in the Church, yet all the Officers
6. (*m*) have but one Lord. And tho' there be various Influxes whereby Chriſtians are enabled to do extraordinary things (*n*), yet it is the ſame God that works (*o*) all theſe extraordinary Gifts in every one that has
7. them. But the way or Gift wherein every one, who has the Spirit, is to ſhew it, is given him not for his private Advantage or Honour (*p*), but for the Good
8. and Advantages of the Church. For inſtance, to one is given by the Spirit the word of Wiſdom (*q*), or the Revelation of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt in the full Latitude of it. Such as was given to the Apoſtles; to another by the ſame Spirit the Knowledge (*r*) of the true Senſe and true Meaning of the holy Scriptures of the Old Teſtament, for the explaining and
9. confirmation of the Goſpel: To another by the ſame

TEXT.

4 NOw there are diverſities of gifts, but the ſame Spirit.

5 And there are differences of adminiſtrations, but the ſame Lord.

6 And there are diverſities of operations, but it is the ſame God which worketh all in all.

7 But the manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.

8 For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wiſdom; to another the word of knowledge by the ſame Spirit;

9 To another faith by the ſame Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the ſame Spirit;

NOTES.

5 (*m*) Theſe different Offices are reckon'd up, *ver.* 28, &c.

6 (*n*) What theſe ἐνεργήματα were, ſee *ver.* 8——11.

(*o*) They were very properly called ἐνεργήματα—*In-workings*, becauſe they were above all humane Power: Men of themſelves could do nothing of them at all, but it was God, as the Apoſtle tells us here, who in theſe extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, did all that was done, it was the Effect of his immediate Operation, as St. *Paul* aſſures us in that parallel place, *Phil.* 11. 13. In which Chapter, *ver.* 3, & 14. we find that the Philippians ſtood a little in need of the ſame Advice which St. *Paul* ſo at large preſſes here upon the Corinthians.

7 (*p*) Vid. *Rom.* 12. 3——8.

8 (*q*) Σοφία, The Doctrine of the Goſpel is more than once in the beginning of this Epiſtle called the *Wiſdom of God.*

(*r*) Γνῶσις is uſed by St. *Paul* for ſuch a *Knowledge* of the Law and the Prophets.

Spirit

TEXT.

10 To another the working of miracles; to another prophesie; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.

11 But all these worketh that one and the self same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.

PARAPHRASE.

Spirit is given an undoubting Persuasion (*s*) and stedfast Confidence of performing what he is going about; To another the Gift of curing Diseases by the same Spirit; To another the working of Miracles; To another Prophesie (*t*); To another the discerning by what Spirit Men did any extraordinary Operation; To another Diversity of Languages; To another the Interpretation of Languages. All which Gifts are wrought in Believers by one and the same Spirit, distributing to every one in particular as he thinks fit. 10. 11.

NOTES.

9 (*s*) In this Sense πίστις *Faith*, is sometimes taken in the New Testament, particularly *ch.* 13. 2. It is difficult, I confess, to define the precise meaning of each Word which the Apostle uses in the 8*th*, 9*th*, and 10*th* Verses here. But if the Order which St. *Paul* observes in enumerating by 1*st*, 2*d*, 3*d*, the three first Officers set down, *ver.* 28. viz. *First*, *Apostles*; *Secondly*, *Prophets*; *Thirdly*, *Teachers*, have any relation, or may give any Light to these three Gifts which are set down in the first place here, *viz.* *Wisdom*, *Knowledge*, and *Faith*; we may then properly understand by σοφία, *Wisdom*, the whole Doctrine of the Gospel, as communicated to the Apostles: By γνῶσις, *Knowledge*, the Gift of understanding the mystical Sense of the Law and the Prophets, and by πίστις, *Faith*, the Assurance and Confidence in delivering and confirming the Doctrine of the Gospel, which became διδασκάλους, *Doctors* or *Teachers*. This at least I think may be presumed, that since σοφία and γνῶσις have λόγῳ joyned to them, and it is said *the Word of Wisdom*, and the *Word of Knowledge*; Wisdom and Knowledge here signifie such Gifts of the Mind as are to be imploy'd in preaching.

10 (*t*) Prophesie comprehends these three things, Prediction, Singing by the Dictate of the Spirit, and Understanding and Explaining the mysterious hidden Sense of Scripture by an immediate Illumination and Motion of the Spirit, as we have already shewn. And that the Prophesying here spoken of was by immediate Revelation, *Vid.* Chap. 14. 29—31.

SECT. IX. *N.* 3.

CHAP. XII. 12——31.

CONTENTS.

FROM the necessarily different Functions in the Body, and the strict Union, nevertheless, of the Members adapted to those different Functions, in a mutual Sympathy and Concern one for another, St. *Paul* here farther shews, that there ought not to be any Strife or Division amongst them about Precedency and Preference upon account of their distinct Gifts.

TEXT.

12 FOR as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.

13 For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have

PARAPHRASE.

FOR as the Body being but one, hath many Members, and all the Members of the Body, though many, yet make but one Body; so is Christ in respect of his mystical Body the Church. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Church, and are thereby made one Body, without any Pre-eminence 12. 13.

PARAPHRASE.

to the Jew (*u*) above the Gentile, to the Free above the Bond-man: And the Blood of Chriſt which we all partake of in the Lord's Supper, makes us all have one Life, one Spirit, as the ſame Blood diffuſed through the whole Body communicates the ſame Life and Spirit to all the Members.

14. For the Body is not one ſole Member, but conſiſts of many Members, all vitally united in one

15. common Sympathy and Uſefulneſs. If any one have not that Function or Dignity in the Church

16. which he deſires, he muſt not therefore declare that he is not of the Church, he does not thereby ceaſe to be

17. a Member of the Church. There is as much need of ſeveral and diſtinct Gifts and Functions in the Church, as there is of different Senſes and Members in the Body, and the meaneſt and leaſt honourable would be miſſed if it were wanting, and the whole Body would

18. ſuffer by it: Accordingly, God hath fitted ſeveral Perſons, as it were ſo many diſtinct Members, to ſeveral Offices and Functions in the Church, by proper and peculiar Gifts and Abilities, which he has beſtow'd on them according to his good Pleaſure. But

19. if all were but one Member, what would become of the Body? There would be no ſuch thing as a humane Body; no more could the Church be edified and framed into a growing laſting Society, if the

20. Gifts of the Spirit were all reduced to one. But now by the various Gifts of the Spirit beſtow'd on its ſeveral Members, it is as a well organized Body, wherein the moſt eminent Member cannot deſpiſe the meaneſt.

21. The Eye cannot ſay to the Hand, I have no need of thee; nor the Head to the Feet, I have no need of

22. you. It is ſo far from being ſo, that the Parts of the Body that ſeem in themſelves weak, are nevertheleſs

23. of abſolute neceſſity. And thoſe Parts which are thought leaſt honourable, we take care always to cover with the more Reſpect; and our leaſt graceful Parts have thereby a more ſtudied and adventitious

24. Comelineſs. For our comely Parts have no need of any borrowed Helps or Ornaments. But God hath ſo contrived the Symmetry of the Body, that he hath added Honour to thoſe Parts that might ſeem naturally

25. to want it; that there might be no Diſ-union, no Schiſm in the Body, but that the Members ſhould all

26. have the ſame Care and Concern one for another,

TEXT.

been all made to drink into one Spirit.

For the body is not one 14
member, but many.

If the foot ſhall ſay, Be- 15
cauſe I am not the hand, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body?

And if the ear ſhall ſay, 16
Becauſe I am not the eye, I am not of the body: is it thereſore not of the body?

If the whole body were 17
an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the ſmelling?

But now hath God ſet 18
the members, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleaſed him.

And if they were all one 19
member, where were the body?

But now are they many 20
members, yet but one body.

And the eye cannot ſay 21
unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you.

Nay, much more thoſe 22
members of the body, which ſeem to be more feeble are neceſſary.

And thoſe members of 23
the body, which we think to be leſs honourable, upon theſe we beſtow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comelineſs.

For our comely parts 24
have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked:

That there ſhould be no 25
ſchiſm in the body; but that the members ſhould have the ſame care one for another.

And whether one mem- 26
ber ſuffer, all the members ſuffer with it: or one member be honoured, all

NOTES.

13 (*u*) The naming of the Jews here with Gentiles, and ſetting both on the ſame Level when converted to Chriſtianity, may probably be done here by St. *Paul*, with reference to the falſe Apoſtle, who was a Jew, and ſeems to have claimed ſome Pre-eminence as due to him upon that account. Whereas among the Members of Chriſt, which all make but one Body, there is no Superiority or other Diſtinction, but as by the ſeveral Gifts beſtowed on them by God, they contribute more or leſs to the Edification of the Church.

and

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TEXT.

the members rejoyce with it.

27 Now ye are the body of Chriſt, and members in particular.

28 And God hath ſet ſome in the church, firſt apoſtles, ſecondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diverſities of tongues.

29 Are all apoſtles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles?

30 Have all the gifts of healing? do all ſpeak with tongues? do all interpret?

31 But covet earneſtly the beſt gifts: And yet ſhew I unto you a more excellent way.

PARAPHRASE.

and all equally partake and ſhare in the Harm or Honour that is done to any one of them in particular. Now in like manner you are, by your particular Gifts, each of you in his peculiar Station and Aptitude, Members of the Body of Chriſt, which is the Church, wherein God hath ſet firſt ſome Apoſtles, ſecondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers, next Workers of Miracles, then thoſe who have the Gift of Healing, Helpers (*w*), Governours (*x*), and ſuch as are able to ſpeak diverſity of Tongues. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the Gift of Healing? Do all ſpeak diverſity of Tongues? Are all Interpreters of Tongues? But ye conteſt one with another, whoſe particular Gift is beſt, and moſt preferable (*y*); but I will ſhew you a more excellent way, *viz.* Mutual Good-will, Affection and Charity. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31.

NOTES.

28 (*w*) Ἀντιλήψεις, *Helps*, Dr. *Lightfoot* takes to be thoſe who accompany'd the Apoſtles, were ſent up and down by them in the Service of the Goſpel, and baptized thoſe that were converted by them.

(*x*) Κυβερνήσεις, to be the ſame with diſcerning of Spirits, *ver.* 10.

31 (*y*) That this is the Apoſtle's Meaning here, is plain, in that there was an Emulation amongſt them, and a Striſe for Precedency, on account of the ſeveral Gifts they had (as we have already obſerved from ſeveral Paſſages in this Section) which made them in their Aſſemblies deſire to be heard firſt. This was the Fault the Apoſtle was here correcting, and 'tis not likely he ſhould exhort them all promiſcuouſly to ſeek the principal and moſt eminent Gifts at the End of a Diſcourſe, wherein he had been demonſtrating to them by the Example of the humane Body, that there ought to be diverſity of Gifts and Functions in the Church, but that there ought to be no Schiſm, Emulation, or Conteſt amongſt them, upon the account of the Exerciſe of thoſe Gifts. That they were all uſeful in their places, and no Member was at all to be the leſs honoured or valued for the Gift he had, though it were not one of the firſt Rank. And in this Senſe the word ζηλοῦν is taken in the next Chapter, *ver.* 4. where St. *Paul*, purſuing the ſame Argument, exhorts them to mutual Charity, good Will and Affection, which he aſſures them is preferable to any Gifts whatſoever. Beſides, to what purpoſe ſhould he exhort them to *covet earneſtly the beſt Gifts*, when the obtaining of this or that Gift did not at all lie in their Deſires or Endeavours, the Apoſtle having juſt before told them, *ver.* 11. that *the Spirit divides thoſe Gifts to every Man ſeverally as he will*, and thoſe he writ to had their Allotment already? He might as reaſonably, according to his own Doctrine, in this very Chapter, bid the Foot covet to be the Hand, or the Ear to be the Eye. Let it be remember'd therefore to rectifie this, that St. *Paul* ſays, *ver.* 17. of this Chapter; If the whole Body were the Eye, where were the Hearing? *&c.* St. *Paul* does not uſe to croſs his own Deſign, nor contradict his own Reaſoning.

SECT. IX. *N.* 4.

CHAP. XIII. 1——13.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* having told the *Corinthians* in the laſt Words of the precedent Chapter, that he would ſhew them a more excellent way than the emulous producing of their Gifts in the Aſſembly, he in this Chapter tells them, that

*An.Ch.*57. *Neronis* 3. this more excellent way is Charity, which he at large explains, and ſhews the Excellency of.

PARAPHRASE.

1. IF I ſpeak all the Languages of Men and Angels, (z), and yet have not Charity to make uſe of them entirely for the Good and Benefit of others, I am no better than a ſounding Braſs or noiſy Cymbal, (*a*), which fills the Ears of others without any Advantage
2. to its ſelf by the Sound it makes: And if I have the Gift of Propheſie, and ſee in the Law and the Prophets all the Myſteries (*b*) contained in them, and comprehend all the Knowledge they teach; And if I have Faith to the higheſt degree, and power of Miracles, ſo as to be able to remove Mountains (*c*), and have not Charity, I am nothing; I am of no value:
3. And if I beſtow all I have in relief of the Poor, and give my ſelf to be burnt, and have not Charity, it
4. profits me nothing. Charity is long-ſuffering, is gentle and Benign, without Emulation, Inſolence, or being
5. puffed up, is not ambitious, nor at all ſelf-intereſted, is not ſharp upon others Failings, or inclined to ill
6. Interpretations: Charity rejoyces with others when they do well, and when any thing is amiſs, is troubled,
7. and covers their Failings: Charity believes well, hopes well of every one, and patiently bears with
8. every thing (*d*): Charity will never ceaſe as a thing out of uſe, but the Gifts of Propheſie and Tongues, and the Knowledge whereby Men look into, and explain the Meaning of the Scriptures, the time will be when they will be laid aſide, as no longer of any uſe,
9. for the Knowledge we have now in this State, and the Explication we give of Scripture is ſhort, partial and
10. defective. But when hereafter we ſhall be got into the State of Accompliſhment and Perfection, wherein we are to remain in the other World, there will no longer be any need of theſe imperfecter ways of Information, whereby we arrive at but a partial Know-
11. ledge here. Thus when I was in the imperfect State of Childhood, I talk'd, I underſtood, I reaſoned after

TEXT.

1 THough I ſpeak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as ſounding braſs, or a tinkling cymbal.

2 And though I have the gift of propheſie, and underſtand all myſteries, and all knowledge: and tho' I have all faith, ſo that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing.

3 And though I beſtow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

4 Charity ſuffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up,

5 Doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil,

6 Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth:

7 Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

8 Charity never faileth: but whether there be propheſies, they ſhall fail; whether there be tongues, they ſhall ceaſe; whether there be knowledge, it ſhall vaniſh away.

9 For we know in part, and we propheſie in part.

10 But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be done away.

11 When I was a child, I ſpake as a child, I under-

NOTES.

1 (*z*) *Tongues of Angels* are mention'd here according to the Conception of the Jews.

(*a*) A Cymbal conſiſted of two large hollowed Plates of Braſs, with broad Brims, which were ſtruck one againſt another, to fill up the Symphony in great Conſorts of Muſick; they made a great deep Sound, but had ſcarce any Variety of muſical Notes.

2 (*b*) Any Predictions relating to our Saviour, or his Doctrine, or the times of the Goſpel, contained in the Old Teſtament, in Types, or figurative and obſcure Expreſſions, not underſtood before his coming, and being revealed to the World, St. *Paul* calls *Myſtery*, as may be ſeen all through his Writings. So that *Myſtery* and *Knowledge* are Terms here uſed by St. *Paul* to ſignify Truths concerning Chriſt to come, contained in the Old Teſtament; and *Propheſie*, the underſtanding of the Types and Propheſies containing thoſe Truths, ſo as to be able to explain them to others.

(*c*) *To remove Mountains*, is to do what is next to impoſſible.

7 (*d*) May we not ſuppoſe that in this Deſcription of Charity, St. *Paul* intimates, and tacitly reproves their contrary Carriage, in their Emulation and Conteſts about the Dignity and Preference of their ſpiritual Gifts?

the

TEXT.

ſtood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childiſh things.

12 For now we ſee through a glaſs darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then ſhall I know even as alſo I am known.

13 And now abideth faith, hope, charity, theſe three; but the greateſt of theſe is charity.

PARAPHRASE.

the imperfect manner of a Child: but when I came to the State and Perfection of Manhood, I laid aſide thoſe childiſh ways. Now we ſee but by Reflection 12.
the dim, and as it were enigmatical Repreſentation of things: but then we ſhall ſee things directly, and as they are in themſelves, as a Man ſees another when they are Face to Face. Now I have but a ſuperficial partial Knowledge of things, but then I ſhall have an intuitive comprehenſive Knowledge of them, as I my ſelf am known, and lie open to the View of ſuperiour Seraphick Beings, not by the obſcure and imperfect
way of Deductions and Reaſoning. But then even in 13.
that State, Faith, Hope, and Charity will remain: But the greateſt of the three is Charity.

SECT. IX. *N.* 5.

CHAP. XIV. 1——40.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* in this Chapter concludes his Anſwer to the *Corinthians*, concerning ſpiritual Men and their Gifts; and having told them that thoſe were moſt preferable that tended moſt to Edification, and particularly ſhewn that Propheſie was to be preferred to Tongues, he gives them Directions for the decent, orderly and profitable Exerciſe of their Gifts in their Aſſemblies.

TEXT.

1 FOllow after charity, and deſire ſpiritual gifts, but rather that ye may propheſie.

PARAPHRASE.

LET your Endeavours, let your Purſuit there- 1.
fore be after Charity, not that you ſhould neglect the uſe of your ſpiritual Gifts (*e*), eſpecially the Gift of Propheſie: For he that ſpeaks in an un-

NOTES.

1. (*e*) Ζηλᾶτε τὰ πνευματικά· That ζηλᾶν does not ſignifie to *covet* or *deſire*, nor can be underſtood to be ſo uſed by St. *Paul* in this Section; I have already ſhewn, *ch.* 12. 31. That it has here the Senſe that I have given it, is plain from the ſame Direction concerning ſpiritual Gifts, repeated *ver.* 39. in theſe words, ζηλᾶτε τὸ προφητεύειν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν γλώσσαις μὴ κωλύετε, the Meaning in both places being evidently this; That they ſhould not neglect the Uſe of their ſpiritual Gifts, eſpecially they ſhould in the firſt place cultivate and exerciſe the Gift of Propheſying, but yet ſhould not wholly lay aſide the ſpeaking with Variety of Tongues in their Aſſemblies. It will perhaps be wonder'd why St. *Paul* ſhould imploy the word ζηλᾶν in ſo unuſual a Senſe, but that will eaſily be accounted for, if what I have remark'd, *Ch.* 14. 15. concerning St. *Paul*'s Cuſtom of repeating words, be remember'd. But beſides, what is familiar in St. *Paul*'s way of Writing, we may find a particular Reaſon for his repeating the word ζηλᾶν here, tho' in a ſomewhat unuſual Signification. He having by way of Reproof told them, that they did ζηλοῦντα τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ χρείττονα, had an Emulation, or made a Stir about whoſe Gifts were beſt, and were therefore to take place in their Aſſemblies: To prevent their thinking that ζηλοῦν might have too harſh a Meaning, (for he is in all this Epiſtle very tender of offending them, and therefore ſweetens all his Reproofs as much as poſſible) he here takes it up again, and uſes it more than once in a way that approves and adviſes that they ſhould ζηλοῦν πνευματικά, whereby yet he means no more but that they ſhould not neglect their ſpiritual Gifts: He would have them uſe them in their Aſſemblies, but yet in ſuch Method and Order as he directs.

known

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

2. known Tongue (*f*), ſpeaks to God alone, but not to men, for no body underſtands him; the things he utters by the Spirit in an unknown Tongue, are Myſteries, things not underſtood by thoſe who hear them.
3. But he that propheſieth (*g*), ſpeaks to Men who are exhorted and comforted thereby, and helped forwards in Religion and Piety.
4. He that ſpeaks in an unknown Tongue (*h*) edifies himſelf alone, but he that propheſieth, edifieth the Church.
5. I wiſh that ye had all the Gift of Tongues, but rather that ye all propheſied, for greater is he that propheſieth, than he that ſpeaks with Tongues, unleſs he interprets what he delivers in an unknown Tongue, that the Church may be edi-
6. fied by it. For example, ſhould I apply my ſelf to you in a Tongue you knew not, what Good ſhould I do you, unleſs I interpreted to you what I ſaid, that you might underſtand the Revelation, or Knowledge, or Propheſie, or Doctrine (*i*) contained in it? Even

TEXT.

For he that ſpeaketh in 2
an unknown tongue, ſpeaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man underſtandeth him; howbeit in the ſpirit he ſpeaketh myſteries.

But he that propheſieth, 3
ſpeaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.

He that ſpeaketh in an 4
unknown tongue, edifieth himſelf: but he that propheſieth, edifieth the church.

I would that ye all ſpake 5
with tongues, but rather that ye propheſied: for greater is he that propheſieth, than he that ſpeaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying.

Now, brethren, if I come 6
unto you ſpeaking with tongues, what ſhall I profit you, except I ſhall ſpeak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or

NOTES.

2 (*f*) He who attentively reads this Section about ſpiritual Men and their Gifts, may find reaſon to imagine that it was thoſe who had the Gift of Tongues, who cauſed the Diſorder in the Church at *Corinth*, by their Forwardneſs to ſpeak, and ſtriving to be heard firſt, and ſo taking up too much of the time in their Aſſemblies, in ſpeaking in unknown Tongues. For the remedying this Diſorder, and better regulating of this Matter amongſt other things, they had recourſe to St. *Paul*: He will not eaſily avoid thinking ſo, who conſiders,

1*ſt*, That the firſt Gift which St. *Paul* compares with Charity, *Ch.* 13. and extreamly undervalues, in compariſon of that Divine Vertue, is the Gift of Tongues. As if that were the Gift they moſt affected to ſhew, and moſt valued themſelves upon; as indeed it was in it ſelf moſt fitted for Oſtentation in their Aſſemblies of any other, if any one were inclined that way: And that the *Corinthians* in their preſent State were not exempt from Emulation, Vanity and Oſtentation, is very evident.

2*dly*, That *Ch.* 14. when St. *Paul* compares their ſpiritual Gifts one with another, the firſt, nay and only one, that he debaſes and deprecates in compariſon of others, is the Gift of Tongues, which he diſcourſes of for above 20 Verſes together, in a way fit to abate a too high Eſteem, and a too exceſſive Uſe of it in their Aſſemblies, which we cannot ſuppoſe he would have done, had they not been guilty of ſome ſuch Miſcarriages in the Caſe whereof the 24*th* Verſe is not without an Intimation.

3*dly*, When he comes to give Direction about the Exerciſe of their Gifts in their Meetings, this of Tongues is the only one that he reſtrains and limits, *ver.* 27, 28.

3 (*e*) What is meant by Propheſying, ſee *Ch.* 12. 10.

4 (*h*) By γλώσσῃ, *unknown Tongue*, Dr. *Lightfoot* in this Chapter underſtands the Hebrew Tongue, which, as he obſerves, was uſed in the Synagogue in reading the Sacred Scripture, in praying and preaching, if that be the meaning of *Tongue* here, it ſuits well the Apoſtle's Deſign, which was to take them off from their Jewiſh falſe Apoſtle, who probably might have encouraged and promoted this ſpeaking of Hebrew in their Aſſemblies.

6 (*i*) 'Tis not to be doubted but theſe four diſtinct Terms uſed here by the Apoſtle, had each his diſtinct Signification in his Mind and Intention: Whether what may be collected from theſe Epiſtles, may ſufficiently warrant us to underſtand them in the following Significations, I leave to the Judgment of others. 1*ſt*. Ἀποκάλυψις, *Revelation*, ſomething revealed by God immediately to the Perſon; *Vid. v.* 30. 2*dly*. γνῶσις, *Knowledge*. The underſtanding the Myſtical and Evangelical Senſe of Paſſages in the Old Teſtament, relating to our Saviour and the Goſpel. 3*dly*. προφητεία, *Propheſie*, an inſpired Hymn, *vid. v.* 26. 4*thly*. Διδαχὴ, *Doctrine*. Any Truth of the Goſpel concerning Faith or Manners. But whether this or any other preciſe meaning of theſe Words can be certainly made out now, it is perhaps of no great neceſſity to be over-curious; it being enough for the underſtanding the Senſe and Argument of the Apoſtle here, to know that theſe Terms ſtand for ſome intelligible Diſcourſe tending to the Edification of the Church, though of what kind each of them was in particular we certainly know not.

inani-

by propheſying, or by doctrine?

7 And even things without life giving ſound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a diſtinction in the ſounds, how ſhall it be known what is piped or harped?

8 For if the trumpet give an uncertain ſound, who ſhall prepare himſelf to the battel?

9 So likewiſe you, except ye utter by the tongue words eaſie to be underſtood, how ſhall it be known what is ſpoken? for ye ſhall ſpeak into the air.

10 There are, it may be, ſo many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without ſignification.

11 Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I ſhall be unto him that ſpeaketh, a barbarian; and he that ſpeaketh ſhall be a barbarian unto me.

12 Even ſo ye, foraſmuch as ye are zealous of ſpiritual gifts, ſeek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.

13 Wherefore let him that ſpeaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret.

14 For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my ſpirit prayeth, but my underſtanding is unfruitful.

15 What is it then? I will pray with the ſpirit, and I will pray with the underſtanding alſo: I will

inanimate Inſtruments of Sound, as Pipe, or Harp, are not made uſe of to make an inſignificant Noiſe, but diſtinct Notes expreſſing Mirth or Mourning, or the like, are play'd upon them, whereby the Tune and Compoſure is underſtood. And if the Trumpet ſound not ſome Point of War that is underſtood, the Soldier is not thereby inſtructed what to do. So likewiſe ye, unleſs with the Tongue which you uſe, utter Words of a clear and known Signification to your Hearers, you talk to the Wind, for your Auditors underſtand nothing that you ſay. There is a great Number of ſignificant Languages in the World, I know not how many, every Nation has its own; if then I underſtand not another's Language, and the Force of his Words, I am to him when he ſpeaks, a Barbarian, and whatever he ſays is all Gibberiſh to me: And ſo is it with you, ye are Barbarians to one another, as far as ye ſpeak to one another in unknown Tongues. But ſince there is Emulation amongſt you concerning ſpiritual Gifts, ſeek to abound in the Exerciſe of thoſe which tend moſt to the Edification of the Church. Wherefore let him that ſpeaks an unknown Tongue, pray that he may interpret what he ſays. For if I pray in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit it is true accompanies my Words which I underſtand, and ſo my Spirit prays (*k*), but my meaning is unprofitable to others who underſtand not my Words. What then is to be done in the Caſe? Why, I will, when moved to it by the Spirit, pray in an unknown Tongue, but ſo that my meaning (*l*) may be underſtood by others, *i. e.* I will not do it but when there is ſome body by to interpret (*m*): And ſo I will do alſo in Singing (*n*), I will ſing by the

7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

NOTES.

14 (*k*) This is evident from *ver.* 4. where it is ſaid, *He that ſpeaketh with a Tongue, edifies himſelf.*

15 (*l*) I will not pretend to juſtifie this Interpretation of πῷ νοΐ, by the exact Rules of the Greek Idiom; but the Senſe of the place will, I think, bear me out in it. And, as there is occaſion often to remark, he muſt be little verſed in the Writing of St. *Paul*, who does not obſerve, that when he has uſed a Term, he is apt to repeat it again in the ſame Diſcourſe in a way peculiar to himſelf, and ſomewhat varied from it's ordinary Signification. So, having here in the foregoing Verſe uſed νοῦς for the Sentiment of his own Mind, which was unprofitable to others when he pray'd in a Tongue unknown to them, and oppoſed it to πνεῦμα, which he uſed there for his own Senſe, accompanying his own Words, intelligible to himſelf, when by the Impulſe of the Spirit he pray'd in a Foreign Tongue; he here in this Verſe continues to uſe praying, πῷ πνεύματι, and πῷ νοΐ, in the ſame Oppoſition, the one for praying in a ſtrange Tongue, which alone his own Mind underſtood and accompanied: The other for praying ſo as that the Meaning of his Mind in thoſe Words he utter'd, was made known to others ſo that they were alſo benefited. This uſe of πνεῦμα is farther confirmed in the next Verſe: and what he means by νοΐ here, he expreſſes by διὰ νοὸς, *ver.* 19. and there explains the meaning of it.

(*m*) For ſo he orders in the uſe of an unknown Tongue, *ver.* 27.

(*n*) Here it may be obſerv'd, that as in their publick Prayer one pray'd, and the others held their Peace; ſo it was in their Singing, at leaſt in that Singing which was of extempory Hymns by the Impulſe of the Spirit.

Spirit

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PARAPHRASE.

Spirit in an unknown Tongue, but I will take care that the Meaning of what I ſing ſhall be underſtood by the Aſſiſtants. And thus ye ſhould all do in all
16. like Caſes. For if thou by the Impulſe of the Spirit giveſt Thanks to God in an unknown Tongue, which all underſtand not, how ſhall the Hearer who in this reſpect is unlearned, and being ignorant in that Tongue, knows not what thou ſayeſt, how ſhall he ſay Amen? How ſhall he joyn in the Thanks which
17. he underſtands not? Thou indeed giveſt Thanks well;
18. But the other is not at all edified by it. I thank God
19. I ſpeak with Tongues more than you all, but I had rather ſpeak in the Church five Words that are underſtood, that I might inſtruct others alſo, than in an unknown Tongue ten thouſand that others underſtand
20. not. My Brethren, be not in Underſtanding Children, who are apt to be taken with the Novelty or Strangeneſs of things: In Temper and Diſpoſition be as Children void of Malice (*o*), but in Matters of Underſtanding be ye perfect Men, and uſe your Under-
21. ſtandings (*p*). Be not ſo zealous for the Uſe of unknown Tongues in the Church, they are not ſo proper there: It is written in the Law (*q*), With Men of other Tongues and other Lips will I ſpeak unto this People: And yet for all that will they not hear me,
22. ſaith the Lord. So that you ſee the ſpeaking of ſtrange Tongues miraculouſly is not for thoſe who are already converted, but for a Sign to thoſe who are Unbelievers: But Propheſie is for Believers, and not for Unbelievers; and therefore fitter for your Aſſem-
23. blies. If therefore when the Church is all come together you ſhould all ſpeak in unknown Tongues, and Men Unlearned or Unbelievers ſhould come in, would
24. they not ſay that you are mad? But if ye all propheſie, and an Unbeliever or ignorant Man come in, the Diſcourſes he hears from you reaching his Conſci-
25. ence, and the ſecret Thoughts of his Heart, he is convinced, and wrought upon, and ſo falling down worſhips God, and declares that God is certainly

TEXT.

ſing with the ſpirit, and I will ſing with the underſtanding alſo.

16 Elſe when thou ſhalt bleſs with the ſpirit, how ſhall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, ſay Amen at the giving of thanks, ſeeing he underſtandeth not what thou ſayeſt?

17 For thou verily giveſt thanks well, but the other is not edified.

18 I thank my God, I ſpeak with tongues more than you all:

19 Yet in the church I had rather ſpeak five words with my underſtanding, that by my voice I might teach others alſo, than ten thouſand words in an unknown tongue.

20 Brethren, be not children in underſtanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in underſtanding be men.

21 In the law it is written, With men of other tongues, and other lips will I ſpeak unto this people: and yet for all that will they not hear me, ſaith the Lord.

22 Wherefore tongues are for a ſign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but propheſying ſerveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe.

23 If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all ſpeak with tongues, and there come in thoſe that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not ſay that ye are mad?

24 But if all propheſie, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all:

25 And thus are the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt; and ſo falling down on his face he will worſhip

NOTES.

20 (*o*) By κακία, *Malice*, I think is here to be underſtood all ſorts of ill temper of Mind, contrary to the Gentleneſs and Innocence of Childhood, and in particular their Emulation and Strife about the Exerciſe of their Gifts in their Aſſemblies.

(*p*) Vid. *Rom.* 16. 19. *Eph.* 4. 13——15.

21 (*q*) The Books of Sacred Scripture deliver'd to the Jews by divine Revelation under the Law, before the time of the Goſpel, which we now call the Old Teſtament, are in the Writings of the New Teſtament call'd ſometimes, *the Law, the Prophets, and the Pſalms*, as *Luke* 24. 44. ſometimes *the Law and the Prophets*, as *Acts* 24. 14. And ſometimes they are all comprehended under this one Name, *the Law*, as here, for the Paſſage cited is in *Iſaiah*.

amongſt

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TEXT.

God, and report that God is in you of a truth.

26 How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a pſalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying.

27 If any man ſpeak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the moſt by three, and that by courſe; and let one interpret.

28 But if there be no interpreter, let him keep ſilence in the church; and let him ſpeak to himſelf, and to God.

29 Let the prophets ſpeak two or three, and let the other judge.

30 If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace.

31 For ye may all propheſie one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.

32 And the ſpirits of the prophets are ſubject to the prophets.

33 For God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace, as in all chnrches of the ſaints.

34 Let your women keep ſilence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to ſpeak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as alſo ſaith the law.

PARAPHRASE.

amongſt you. What then is to be done, Brethren? When ye come together, every one is ready (*r*), one with a Pſalm, another with a Doctrine, another with a ſtrange Tongue, another with a Revelation, another with Interpretation. Let all things be done to Edification, even though (*s*) any one ſpeak in an unknown Tongue, which is a Gift that ſeems leaſt intended for Edification (*t*); let but two or three at moſt, at any one Meeting, ſpeak in an unknown Tongue, and that ſeparately one after another, and let there be but one Interpreter (*u*). But if there be no body preſent that can interpret, let not any one uſe his Gift of Tongues in the Congregation, but let him ſilently within himſelf ſpeak to himſelf, and to God. Of thoſe who have the Gift of Propheſie, let but two or three ſpeak at the ſame meeting, and let the others examine and diſcuſs it. But if during their Debate, the meaning of it be revealed to one that ſits by, let him that was diſcourſing of it before give off. For ye may all propheſie one after another, that all may in their Turns be Hearers, and receive Exhortation and Inſtruction. For the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt are not like the Poſſeſſion of the Heathen Prieſts, who are not Maſters of the Spirit that poſſeſſes them. But Chriſtians, however filled with the Holy Ghoſt, are Maſters of their own Actions, can ſpeak or hold their Peace as they ſee Occaſion, and are not hurried away by any Compulſion. It is therefore no reaſon for you to ſpeak more than one at once, or to interrupt one another, becauſe you find your ſelves inſpired and moved by the Spirit of God. For God is not the Author of Confuſion and Diſorder, but of Quietneſs and Peace. And this is what is obſerved in all the Churches of God. As to your Women, let them keep Silence in your Aſſemblies, for it is not permitted them to diſcourſe there, or pretend to teach, that

26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34.

NOTES.

26 (*r*) 'Tis plain by this whole Diſcourſe of the Apoſtle's, that there were Contentions and Emulations amongſt them for Precedency of their Gifts, and therefore I think ἕκαστος ἔχει, may be render'd *every one is ready*, as impatient to be firſt heard. If there were no ſuch Diſorder amongſt them, there would have been no need for the Regulations given in the end of this Verſe, and the 7 Verſes following, eſpecially *ver.* 31, 32. where he tells them, they all may propheſie one by one, and that the Motions of the Spirit were not ſo ungovernable, as not to leave a Man Maſter of himſelf. He muſt not think himſelf under a neceſſity of ſpeaking, as ſoon as he found any Impulſe of the Spirit upon his Mind.

27 (*s*) St. *Paul* has ſaid in this Chapter as much as conveniently could be ſaid to reſtrain their ſpeaking in unknown Tongues in their Aſſemblies, which ſeems to be that wherein the Vanity and Oſtentation of the *Corinthians* was moſt forward to ſhew it ſelf. It is not, ſays he, a Gift intended for the Edification of Believers; however ſince you will be exerciſing it in your Meetings, let it always be ſo order'd, that it may be for Edification; εἴτε I have render'd, *altho'*. So I think it is ſometimes uſed, but no where, as I remember, ſimply for *if*, as in our Tranſlation; nor will the Senſe here bear *whether*, which is the common Signification of εἴτε. And therefore I take the Apoſtle's Senſe to be this: You muſt do nothing but to Edification, tho' you ſpeak in an unknown Tongue, even an unknown Tongue muſt be made uſe of in your Aſſemblies only to Edification.

(*t*) Vid. *ver.* 2, & 4.

(*u*) The Rule of the Synagogue was; In the Law let one read and one interpret: In the Prophets let one read and two interpret. In *Eſther* ten may read, and ten interpret. 'Tis not improbable that ſome ſuch Diſorder had been introduced into the Church of *Corinth* by their Judaizing falſe Apoſtle, which St. *Paul* would here put an end to.

PARAPHRASE.

does no way ſuit their State of Subjection appointed
35. them in the Law. But if they have a mind to have any thing explained to them that paſſes in the Church, let them for their Information ask their Husbands at home, for it is a ſhame for Women to diſcourſe and debate with Men publickly in the Congregation (*w*).
36. What, do you pretend to give Laws to the Church of God, or to a Right to do what you pleaſe amongſt your ſelves, as if the Goſpel began at *Corinth*, and iſſuing from you, was communicated to the reſt of the World, or as if it were communicated to you alone
37. of all the World? If any Man amongſt you think that he hath the Gift of Propheſies, and would paſs for a Man knowing in the revealed Will of God (*x*), let him acknowledge that theſe Rules which I have here
38. given, are the Commandments of the Lord. But if any Man (*y*) be ignorant that they are ſo, I have no more to ſay to him: I leave him to his Ignorance.
39. To conclude, Brethren, let Propheſie have the Preference in the Exerciſe of it (*z*): But yet forbid not
40. the ſpeaking unknown Tongues. But whether a Man propheſies or ſpeaks with Tongues, whatever ſpiritual Gift he exerciſes in your Aſſemblies, let it be done without any Indecorum or Diſorder.

TEXT.

And if they will learn 35
any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a ſhame for women to ſpeak in the church.

What? came the word 36
of God out from you? or came it unto you only?

If any man think him- 37
ſelf to be a prophet, or ſpiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.

But if any man be igno- 38
rant, let him be ignorant.

Wherefore, brethren, 39
covet to propheſie, and forbid not to ſpeak with tongues.

Let all things be done 40
decently, and in order.

NOTES.

34, 35. (*w*) Why I apply this Prohibition of ſpeaking only to reaſoning and purely voluntary Diſcourſe, but ſuppoſe a Liberty left Women to ſpeak, where they had an immediate Impulſe and Revelation from the Spirit of God, *Vid.* ch. 11. 3. In the Synagogue it was uſual for any Man that had a mind to demand of the Teacher a farther Explication of what he had ſaid: but this was not permitted to the Women.

37 (*x*) Πνευματικὸς, *a ſpiritual Man*, in the Senſe of St. *Paul*, is one who founds his Knowledge in what is revealed by the Spirit of God, and not in the bare Diſcoveries of his natural Reaſon and Parts: *Vid.* ch. 11. 15.

38 (*y*) By the *any Man* mention'd in this, and the foregoing Verſe, St. *Paul* ſeems to intimate the falſe Apoſtle, who pretended to give Laws amongſt them, and, as we have obſerved, may well be ſuppoſed to be the Author of theſe Diſorders, whom therefore St. *Paul* reflects on, and preſſes in theſe three Verſes.

39 (*z*) Ζηλεῦν, in this whole Diſcourſe of St. *Paul*, taken to refer to the Exerciſe, and not to the obtaining the Gifts to which it is joyn'd, will direct us right in underſtanding St. *Paul*, and make his Meaning very eaſie and intelligible.

SECT. X.

CHAP. XV. 1—58.

CONTENTS.

AFter St. *Paul* (who had taught them another Doctrine) had left *Corinth*, ſome among them denied the Reſurrection of the Dead. This he confutes by Chriſt's Reſurrection, which the number of Witneſſes yet remaining, that had ſeen him, put paſt Queſtion, beſides the conſtant inculcating of it by all the Apoſtles every where. From the Reſurrection of Chriſt thus eſtabliſh'd, he infers the Reſurrection of the Dead; ſhews the Order they ſhall riſe in, and what ſort of Bodies they ſhall have.

IN

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TEXT.

1 MOreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also you have received, and wherein ye stand;
2 By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain.
3 For I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures:
4 And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures:
5 And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.
6 After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once: of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep:
7 After that, he was seen of *James*; then of all the apostles.
8 And last of all he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time.
9 For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.
10 But by the grace of God, I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.
11 Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.
12 Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the

PARAPHRASE.

IN what I am now going to say to you Brethren, I make known to you no other Gospel than what I formerly preached to you, and you received and have hitherto professed, and by which alone you are to be saved. This you will find to be so, if you retain in your Memories what it was that I preached to you, which you certainly do, unless you have taken up the Christian Name and Profession to no purpose. For I delivered to you, and particularly insisted on this which I had received, *viz.* that Christ died for our Sins, according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he was raised again the third Day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen by *Peter*; afterwards by the twelve Apostles, and after that by above Five hundred Christians at once, of whom the greatest Part remain alive to this Day, but some of them are deceased: Afterwards he was seen by *James*; and after that by all the Apostles. Last of all he was seen by me also, as by one born before my Time. (*a*) For I am the least of the Apostles, not worthy the Name of an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God. But by the free Bounty of God I am what it hath pleased him to make me: And this Favour which he hath bestowed on me, hath not been altogether fruitless, for I have labour'd in preaching of the Gospel more than all the other Apostles, (*b*) which yet I do not ascribe to any thing of myself, but to the Favour of God which accompanied me. But whether I or the other Apostles preached, this was that which we preached, and this was the Faith ye were baptized into, *viz.* that Christ died, and rose again the third day. If therefore this be so, if this be that which has been preached to you, *viz.* that Christ has been raised from the dead, how comes it that some (*c*) amongst you say as they do,

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

NOTES.

8 (*a*) An abortive Birth that comes before its Time, which is the Name St. *Paul* gives himself here, is usually sudden and at unawares, and is also weak and feeble, scarce deserving to be called or counted a Man. The former Part agrees to St. *Paul*'s being made a Christian and an Apostle, tho' it be in regard of the latter that in the following Verse St. *Paul* calls himself abortive.

10 (*b*) St. *Paul* drops in this Commendation of himself to keep up his Credit in the Church of *Corinth*, where there was a Faction labouring to discredit him.

12 (*c*) This may well be understood of the Head of the contrary Faction, and some of his Scholars. *1st*, Because St. *Paul* introduces this Confutation by asserting his Mission, which these his Opposers would bring in Question. *2dly*, Because he is so careful to let the *Corinthians* see he maintains not the Doctrine of the Resurrection, in Opposition to these their new Leaders, it being the Doctrine he had preached to them at their first Conversion, before any such false Apostle appear'd among them, and misled them about the Resurrection. Their false Apostle was a Jew, and in all Appearance Judaized, may he not also be suspected of Saducism? For 'tis plain he with all his Might opposed St. *Paul*, which must be from some main Difference in Opinion at the Bottom. For there are no Footsteps of any personal Provocation.

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PARAPHRASE.

13. that there is no Reſurrection of the Dead? And if
there be no Reſurrection of the Dead, then even
14. Chriſt himſelf is not riſen: And if Chriſt be not riſen,
our Preaching is idle Talk, and your believing it is
15. to no purpoſe: And we who pretend to be Witneſſes
for God and his Truth, ſhall be found Liars, bearing
Witneſs againſt God and his Truth, affirming that he
raiſed Chriſt, whom in Truth he did not raiſe, if it
16. be ſo that the Dead are not raiſed. For if the Dead
17. ſhall not be raiſed, neither is Chriſt raiſed. And if
Chriſt be not riſen, your Faith is to no purpoſe, your
Sins are not forgiven, but you are ſtill liable to the
18. Puniſhment due to them. And they alſo who died in
19. the Belief of the Goſpel are periſhed and loſt. If the
Advantages we expect from Chriſt are confined to this
Life, and we have no Hope of any Benefit from him
in another Life hereafter, we Chriſtians are the moſt
20. miſerable of all Men. But in truth Chriſt is actually
riſen from the Dead, and become the firſt Fruits (*d*)
21. of thoſe who were dead. For ſince by Man came
Death, by Man came alſo the Reſurrection of the
22. Dead, or Reſtoration to Life. For as the Death that
all Men ſuffer is owing to *Adam*; ſo the Life that all
ſhall be reſtored to again, is procured them by Chriſt.
23. But they ſhall return to Life again, not all at once,
but in their proper Order, Chriſt the firſt Fruits is al-
ready riſen: Next after him ſhall riſe thoſe who are
his People, his Church, and this ſhall be at his ſecond
24. Coming. After that ſhall be the Day of Judgment,
which ſhall bring to a Concluſion, and finiſh the
whole Diſpenſation to the Race and Poſterity of
Adam in this World: When Chriſt ſhall have delivered
up the Kingdom to God the Father, which he
ſhall not do till he hath deſtroy'd all Empire, Power
25. and Authority that ſhall be in the World beſides. For
he muſt reign till he has totally ſubdued and brought
26. all his Enemies into Subjection to his Kingdom. The
27. laſt Enemy that ſhall be deſtroyed, is Death. For
God hath ſubjected all Things to Chriſt; but when it
is ſaid all Things are ſubjected, it is plain that he is to
be excepted who did ſubject all Things to him. But

TEXT.

dead, how ſay ſome among
you, that there is no re-
ſurrection of the dead?

But if there be no re- 13
ſurrection of the dead,
then is Chriſt not riſen.

And if Chriſt be not ri- 14
ſen, then is our preaching
vain, and your faith is alſo
vain.

Yea, and we are found 15
falſe witneſſes of God;
becauſe we have teſtified
of God, that he raiſed up
Chriſt: whom he raiſed
not up, if ſo be that the
dead riſe not.

For if the dead riſe not, 16
then is not Chriſt raiſed:

And if Chriſt be not 17
raiſed, your faith is vain;
ye are yet in your ſins.

Then they alſo which 18
are fallen aſleep in Chriſt,
are periſhed.

If in this life only we 19
have hope in Chriſt, we
are of all men moſt mife-
rable.

But now is Chriſt riſen 20
from the dead, and be-
come the firſt fruits of
them that ſlept.

For ſince by man came 21
death, by man came alſo
the reſurrection of the
dead.

For as in Adam all die, 22
even ſo in Chriſt ſhall all
be made alive.

But every man in his 23
own order: Chriſt the
firſt fruits, afterward they
that are Chriſt's, at his
coming.

Then cometh the end, 24
when he ſhall have deli-
vered up the kingdom to
God, even the Father;
when he ſhall have put
down all rule, and all au-
thority and power.

For he muſt reign till 25
he hath put all enemies
under his feet.

The laſt Enemy that 26
ſhall be deſtroyed, is
death.

For he hath put all 27
things under his feet. But
when he ſaith all things
are put under him, it is
manifeſt that he is except-
ed which did put all
things under him.

NOTES.

20 (*d*) The firſt Fruits were a ſmall Part which was firſt taken and offered to God, and ſanctified the whole Maſs which was to follow.

when

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TEXT.

28 And when all things ſhall be ſubdued unto him, then ſhall the Son alſo himſelf be ſubject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

29 Elſe what ſhall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead riſe not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?

30 And why ſtand we in jeopardy every hour?

31 I proteſt by your rejoycing which I have in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, I die daily.

32 If after the manner of men I have fought with beaſts at Epheſus, what advantageth it me, if the dead riſe not? let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.

33 Be not deceived: Evil communications corrupt good manners.

34 Awake to righteouſneſs, and ſin not; for ſome have not the knowledge of God: I ſpeak this to your ſhame.

35 But ſome man will ſay, How are the dead raiſed up? and with what body do they come?

36 Thou fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned except it die.

37 And that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of ſome other grain.

PARAPHRASE.

when all Things ſhall be actually reduced under Subjection to him, then even the Son himſelf, *i. e.* Chriſt and his whole Kingdom, he and all his Subjects and Members, ſhall be ſubjected to him that gave him this Kingdom and univerſal Dominion, that God may immediately govern and influence all. Elſe (*e*) what ſhall they do who are baptized for the Dead? (*f*) And why do we venture our Lives continually? As to myſelf, I am expoſed, vilified, treated ſo that I die daily; and for this I call to witneſs your glorying againſt me, in which I really glory, as coming on me for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's Sake: And particularly to what Purpoſe did I ſuffer myſelf to be expoſed to wild Beaſts at *Epheſus*, if the Dead riſe not? If there be no Reſurrection, 'tis wiſer a great deal to preſerve our ſelves as long as we can in a free Enjoyment of all the Pleaſures of this Life, for when Death comes, as it ſhortly will, there is an End of us for ever. Take heed that you be not miſled by ſuch Diſcourſes, for evil Communication is apt to corrupt even good Minds. Awake from ſuch Dreams, as 'tis fit you ſhould, and give not your ſelves up ſinfully to the Enjoyments of this Life. For there are ſome (*g*) atheiſtical People among you: This I ſay to make you aſhamed. But poſſibly it will be asked; How comes it to paſs that dead Men are raiſed, and with what kind of Bodies do they come? (*h*) Shall they have at the Reſurrection ſuch Bodies as they have now? Thou Fool, does not daily Experience teach thee, that the Seed which thou ſoweſt, corrupts and dies, before it ſprings up and lives again. That which thou ſoweſt is the bare Grain of Wheat or Barley, or the like, but the Body which it has when it riſes up, is different from the Seed that is ſown.

28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37.

NOTES.

29 (*e*) *Elſe* here relates to *ver.* 20. where it is ſaid, *Chriſt is riſen*: St. *Paul*, having in that Verſe mentioned Chriſt being the firſt Fruits from the Dead, takes Occaſion from thence now that he is upon the Reſurrection, to inform the *Corinthians* of ſeveral Particularities relating to the Reſurrection, which might enlighten them about it, and could not be known but by Revelation. Having made this Excurſion in the eight preceding Verſes, he here in the 29*th* re-aſſumes the Thread of his Diſcourſe, and goes on with his Arguments for believing the Reſurrection.

(*f*) What this baptizing for the Dead was, I confeſs I know not: But it ſeems by the following Verſes to be ſomething wherein they expoſed themſelves to the Danger of Death.

34 (*g*) May not this probably be ſaid to make them aſhamed of their Leader, whom they were ſo forward to glory in? For 'tis not unlikely that their queſtioning and denying the Reſurrection came from their new Apoſtle, who raiſed ſuch Oppoſition againſt St. *Paul*.

35 (*h*) If we will allow St. *Paul* to know what he ſays, it is plain from what he anſwers, that he underſtands theſe Words to contain two Queſtions. 1*ſt*. How comes it to paſs that dead Men are raiſed to Life again, would it not be better they ſhould live on? Why do they die to live again? 2*dly*. With what Bodies ſhall they return to Life? To both theſe he diſtinctly anſwers, *viz*. That thoſe who are raiſed to an heavenly State, ſhall have other Bodies: And next that it is fit that Men ſhould die, Death being no improper Way to the attaining other Bodies. This he ſhews there is ſo plain and common an Inſtance of in the ſowing of all Seeds, that he thinks it a fooliſh thing to make a Difficulty of it; and then proceeds to declare, That as they ſhall have other; ſo they ſhall have better Bodies than they had before, *viz*. ſpiritual and incorruptible.

For

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Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

38. For it is not the Seed that riſes up again, but a quite Different Body, ſuch as God has thought fit to give it, *viz.* a Plant of a particular Shape and Size,
39. which God has appointed to each Sort of Seed. And ſo likewiſe it is in Animals, there are different Kinds of Fleſh, (*i*) for the Fleſh of Men is of one Kind; the Fleſh of Cattle is of another Kind; that of Fiſh is different from them both; and the Fleſh of Birds is
40. of a peculiar Sort different from them all. To look yet farther into the Difference of Bodies, there be both heavenly and earthly Bodies, but the Beauty and Excellency of the heavenly Bodies is of one Kind,
41. and that of earthly Bodies of another. The Sun, Moon and Stars have each of them their particular Beauty and Brightneſs, and one Star differs from
42. another in Glory. And ſo ſhall the Reſurrection of the Dead (*k*) be: That which is ſown in this World

TEXT.

But God giveth it a 38
body as it hath pleaſed him, and to every ſeed his own body.

All fleſh is not the ſame 39
fleſh: but there is one kind of fleſh of men, another fleſh of beaſts, another of fiſhes, and another of birds.

There are alſo celeſtial 40
bodies, and bodies terreſtrial: but the glory of the celeſtial is one, and the glory of the terreſtrial is another.

There is one glory of 41
the ſun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the ſtars; for one ſtar diffèreth from another ſtar in glory.

So alſo is the reſurrecti- 42
on of the dead. It is ſown in corruption, it is raiſed in incorruption:

NOTES.

39 (*i*) The Scope of the Place makes it evident, that by *Fleſh* St *Paul* here means Bodies, *viz.* That God has given to the ſeveral Sorts of Animals Bodies in Shape, Texture and Organization very different one from another, as he hath thought good, and ſo he can give to Men at the Reſurrection Bodies of very different Conſtitutions and Qualities from thoſe they had before.

42 (*k*) *The Reſurrection of the Dead* here ſpoken of, is not the Reſurrection of all Mankind in common, but only the Reſurrection of the Juſt. This will be evident to any one who obſerves that St. *Paul*, having, *ver.* 22. declared that all Men ſhall be made alive again, tells the *Corinthians*, ver. 23. That it ſhall not be all at once, but at ſeveral Diſtances of Time. Firſt of all Chriſt roſe, afterwards next in order to him the Saints ſhould all be raiſed, which Reſurrection of the Juſt is that which he treats, and gives an Account of to the End of this Diſcourſe and Chapter, and ſo never comes to the Reſurrection of the Wicked, which was to be the third and laſt in order: So that from the 23*d* Verſe to the End of this Chapter, all that he ſays of the Reſurrection, is a Deſcription only of the Reſurrection of the Juſt, tho' he calls it here by the general Name of the Reſurrection of the Dead. That this is ſo, there is ſo much Evidence, that there is ſcarce a Verſe from the 41*ſt* to the End, that does not evince it.

1*ſt*. What in this Reſurrection is raiſed, St. *Paul* aſſures us, *ver.* 43. is raiſed in Glory, but the Wicked are not raiſed in Glory.

2*dly*. He ſays *we* (ſpeaking in the Name of all that ſhall be then raiſed) ſhall bear the Image of the heavenly *Adam*, ver. 49. which cannot belong to the Wicked. *We* ſhall all be chang'd, that by putting on Incorruptibility and Immortality, Death may be ſwallowed up of Victory, which God giveth us through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *ver.* 51, 52, 53, 54, 57. which cannot likewiſe belong to the Damned. And therefore *we* and *us* muſt be underſtood to be ſpoken in the Name of the Dead that are Chriſt's, who are to be raiſed by themſelves before the reſt of Mankind.

3*dly*. He ſays, *ver.* 52. That when the Dead are raiſed, they who are alive ſhall be chang'd in the Twinkling of an Eye. Now that theſe dead are only the dead in Chriſt which ſhall riſe firſt, and ſhall be caught up in the Clouds to meet the Lord in the Air, is plain from t *Theſſ.* 4. 16, 17.

4*thly*. He teaches, *ver.* 54. That by this Corruptible's putting on Incorruption, is brought to paſs the Saying, that Death is ſwallowed up of Victory. But I think no body will ſay, that the Wicked have Victory over Death; yet that according to the Apoſtle here belongs to all thoſe whoſe corruptible Bodies have put on Incorruption, which therefore muſt be only thoſe that riſe the ſecond in order. From whence it is clear that their Reſurrection alone is that which is here mentioned and deſcribed.

5*thly*. A farther Proof whereof is *ver.* 56, 57. in that their Sins being taken away, the Sting, whereby Death kills, is taken away. And hence St. *Paul* ſays, God has given *us* the Victory, which is the ſame *us* or *we* who ſhould bear the Image of the heavenly *Adam*, *ver.* 49. And the ſame *we* who ſhould *all* be changed, *ver.* 51, 52. All which Places can therefore belong to none but to thoſe who are Chriſt's, who ſhall be raiſed by themſelves the ſecond in order before the reſt of the Dead.

(*l*) and

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TEXT.

43 It is ſown in diſhonour, it is raiſed in glory: It is ſown in weakneſs, it is raiſed in power:

44 It is ſown a natural body, it is raiſed a ſpiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a ſpiritual body.

PARAPHRASE.

(*l*), and comes to die, is a poor, weak, contemptible corruptible thing; when it is raiſed again, it ſhall be powerful, glorious and incorruptible. The body we have here ſurpaſſes not the animal Nature: At the Reſurrection it ſhall 43. 44.

NOTES.

'Tis very remarkable what St. *Paul* ſays in this 51*ſt* Verſe, We *ſhall not all ſleep, but we ſhall all be changed in the twinkling of an Eye*. The reaſon he gives for it, *ver.* 53. is, becauſe this corruptible thing muſt put on Incorruption, and this mortal thing muſt put on Immortality. How? Why by putting off Fleſh and Blood, by an inſtantaneous Change, becauſe, as he tells us, *ver.* 50. Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; and therefore, to fit Believers for that Kingdom, thoſe who are alive at Chriſt's Coming, ſhall be changed in the twinkling of an Eye, and thoſe that are in their Graves ſhall be changed likewiſe at the inſtant of their being raiſed, and ſo all the whole Collection of Saints, all the Members of Chriſt's Body, ſhall be put into a State of Incorruptibility, *ver.* 52. in a new ſort of Bodies. Taking the Reſurrection here ſpoken of, to be the Reſurrection of all the Dead promiſcuouſly, St. *Paul*'s Reaſoning in this place can hardly be underſtood. But, upon a Suppoſition that he here deſcribes the Reſurrection of the Juſt only, that Reſurrection which, as he ſays, *ver.* 23. is to be the next after Chriſt's, and ſeparate from the reſt, there is nothing can be more plain, natural and eaſie, than St. *Paul*'s Reaſoning, and it ſtands thus. Men alive are Fleſh and Blood, the Dead in the Graves are but the Remains of corrupted Fleſh and Blood; but Fleſh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither Corruption inherit Incorruption, *i. e.* Immortality: therefore to make all thoſe who are Chriſt's capable to enter into his eternal Kingdom of Life, as well thoſe of them who are alive, as thoſe of them who are raiſed from the Dead, ſhall in the twinkling of an Eye be all changed, and their Corruptible ſhall put on Incorruption, and their Mortal ſhall put on Immortality: And thus God gives them the Victory over Death through their Lord Jeſus Chriſt. This is in ſhort St. *Paul*'s arguing here, and the Account he gives of the Reſurrection of the Bleſſed. But how the Wicked, who are afterwards to be reſtored to Life, were to be raiſed, and what was to become of them, he here ſays nothing, as not being to his preſent purpoſe, which was to aſſure the *Corinthians*, by the Reſurrection of Chriſt, of a happy Reſurrection to Believers, and thereby to encourage them to continue ſtedfaſt in the Faith which had ſuch a Reward. That this was his Deſign, may be ſeen by the beginning of his Diſcourſe; *ver.* 12——21. and by the Concluſion, *ver.* 58. in theſe Words; *Wherefore, my beloved Brethren, be ye ſtedfaſt, unmoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord; foraſmuch as ye know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord.* Which Words ſhew that what he had been ſpeaking of in the immediately preceding Verſes, *viz.* their being changed, and their putting on Incorruption and Immortality, and their having thereby the Victory through Jeſus Chriſt, was what belong'd ſolely to the Saints, as a Reward to thoſe who remained ſtedfaſt, and abounded in the Work of the Lord.

The like Uſe, of the like, though ſhorter Diſcourſe of the Reſurrection, wherein he deſcribes only that of the Bleſſed, he makes to the *Theſſalonians*, 1 Theſſ. 4. 13——18. which he concludes thus; *Wherefore comfort one another with theſe Words.*

Nor is it in this place alone that St. *Paul* calls the Reſurrection of the Juſt by the general Name of the Reſurrection of the Dead. He does the ſame, *Phil.* 3. 11. where he ſpeaks of his Sufferings, and of his Endeavours, if by any means he might attain unto the Reſurrection of the Dead: whereby he cannot mean the Reſurrection of the Dead in general, which ſince he has declared in this very Chapter, *ver.* 22. all Men, both good and bad, ſhall as certainly partake of, as that they ſhall die, there needs no Endeavours to attain to it. Our Saviour likewiſe ſpeaks of the Reſurrection of the Juſt in the ſame general Terms of the Reſurrection, *Mat.* 22. 30. *And the Reſurrection from the Dead*, Luke 20. 35. by which is meant only the Reſurrection of the Juſt, as is plain from the Context.

43 (*l*) The time that Man is in this World affixed to this Earth, is, his being ſown, and not when being dead he is put in the Grave, as is evident from St. *Paul*'s own Words. For dead things are not ſown, Seeds are ſown being alive, and die not till after they are ſown. Beſides, he that will attentively conſider what follows, will find Reaſon from St. *Paul*'s arguing to underſtand him ſo.

be

PARAPHRASE.

be ſpiritual. There are both animal (*m*) and ſpi-
45. ritual (*n*) Bodies. And ſo it is written, The firſt Man *Adam* was made a living Soul, *i. e.* made of an animal Conſtitution, endowed with an animal Life; the ſecond *Adam* was made of a ſpiritual Conſtitu-
46. tion, with a Power to give Life to others. How-beit the ſpiritual was not firſt, but the animal, and
47. afterwards the ſpiritual. The firſt Man was of the Earth, made up of Duſt or earthy Particles: the
48. ſecond Man is the Lord from Heaven. Thoſe who have no higher an Extraction than barely from the earthy Man, they, like him, have barely an animal Life and Conſtitution. But thoſe who are regenerate, and born of the heavenly Seed, are as he that is hea-
49. venly, ſpiritual, and immortal: And as in the animal, corruptible, mortal State we were born in, we have been like him that was earthy; ſo alſo ſhall we, who at the Reſurrection partake of a ſpiritual Life from Chriſt, be made like him the Lord from Heaven, heavenly, *i. e.* live as the Spirits in Heaven do, without the need of Food or Nouriſhment to ſupport it, and without Infirmities, Decay and Death, in-
50. joying a fixed, ſtable, unfleeting Life. This I ſay to you, Brethren, to ſatisfie thoſe that ask with what Bodies the Dead ſhall come, that we ſhall not at the Reſurrection have ſuch Bodies as we have now: For Fleſh and Blood cannot enter into the Kingdom which the Saints ſhall inherit in Heaven: Nor are ſuch fleeting corruptible things, as our preſent Bodies are, fitted to that State of immutable Incorrupti-
51. bility. To which let me add what has not been hitherto diſcovered, *viz.* That we ſhall not all die,
52. but we ſhall all be changed in a Moment, in the twinkling of an Eye, at the Sounding of the laſt Trumpet, for the Trumpet ſhall ſound, and the Dead ſhall riſe; and as many of us Believers as are

TEXT.

45 And ſo it is written, The firſt man Adam was made a living ſoul, the laſt Adam was made a quickning ſpirit.

46 Howbeit, that was not firſt which is ſpiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is ſpiritual.

47 The firſt man is of the earth, earthy: the ſecond man is the Lord, from heaven.

48 As is the earthy, ſuch are they alſo that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, ſuch are they alſo that are heavenly.

49 And as we have borne the image of the earthy, we ſhall alſo bear the image of the heavenly.

50 Now this I ſay, brethren, that fleſh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

51 Behold, I ſhew you a myſtery; we ſhall not all ſleep, but we ſhall all be changed,

52 In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the laſt trump (for the trumpet ſhall ſound) and the dead ſhall be raiſed incorruptible, and we ſhall be changed.

NOTES.

44 (*m*) Σῶμα ψυχικὸν, which in our Bibles is tranſlated *natural Bodies*, ſhould, I think, more ſuitably to the Propriety of the Greek, and more conformably to the Apoſtle's Meaning, be tranſlated *animal Body*: For that which St. *Paul* is doing here, is to ſhew, that as we have animal Bodies now (which we derived from *Adam*) endowed with an animal Life, which unleſs ſupported with a conſtant Supply of Food and Air, will fail and periſh, and at laſt, do what we can, will diſſolve and come to an end; ſo at the Reſurrection we ſhall have from Chriſt the ſecond *Adam ſpiritual Bodies*, which ſhall have an eſſential and natural inſeparable Life in them, which ſhall continue and ſubſiſt prepetually of it ſelf, without the help of Meat and Drink, or Air, or any ſuch foreign Support; without Decay, or any Tendency to a Diſſolution: of which our Saviour ſpeaking, *Luke* 20. 35. ſays, *They who ſhall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Reſurrection from the Dead*, cannot die any more, for they are equal to the Angels, *i. e.* of an Angelical Nature and Conſtitution.

(*n*) *Vid.* Phil. 3. 21.

then

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

53 For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.

54 So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.

55 O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

56 The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law.

57 But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

58 Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

then alive, shall be changed. For this corruptible Frame and Constitution (*o*) of ours, must put on Incorruption, and from mortal become immortal. 53. And when we are got into that State of Incorruptibility and Immortality, then shall be fulfilled what was foretold in these words, Death is swallowed up of Victory (*p*), *i. e.* Death is perfectly subdued and exterminated by a compleat Victory over it, so that there shall be no Death any more. Where, O 54. Death, is now that Power whereby thou deprivedst Men of Life? What is become of the Dominion of the Grave, whereby they were detained Prisoners there (*q*)? That which gives Death the Power over 55. Men is sin, and 'tis the Law by which Sin has this Power. But Thanks be to God who gives us Deli- 56. verance and Victory over Death, the Punishment of Sin by the Law, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who has delivered us from the Rigour of the Law. Where- 57. fore my beloved Brethren, continue stedfast and unmoveable in the Christian Faith, always abounding in your Obedience to the Precepts of Christ, and in those Duties which are required of us by our Lord and Saviour, knowing that your Labour will not be lost, whatsoever you shall do or suffer for him, will be abundantly rewarded by eternal Life. 58.

NOTES.

53 (*o*) Τὸ φθαρτὸν *corruptible*, and τὸ θνητὸν *mortal*, have not here σῶμα *Body*, for their Substantive, as some imagine, but are put in the Neuter Gender absolute, and stand to represent νεκροὶ *dead*, as appears by the immediately preceding Verse, and also *ver.* 42. οὕτω καὶ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν· σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ *So is the Resurrection of the Dead, it is sown in Corruption*, i. e. mortal corruptible Men are sown, being corruptible and weak. Nor can it be thought strange or strained, that I interpret φθαρτὸν and θνητὸν as Adjectives of the Neuter Gender, to signifie Persons, when in this very Discourse the Apostle uses two Adjectives in the Neuter Gender, to signifie the Persons of *Adam* and *Christ*, in such a way as it is impossible to understand them otherwise. The words no farther off than *ver.* 46. are these; Ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ πνευματικόν· ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικὸν ἔπειτα τὸ πνευματικόν. The like way of speaking we have, *Mat.* 1. 20. and *Luke* 1. 35. in both which, the Person of our Saviour is expressed by Adjectives of the Neuter Gender. To any of all which places I do not think any one will add the Substantive σῶμα *Body*, to make out the Sense. That then which is meant here being this, That this *mortal Man* shall put on Immortality, and this *corruptible Man* Incorruptibility, any one will easily find another Nominative Case to σπείρεται *is sown*, and not σῶμα *Body*, when he considers the Sense of the place, wherein the Apostle's purpose is to speak of νεκροὶ *mortal Men*, being dead and raised again to Life, and made immortal. Those with whom Grammatical Construction, and the Nominative Case weighs so much, may be pleas'd to read this Passage in *Virgil*;

> *Linquebant dulces animas, aut ægra trahebant*
> *Corpora*, Æneid. l. 3. *ver.* 140.

where by finding the Nominative Case to the two Verbs in it, he may come to discover that Personality, as contra-distinguished to both Body and Soul, may be the Nominative Case to Verbs.

54 (*p*) Νῖκος *Victory*, often signifies End and Destruction. See *Vossius* de LXX Interpret. *cap.* 24.

55 (*q*) This has something the Air of a Song of Triumph, which St. *Paul* breaks out into upon a View of the Saints Victory over Death, in a State wherein Death is never to have place any more.

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Neronis 3.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. XVI. 1——4.

CONTENTS.

HE gives Directions concerning their Contribution to the poor Christians at *Jeruſalem*.

PARAPHRASE.

1 AS to the Collection for the Converts to Chriſtianity who are at *Jeruſalem*, I would have you do as I have directed the Churches of *Galatia*.
2 Let every one of you, according as he thrives in his Calling, lay aſide ſome part of his Gain by it ſelf, which the firſt Day of the Week let him put into the common Treaſury (r) of the Church, that there may
3 be no need of any Gathering when I come. And when I come, thoſe whom you ſhall approve of (s) will I ſend with Letters to *Jeruſalem*, to carry thither your
4 Benevolence. Which if it deſerves that I alſo ſhould go, they ſhall go along with me.

TEXT.

1 NOW concerning the collection for the ſaints, as I have given order to the churches of Galatia, even ſo do ye.
2 Upon the firſt day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in ſtore, as God hath proſpered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.
3 And when I come, whomſoever you ſhall approve by your letters, them will I ſend to bring your liberality unto Jeruſalem.
4 And if it be meet that I go alſo, they ſhall go with me.

NOTES.

2 (r) Θησαυρίζων ſeems uſed here in the Senſe I have given it. For 'tis certain that the Apoſtle directs that they ſhould every Lord's Day bring to the Congregation what their Charity had laid aſide the foregoing Week, as their Gain came in, that there it might be put into ſome publick Box appointed for that purpoſe, or Officer's Hands. For if they only laid it aſide at home, there would nevertheleſs be need of a Collection when he came.

3 (s) Δοκιμάσητε, δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους πέμψω, this pointing that makes δι' ἐπιστολῶν belong to πέμψω, and not to δοκιμάσητε, the Apoſtle's Senſe juſtifies. He telling them here, that finding their Collection ready when he came, he would write by thoſe they ſhould think fit to ſend it by, or go himſelf with them, if their Preſent were worthy of it. There needed no Approbation of their Meſſengers to him by their Letters, when he was preſent. And if the *Corinthians* by their Letters approv'd of them to the Saints at *Jeruſalem*, how could St. *Paul* ſay he would ſend them?

SECT. XII.

CHAP. XVI. 5——12.

CONTENTS.

HE gives them an Account of his own, *Timothy*'s and *Apollos*'s Intention of coming to them.

PARAPHRASE.

5 I Will come unto you when I have been in *Macedonia*, for I intend to take that in my way: And perhaps

TEXT.

5 NOW I will come unto you, when I ſhall paſs through Macedonia: (for I do paſs through Macedonia)

TEXT. PARAPHRASE. An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

6 And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey, whithersoever I go.

7 For I will not see you now by the way, but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.

8 But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost.

9 For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.

10 Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you, without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do.

11 Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.

12 As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desire him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time.

perhaps I shall make some Stay, nay winter with you, that you may bring me going on my way whithersoever I go. For I do not intend just to call in upon you, as I pass by, but I hope to spend some time with you, if the Lord permit. But I shall stay at *Ephesus* till *Pentecost*, i. e. *Whitsontide*. For now I have a very fair and promising Opportunity given me of propagating the Gospel, though there be many Opposers. If *Timothy* come to you, pray take care that he be easy, and without fear amongst you, for he promotes the Work of the Lord in preaching the Gospel, even as I do. Let no body therefore despise him, but treat him kindly, and bring him going, that he may come unto me, for I expect him with the Brethren. As to Brother (*t*) *Apollos*, I have earnestly endeavour'd to prevail with him to come to you with the Brethren, (*u*) but he has no mind to it at all at present. He will come however when there shall be a fit Occasion.

6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

NOTES.

12 (*t*) There be few perhaps who need to be told it, yet it may be convenient here, once for all, to remark, that in the Apostle's time *Brother* was the ordinary Compellation that Christians used to one another.

(*u*) The *Brethren* here mentioned, seem to be *Stephanas* and those others who with him came with a Message or Letter to St. *Paul* from the Church of *Corinth*, by whom he returned this Epistle in answer.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. XVI. 13—24.

CONTENTS.

THE Conclusion, wherein St. *Paul*, according to his Custom, leaves with some, which he thinks most necessary, Exhortations, and sends particular Greetings.

13 WAtch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.

14 Let all your things be done with charity.

15 I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the

BE upon your Guard, stand firm in the Faith, Behave your selves like Men with Courage and Resolution: And whatever is done amongst you, either in your publick Assemblies, or elsewhere, let it all be done with Affection and good Will one to another (*w*). You know the House of *Stephanas*, that

13. 14. 15.

NOTES.

14 (*w*) His main Design being to put an end to the Faction and Division which the false Apostle had made amongst them, 'tis no wonder that we find Unity and Charity so much and so often pressed in this and the second Epistle.

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

they were the firſt Converts of *Achaia*, and have all along made it their Buſineſs to miniſter to the Saints;
16. To ſuch I beſeech you to ſubmit your ſelves: Let ſuch as with us labour to promote the Goſpel be your
17. Leaders. I am glad that *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus* came to me; becauſe they have ſupplied
18. what was deficient on your Side: For by the Account they have given me of you, they have quieted my Mind and yours too (*x*): Therefore have a Regard to
19. ſuch Men as theſe. The Churches of *Aſia* ſalute you, and ſo do *Aquila* and *Priſcilla*, with much Chriſtian Affection; with the Church that is in their Houſe.
20. All the Brethren here ſalute you: ſalute one another
21. with an holy Kiſs. That which followeth is the Sa-
22. lutation of me *Paul* with my own Hand. If any one be an Enemy to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his Goſpel, let him be accurſed, or devoted to Deſtruction. The
23. Lord cometh to execute Vengeance on him (*y*). The
24. Favour of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. My Love be with you all in Chriſt Jeſus. *Amen.*

TEXT.

firſt fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themſelves to the miniſtry of the ſaints)

That ye ſubmit your 16
ſelves unto ſuch, and to every one that helpeth with us and laboureth.

I am glad of the coming 17
of Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaicus: for that which was lacking on your part, they have ſupplied.

For they have refreſhed 18
my ſpirit and yours: therefore acknowledge ye them that are ſuch.

The churches of Aſia 19
ſalute you. Aquila and Priſcilla ſalute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their houſe.

All the brethren greet 20
you. Greet you one another with an holy kiſs.

The ſalutation of me 21
Paul with mine own hand.

If any man love not the 22
Lord Jeſus Chriſt, let him be Anathema, Maranatha.

The grace of our Lord 23
Jeſus Chriſt be you.

My love be with you all 24
in Chriſt Jeſus. Amen.

NOTES.

18 (*x*) *Viz.* By removing thoſe Suſpicions and Fears that were on both ſides.

22 (*y*) This being ſo different a Sentence from any of thoſe writ with St. *Paul*'s own hands in any of his other Epiſtles, may it not with Probability be underſtood to mean the falſe Apoſtle, to whom St. *Paul* imputes all the Diſorders in this Church, and of whom he ſpeaks, not much leſs ſeverely, 2 *Cor.* 11. 13——15?

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Second Epiſtle of St. *PAUL*

TO THE

CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

SAINT *PAUL* having writ his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, to try, as he ſays himſelf, *Chap.* 2. 9. what Power he had ſtill with that Church, wherein there was a great Faction againſt him, which he was attempting to break, was in pain till he found what Succeſs it had; *Ch.* 2. 12, 13. & 7. 5. But when he had by *Titus* received an Account of their Repentance, upon his former Letter; of their Submiſſion to his Orders; and of their good Diſpoſition of Mind towards him, he takes Courage, ſpeaks of himſelf more freely, and juſtifies himſelf more boldly, as may be ſeen, *Ch.* 1. 12. & 2. 14. & 6. 10. & 10. 1. & 13. 10. And as to his Oppoſers, he deals more roundly and ſharply with them, than he had done in his former Epiſtle, as appears from *Ch.* 2. 17. & 4. 2——5. & 5. 12. & 6. 11——16. & 11. 11. & 12. 15.

The Obſervation of theſe Particulars may poſſibly be of Uſe to give us ſome Light, for the better Underſtanding of this ſecond Epiſtle, eſpecially if we add, that the main Buſineſs of this, as of his former Epiſtle, is to take

off

*An.Ch.*57. *Neronis* 3. off the People from the new Leader they had got, who was St. *Paul*'s Oppoſer; and wholly to put an end to the Faction and Diſorder which that falſe Apoſtle had cauſed in the Church of *Corinth*. He alſo in this Epiſtle ſtirs them up again to a liberal Contribution to the poor Saints at *Jeruſalem*.

This Epiſtle was writ in the ſame Year, not long after the former.

SECTION I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

INTRODUCTION.

1. PAUL an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, by the Will of God, and *Timothy* our Brother (*a*), to the Church of God which is in *Corinth*, with all the
2. Chriſtians that are in all *Achaia* (*b*); Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

TEXT.

1 PAUL an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the ſaints which are in all Achaia:

2 Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

NOTES.

1 (*a*) *Brother*, i. e. either in the common Faith; and ſo, as we have already remarked, he frequently calls all the Converted, as *Rom.* 1. 13. and in other places; or *Brother* in the Work of the Miniſtry, *vid.* Rom. 16. 21. 1 *Cor.* 13. 10. To which we may add, that St. *Paul* may be ſuppoſed to have given *Timothy* the Title of *Brother* here for Dignity's ſake, to give him a Reputation above his Age amongſt the Corinthians, to whom he had before ſent him, with ſome kind of Authority to rectifie their Diſorders. *Timothy* was but a young Man, when St. *Paul* writ his firſt Epiſtle to him, as appears, 1 *Tim.* 4. 12. Which Epiſtle, by the Conſent of all, was writ to *Timothy* after he had been at *Corinth*: And in the Opinion of ſome very learned Men, not leſs than eight Years after; and therefore his calling him Brother here, and joining him with himſelf in writing this Epiſtle, may be to let the *Corinthians* ſee, that though he were ſo young who had been ſent to them; yet it was one whom St. *Paul* thought fit to treat very much as an Equal.

(*b*) *Achaia*, the Country wherein *Corinth* ſtood.

SECT. II. *N.* 1.

CHAP. I. 3—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

THIS firſt part of this Second Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, is ſpent in juſtifying himſelf againſt ſeveral Imputations from the oppoſite Faction. And ſetting himſelf right in the Opinion of the *Corinthians*. The Particulars whereof we ſhall take notice of in the following Numbers.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. II. *N.* I.

CHAP. I. 3——14.

CONTENTS.

HE begins with juſtifying his former Letter to them, which had afflicted them, *vid.* ch. 7. 7, 8. by telling them, that he thanks God for his Deliverance out of his Afflictions, becauſe it enables him to comfort them by the Example both of his Affliction and Deliverance, acknowledging the Obligation he had to them and others for their Prayers and Thanks for his Deliverance, which he preſumes they could not but put up for him, ſince his Conſcience bears him witneſs (which was his Comfort) that in his Carriage to all Men, and to them more eſpecially, he had been direct and ſincere, without any ſelf or carnal Intereſt, and that what he writ to them had no other Deſign but what lay open, and they read in his Words, and did alſo acknowledge, and he doubted not but they ſhould always acknowledge, part of them acknowledging alſo, that he was the Man they gloried in, as they ſhall be his Glory in the Day of the Lord. From what St. *Paul* ſays in this Section (which if read with Attention will appear to be writ with a Turn of great Inſinuation) it may be gathered, that the oppoſite Faction endeavour'd to evade the Force of the former Epiſtle, by ſuggeſting, that, whatever he might pretend, St. *Paul* was a cunning, artificial, ſelf-intereſted Man, and had ſome hidden Deſign in it, which Accuſation appears in other parts alſo of this Epiſtle; as, *Ch.* 4. 2, 5.

TEXT.

3 BLeſſed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort;

4 Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we our ſelves are comforted of God.

5 For as the ſufferings of Chriſt abound in us, ſo our conſolation alſo aboundeth by Chriſt.

6 And whether we be afflicted, it is for your conſolation and ſalvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the ſame ſufferings which we alſo ſuffer: or whether we be comforted, it is for your conſolation and ſalvation.

PARAPHRASE.

BLeſſed be the God (*c*) and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Father of Mercies, and God of all Conſolation, who comforteth me in all my Tribulations, that I may be able to comfort them (*d*), who are in any Trouble, by the Comfort which I receive from him. Becauſe as I have ſuffered abundantly for Chriſt, ſo through Chriſt I have been abundantly comforted; and both theſe for your Advantage. For my Affliction is for your Conſolation and Relief (*e*), which is effected by a patient Enduring thoſe Sufferings, whereof you ſee an Example in me. And again, when I am comforted, it is for your Conſolation and Relief, who may expect the like from the ſame compaſſionate God and Father. 3. 4. 5. 6.

NOTES.

3 (*c*) That this is the right Tranſlation of the *Greek* here, ſee *Eph.* 1. 3. & 1 *Pet.* 1. 3. where the ſame words are ſo tranſlated; and that it agrees with St. *Paul*'s Senſe, ſee *Eph.* 17.

4 (*d*) He means here the Corinthians, who were troubled for their Miſcarriage towards him; *vid. Ch.* 7. 7.

6 (*e*) Σωτηρία, *Relief*, rather than *Salvation*; which is underſtood, of Deliverance from Death and Hell; but here it ſignifies only Deliverance from their preſent Sorrow.

Upon

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

7. Upon which Ground I have firm Hopes, as concerning you, being assured, that as you have had your Share of Sufferings, so ye shall likewise have of Con-
8. solation. For I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, of the Load of the Afflictions in *Asia*, that were beyond Measure heavy upon me, and beyond my Strength; so that I could see no way of escaping
9. with Life. But I had the Sentence of Death in my self, that I might not trust in my self, but in God, who can restore to Life even those who are actually
10. dead, who delivered me from so eminent a Danger of Death, who doth deliver, and in whom I trust he
11. will yet deliver me: You also joining the Assistance of your Prayers for me; so that Thanks may be returned by many for the Deliverance procured
12. me by the Prayers of many Persons. For I cannot doubt of the Prayers and Concern of you and many others for me, since my glorying is this, *viz.* the Testimony of my own Conscience, that in Plainness of Heart, and Sincerity before God, not in fleshly Wisdom (*f*), but by the Favour of God directing me (*g*), I have behaved my self towards all Men, but
13. more particularly towards you. For I have no Design, no Meaning in what I write to you, but what lies open, and is legible in what you read: and you your selves cannot but acknowledge it to be so; and I hope you shall always acknowledge it to the end;
14. as part of you have already acknowledg'd that I am your Glory (*h*), as you will be mine at the Day of Judgment, when, being my Scholars and Converts, ye shall be saved.

TEXT.

And our hope of you 7
is stedfast, knowing that
as you are partakers of
the sufferings, so shall ye
be also of the consolation.

For we would not, Bre- 8
thren, have you ignorant
of our trouble which came
to us in Asia, that we
were pressed out of mea-
sure, above strength, inso-
much that we despaired
even of life:

But we had the sentence 9
of death in ourselves, that
we should not trust in our
selves, but in God which
raiseth the dead.

Who delivered us from 10
so great a death, and doth
deliver: in whom we trust
that he will yet deliver us:

You also helping toge- 11
ther by prayer for us, that
for the gift bestowed upon
us by the means of many
persons, thanks may be gi-
ven by many on our behalf.

For our rejoicing is this, 12
the testimony of our con-
science, that in simplicity
and godly sincerity, not
with fleshly wisdom, but
by the grace of God, we
have had our conversation
in the world, and more
abundantly to you-wards.

For we write none o- 13
ther things, unto you, than
what you read or ac-
knowledge, and I trust
you shall acknowledge e-
ven to the end.

As also you have ac- 14
knowledged us in part,
that we are your rejoicing,
even as ye also are ours in
the day of the Lord Jesus.

NOTES.

12 (*f*) What *Fleshly Wisdom* is, may be seen *Ch.* 4. 2, 5.

(*g*) This ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ, *But in the Favour of God*, is the same with ἀλλὰ χάρις Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοὶ, *The Favour of God that is with me*, i. e. by God's favourable Assistance.

14 (*h*) *That I am your Glory*; whereby he signifies that Part of them which stuck to him own'd him as their Teacher; in which sense, *Glorying* is much used in these Epistles to the Corinthians, upon the Occasion of the several Partisans boasting, some that they were of *Paul*, and others of *Apollos*.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 15——II. 17.

CONTENTS.

THE next thing St. *Paul* juſtifies, is, his not coming to them. St. *Paul* had promiſed to call on the *Corinthians* in his way to *Macedonia*, but failed. This his Oppoſers would have to be from Levity in him, or a Mind that regulated it ſelf wholly by carnal Intereſt; *vid.* ver. 17. To which he anſwers, that God himſelf having confirmed him amongſt them, by the Unction and Earneſt of his Spirit in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel of his Son, whom he *Paul* had preached to them ſteadily the ſame, without any the leaſt Variation, or Unſaying any thing he had at any time delivered, they could have no Ground to ſuſpect him to be an unſtable uncertain Man, that would play faſt and looſe with them, and could not be depended on in what he ſaid to them. This is what he ſays, *ch.* 1. 15—22.

In the next place he, with a very ſolemn Aſſeveration, profeſſes that it was to ſpare them that he came not to them. This he explains, *ch.* 1. 23. and 2. 11.

He gives another Reaſon, *ch.* 2, 12, 13. why he went on to *Macedonia*, without coming to *Corinth*, as he had purpoſed, and that was the Uncertainty he was in by the not coming of *Titus*, what Temper they were in at *Corinth*. Having mentioned his Journey to *Macedonia*, he takes notice of the Succeſs which God gave to him there and every where, declaring of what Conſequence his Preaching was both to the Salvation and Condemnation of thoſe who received or rejected it: profeſſing again his Sincerity and Diſintereſtedneſs, not without a ſevere Reflection on their falſe Apoſtle. All which we find in the following Verſes, *viz. ch.* 2. 14—17. and is all very ſuitable, and purſuant to his Deſign in this Epiſtle, which was to eſtabliſh his Authority and Credit amongſt the *Corinthians*.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*	
15 AND in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a ſecond benefit:	HAving this Perſuaſion (*viz.*) of your Love and Eſteem of me, I purpoſed to come unto you e'er this, that you might have a ſecond Gratification (*i*),	15.
16 And to paſs by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way towards Judea.	and to take you in my way to *Macedonia*, and from thence return to you again, and by you be brought on in my Way to *Judea*.	16.
17 When I therefore was thus minded, did I uſe lightneſs? or the things that I purpoſe, do I purpoſe according to the fleſh, that with me there ſhould be yea, yea, and nay, nay?	If this fell not out ſo as I purpoſed, am I therefore to be condemned of Fickleneſs? or am I to be thought an uncertain Man, that talks forwards and backwards, one that has no Regard to his Word any further than may ſuit his carnal Intereſt?	17.
18 But as God is true, our word toward you, was not yea and nay.	But God is my Witneſs, that what you have heard from me has not been un-	18.

NOTES.

15 (*i*) By the word χάρις, which our Bibles tranſlate *Benefits* or *Grace*, 'tis plain the Apoſtle means his being preſent among them a ſecond time, without giving them any Grief or Diſpleaſure. He had been with them before almoſt two Years together with Satisfaction and Kindneſs. He intended them another Viſit, but it was, he ſays, that they might have the like Gratification, *i. e.* the like Satisfaction in his Company a ſecond time, which is the ſame he ſays, 2 *Co.* 2. 1.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

19. certain, deceitful, or variable. For Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was preached among you by me, and *Silvanus*, and *Timotheus*, was not, sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, but has been shewn to be uniformly one and the same in the Counsel or Re-
20. velation of God, (for all the Promises of God do all consent and stand firm in him) to the Glory of God
21. by my Preaching. Now it is God who establishes me with you for the Preaching of the Gospel, who has
22. anointed (*k*), And also sealed (*l*) me, and given me the Earnest (*m*) of his Spirit in my Heart.
23. Moreover I call God to witness, and may I die if it is not so, that it was to spare you that I came not yet
24. to *Corinth*: Not that I pretend to such a Dominion over your Faith, as to require you to believe what I have taught you without coming to you, when I am expected there to maintain and make it good; for 'tis by that Faith you stand: But I forbore to come as one concerned to preserve and help forwards your Joy, which I am tender of, and therefore declined coming to you, whilst I thought you in an Estate that would require Severity from me, that would trouble you (*n*).
1. I purposed in my self, 'tis true, to come to you again, but I resolved too, it should be without bringing Sor-
2. row with me (*o*); For if I grieve you, who is there, when I am with you, to comfort me, but those very Persons whom I have discomposed with Grief? And

TEXT.

For the Son of God, 19
Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me and Silvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea.

For all the Promises of 20
God in him are yea, and in him amen, unto the glory of God by us.

Now he which 'stablish- 21
eth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us is God:

Who hath also sealed us, 22
and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.

Moreover, I call God 23
for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth.

Not for that we have 24
dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your Joy: for by faith ye stand.

But I determined thus 1
with my self, that I would not come again to you in heaviness.

For if I make you sorry, 2
who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me?

NOTES.

21 (*k*) *Anointed*, i. e. set apart to be an Apostle by an extraordinary Call. Priests and Prophets were set apart by Anointing as well as Kings.

22 (*l*) *Sealed*, i. e. by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost; which are an Evidence of the Truths he brings from God, as a Seal is of a Letter.

(*m*) *Earnest* of Eternal Life; for of that the Spirit is mentioned as a Pledge in more places than one, *vid.* 2 Cor. 5. 5. Eph. 1. 13, 14. All these are Arguments to satisfie the Corinthians, that St. *Paul* was not, nor could be a shuffling Man, that minded not what he said, but as it served his turn.

The Reasoning of St. *Paul*, ver. 18——22. whereby he would convince the Corinthians, that he is not a fickle unsteady Man, that says and unsays as may suit his Humour and Interest; being a little obscure, by reason of the shortness of his Stile here, which has left many things to be supplied by the Reader, to connect the Parts of the Argumentation, and make the Deduction clear; I hope I shall be pardon'd if I endeavour to set it in its clear Light, for the sake of ordinary Readers.

God hath set me apart to the Ministry of the Gospel by an extraordinary Call; has attested my Mission by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and given me the Earnest of eternal Life in my Heart by his Spirit, and hath confirmed me amongst you in preaching the Gospel, which is all uniform, and of a piece, as I have preach'd it to you, without tripping in the least: And there, to the Glory of God, have shewn that all the Promises concur, and are unalterably certain in Christ. I therefore having never falter'd in any thing I have said to you, and having all these Attestations of being under the special Direction and Guidance of God himself, who is unalterably true, cannot be suspected of dealing doubly with you in any thing relating to my Ministry.

24 (*n*) It is plain St. *Paul*'s Doctrine had been oppos'd by some of them at *Corinth*, *vid.* 1 *Cor.* 15. 12. His Apostleship question'd, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1, 2. 2 *Cor.* 13. 3. He himself triumphed over, as if he durst not come, 1 *Cor.* 4. 18. they saying his Letters were weighty and powerful, but his bodily Presence weak, and his Speech contemptible; 2 *Cor.* 10. 10. This being the State his Reputation was then in at *Corinth*, and he having promised to come to them, 1 *Cor.* 16. 5. he could not but think it necessary to excuse his failing them, by Reasons that should be both convincing and kind; such as are contained in this Verse in the Sense given of it.

1 (*o*) That this is the Meaning of this Verse, and not that he would not come to them in Sorrow a second time, is past Doubt, since he had never been with them in Sorrow a first time. *Vid.* 2 *Cor.* 1. 15.

this

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

3 And I wrote this same unto you, lest when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice, having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all.

4 For out of much affliction and anguish of heart, I wrote unto you with many tears; not that you should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you.

5 But if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part: that I may not overcharge you all.

6 Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many.

7 So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.

8 Wherefore I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love towards him.

9 For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.

10 To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in the person of Christ;

11 Lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.

PARAPHRASE.

this very thing (*p*), which made you sad, I writ to you, not coming my self, on purpose that when I came I might not have Sorrow from those from whom I ought to receive Comfort; having this Belief and Confidence in you all, that you, all of you, make my Joy and Satisfaction so much your own, that you would remove all Cause of Disturbance before I came. For I writ unto you with great Sadness of Heart, and many Tears, not with Intention to grieve you, but that you might know the Overflow of Tenderness and Affection which I have for you. But if the Fornicator has been the Cause of Grief, I do not say he has been so to me, but in some degree to you all, that I may not lay load on him (*q*); The Correction he hath received from the Majority of you, is sufficient in the Case: So that on the contrary (*r*) it is fit rather that you forgive and comfort him, lest he (*s*) should be swallowed up by an Excess of Sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you to confirm your Love to him, which I doubt not of. For this also was one End of my writing to you, *viz.* To have a Trial of you, and to know whether you are ready to obey me in all things. To whom you forgive any thing, I also forgive. For if I have forgiven any thing, I have forgiven it to him for your sakes, by the Authority and in the Name of Christ; That we may not be over-reach'd by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his Wiles.

3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

Further-

NOTES.

(*p*) Καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τοῦτο αὐτὸ, *And I writ to you this very thing.* That ἔγραψα, *I writ*, relates here to the first Epistle to the Corinthians, is evident, because it is so used in the very next Verse, and again a little lower, *ver.* 9. What therefore is it in his first Epistle which he here calls τοῦτο αὐτὸ, *this very thing*, which he had writ to them? I answer, the Punishment of the Fornicator. This is plain by what follows here to *ver.* 11. especially if it be compared with 1 *Cor.* 4. 21. & 5. 8. For there he writes to them to punish that Person; whom if he, St. *Paul*, had come himself before it was done, he must have come, as he calls it, with a Rod, and have himself chastised: But now that he knows that the Corinthians had punish'd him in Compliance to his Letter; and he had had this Trial of their Obedience, he is so far from continuing the Severity, that he writes to them to forgive him, and take him again into their Affection.

5 (*q*) St. *Paul* being satisfied with the Corinthians for their ready Compliance with his Orders, in his former Letter, to punish the Fornicator, intercedes to have him restored; and to that end lessens his Fault, and declares, however he might have caused Grief to the Corinthians, yet he had caused none to him.

7 (*r*) Τοναντίον, *on the contrary*, here, has nothing to refer to but ἐπιβαρῶ, *over-charge*, in the 5th Verse, which makes that to belong to the Fornicator, as I have explain'd it.

(*s*) Ὁ τοιοῦτος, *such an one*, meaning the Fornicator. It is observable how tenderly St. *Paul* deals with the Corinthians in this Epistle; for though he treats of the Fornicator from the 5th to the 10th Verse inclusively, yet he never mentions him under that or any other dis-

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

12. Furthermore, being arrived at *Troas*, becauſe *Titus*, whom I expected from *Corinth* with News of you, was not come, I was very uneaſie (*t*) there, inſomuch that I made not uſe of the Opportunity which was put into my Hands by the Lord, of preaching the Go-
13. ſpel of Chriſt, for which I came thither. I haſtily left thoſe of *Troas*, and departed thence to *Macedonia*. But
14. Thanks be to God, in that he always makes me triumph every where (*u*) through Chriſt, who gives me Succeſs in preaching the Goſpel, and ſpreads the
15. Knowledge of Chriſt by me. For my Miniſtry and Labour in the Goſpel, is a Service or ſweet-ſmelling Sacrifice to God through Chriſt, both in regard of
16. thoſe that are ſaved and thoſe that periſh: To the one my preaching is of ill Savour, unacceptable and offenſive, by their rejecting whereof they draw Death on themſelves; and to the other, being as a ſweet Savour, acceptable, they thereby receive eternal Life. And who is ſufficient for theſe things (*w*)? and yet, as I ſaid, my Service in the Goſpel is well-pleaſing to
17. God. For I am not as ſeveral (*x*) are, who are Huckſters of the Word of God, preaching it for Gain: But I preach the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt in Sincerity. I ſpeak as from God himſelf, and I deliver it as in the Preſence of God.

TEXT.

Furthermore, when I 12
came to Troas to preach Chriſt's goſpel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord.

I had no reſt in my 13
ſpirit, becauſe I found not Titus my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.

Now thanks be unto 14
God, which always cauſeth us to triumph in Chriſt, and maketh manifeſt the ſavour of his knowledge by us in every place.

For we are unto God a 15
ſweet ſavour of Chriſt, in them that are ſaved, and in them that periſh.

To the one we are the 16
ſavour of death unto death; and to the other the ſavour of life unto life: and who is ſufficient for theſe things?

For we are not as many, 17
which corrupt the word of God: but as of ſincerity, but as of God, in the ſight of God ſpeak we in Chriſt.

NOTES.

obliging Title, but in the ſoft and inoffenſive Terms of *any one*, or *ſuch an one*. And that poſſibly may be the reaſon why he ſays μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ, indefinitely, without naming the Perſon it relates to.

12 (*t*) How uneaſie he was, and upon what account, ſee *Ch.* 7. 5——16. It was not barely for *Titus*'s Abſence, but for want of the News he brought with him; *Ch.* 7. 7.

14 (*u*) *Who makes me triumph every where*, i. e. in the Succeſs of my preaching in my Journey to *Macedonia*, and alſo in my Victory at the ſame time at *Corinth* over the falſe Apoſtles, my Oppoſers, that had raiſed a Faction againſt me amongſt you. This, I think is St. *Paul's* meaning, and the reaſon of his uſing the word Triumph, which implies Conteſt and Victory, though he places that word ſo, as modeſtly to cover it.

16 (*w*) *Vid. ch.* 3. 5, 6.

17 (*x*) This, I think, may be underſtood of the falſe Apoſtle.

SECT. II. *N.* 3.

CHAP. III. 1——VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

HIS ſpeaking well of himſelf, (as he did ſometimes in his firſt Epiſtle, and with much more Freedom in this, which, as it ſeems, had been objected to him amongſt the Corinthians) his Plainneſs of Speech, and his Sincerity in preaching the Goſpel, are the things which he chiefly juſtifies in this Section many ways. We ſhall obſerve his Arguments as they come in the Order of St. *Paul's* Diſcourſe, in which are mingled, with great Inſinuation,

tion, many Expreſſions of an overflowing Kindneſs to the Corinthians, not without ſome Exhortations to them. *An. Ch.* 57. *Neronis* 3.

TEXT.

1 DO we begin again to commend our ſelves? or need we, as ſome others, epiſtles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?

2 Ye are our epiſtle written in our hearts, known and read of all men:

3 Foraſmuch as ye are manifeſtly declared to be the epiſtle of Chriſt, miniſtred by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of ſtone, but in fleſhly tables of the heart.

4 And ſuch truſt have we through Chriſt to Godward.

5 Not that we are ſufficient of our ſelves to think any thing as of our ſelves: but our ſufficiency is of God.

6 Who alſo hath made us able miniſters of the new

PARAPHRASE.

DO I begin again to commend my ſelf (*y*), or need I, as ſome (*z*), commendatory Letters to, or from you? You are my commendatory Epiſtle written in my Heart, known and read by all Men. I need no other commendatory Letter, but that you, being manifeſted to be the commendatory Epiſtle of Chriſt written on my Behalf, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God, not on Tables of Stone (*a*), but of the Heart, whereof I was the Amanuenſis, *i. e.* your Converſation was the Effect of my Miniſtry. (*b*) And this ſo great Confidence have I through Chriſt in God. Not as if I were ſufficient of my ſelf to reckon (*c*) upon any thing as of my ſelf, but my Sufficiency, my Ability to perform any thing, is wholly from God: Who has fitted and enabled me to be a Miniſter of the New Teſtament, not of the Letter (*d*), but of the Spirit; for the Letter kills (*e*), but the

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

NOTES.

1 (*y*) This is a plain Indication that he had been blamed amongſt them for commending himſelf.

(*z*) Seems to intimate, that their falſe Apoſtle had got himſelf recommended to them by Letters, and ſo had introduced himſelf into that Church.

3 (*a*) The Senſe of St. *Paul* in this 3d Verſe is plainly this, That he needed no Letters of Commendation to them, but that by their Converſion, and the Goſpel written not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God in the Tables of their Hearts, and not in Tables of Stone by his Miniſtry, was as clear an Evidence and Teſtimony to them of his Miſſion from Chriſt, as the Law writ in Tables of Stone was an Evidence of *Moſes*'s Miſſion; ſo that he, St. *Paul*, needed no other Recommendation: This is what is to be underſtood by this Verſe, unleſs we will make *the Tables of Stone* to have no Signification here. But to ſay as he does, that the Corinthians being writ upon in their Hearts, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God, by the Hand of St. *Paul*, was Chriſt's commendatory Letter of him, being a pretty bold Expreſſion, liable to the Exception of the captious part of the Corinthians: He, to obviate all Imputation of Vanity or vain-Glory, herein immediately ſubjoins what follows in the next Verſe.

4 (*b*) As if he had ſaid, But miſtake me not as if I boaſted of my ſelf: This ſo great Boaſting that I uſe, is only my Confidence in God through Chriſt: For it was God that made me Miniſter of the Goſpel, that beſtowed on me the Ability for it; and whatever I perform in it, is wholly for him.

5 (*c*) Πεποίθησις, *Truſt*, a milder Term for *Boaſting*, for ſo St. *Paul* uſes it, *Ch.* 10. 7. compared with *ver.* 8. where alſo λογιζέσθω, *ver.* 7. is uſed as here, for counting upon one's ſelf; St. *Paul* alſo uſes πεποιθὰς for *thou boaſteſt*, *Rom.* 2. 19, which will appear, if compared with *ver.* 17. or if λογίσασθαι ſhall rather be thought to ſignifie here, to diſcover by Reaſoning, then the Apoſtle's Senſe will run thus: "Not as if I were ſufficient of my ſelf, by the Strength "of my own natural Parts, to attain the Knowledge of the Goſpel-truths that I preach, but "my Ability herein is all from God." But in whatever Senſe λογίσασθαι is here taken, 'tis certain τι, which is tranſlated *any thing*, muſt be limited to the Subject in hand, *viz.* the Goſpel that he preach'd to them.

6 (*d*) Οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, *not of the Letter, but of the Spirit.* By expreſſing himſelf as he does here, St. *Paul* may be underſtood to intimate that *the New Teſtament or Covenant*, was alſo, tho' obſcurely, held forth in the Law: For he ſays he was conſtituted a Miniſter, πνεύματος, *of the Spirit*, or ſpiritual meaning of the Law, which was Chriſt, (as he tells us himſelf, *ver.* 17.) and giveth Life whilſt the *Letter* killeth. But both *Letter* and *Spirit* muſt be underſtood of the ſame thing, *viz.* *The Letter of* the Law, and *the Spirit* of the Law. And in Fact we find St. *Paul* truly a Miniſter of the Spirit of the Law, eſpecially in his Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where he ſhews what a ſpiritual Senſe ran through the Moſaical Inſtitution and Writings.

(*e*) *The Letter kills*, i. e. pronouncing Death, without any way of Remiſſion, on all Tranſgreſſors, leaves them under an irrevocable Sentence of Death. But the Spirit, *i. e.* Chriſt, *ver.* 17. who is a quickening Spirit, 1 *Cor.* 15. 45. giveth Life.

Spirit

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

7. Spirit gives Life. But if the Miniſtry of the Law written in Stone, which condemns to Death, were ſo glorious to *Moſes*, that his Face ſhone ſo that the Children of *Iſrael* could not ſteadily behold the Brightneſs of it, which was but temporary, and was quickly
8. to vaniſh (*f*). How can it be otherwiſe, but that the Miniſtry of the Spirit, which giveth Life, ſhould confer more Glory and Luſtre on the Miniſters of the
9. Goſpel? For if the Miniſtration of Condemnation were Glory, the Miniſtry of Juſtification (*g*) in the Goſpel doth certainly much more exceed in Glory.
10. Though even the Glory that *Moſes*'s Miniſtration had, was no Glory, in compariſon of the far more excel-
11. ling Glory of the Goſpel-Miniſtry (*h*). Farther, if that which is temporary, and to be done away, were delivered with Glory, how much rather is that which remains without being done away to appear in Glory
12. (*i*)? Wherefore having ſuch Hope, (*k*) we uſe great Freedom and Plainneſs of Speech: And not as *Moſes*, who put a Veil over his Face, do we veil the Light,

TEXT.

teſtament, not of the letter, but of the ſpirit: for the letter killeth, but the ſpirit giveth life.

7 But if the miniſtration of death written and engraven in ſtones, was glorious, ſo that the children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly behold the face of Moſes, for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away;

8 How ſhall not the miniſtration of the ſpirit be rather glorious?

9 For if the miniſtration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the miniſtration of Righteouſneſs exceed in glory.

10 For even that which was made glorious, had no glory in this reſpect, by reaſon of the glory that excelleth.

11 For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.

12 Seeing then that we have ſuch hope, we uſe great plainneſs of ſpeech.

NOTES.

7 (*f*) Καταργουμένην, *done away*, is applied here to the ſhining of *Moſes*'s Face, and to the Law, *ver.* 11, & 13. In all which places it is uſed in the Preſent Tenſe, and has the Signification of an Adjective, ſtanding for temporary, or of a Duration, whoſe end was determined, and is oppoſed to τῷ μένοντι, *that which remaineth*, i. e. that which is laſting, and hath no predetermined end ſet to it, as *ver.* 11. where the Goſpel-Diſpenſation is called τὸ μένον, *that which remaineth:* This may help us to underſtand ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, *ver.* 18. *from Glory to Glory*, which is manifeſtly oppoſed to δόξη καταργουμένη, the *Glory done away*, of this Verſe; And ſo plainly ſignifies a continued laſting Glory of the Miniſters of the Goſpel; which, as he tells us there, conſiſted in their being changed into the image and clear Repreſentation of the Lord himſelf; as the Glory of *Moſes* conſiſted in the tranſitory Brightneſs of his Face, which was a faint Reflection of the Glory of God appearing to him in the Mount.

9 (*g*) διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης, *the Miniſtration of Righteouſneſs*; ſo the Miniſtry of the Goſpel is called, becauſe by the Goſpel a way is provided for the Juſtification of thoſe who have tranſgreſſed: But the Law has nothing but rigid condemnation for all Tranſgreſſors, and therefore is called here *the Miniſtration of Condemnation.*

10 (*h*) Though the ſhewing that the Miniſtry of the Goſpel is more glorious than that of the Law, be what St. *Paul* is upon here, thereby to juſtifie himſelf, if he has aſſumed ſome Authority and Commendation to himſelf, in his Miniſtry and Apoſtleſhip; yet in his thus induſtriouſly placing the Miniſtry of the Goſpel in Honour above that of *Moſes*, may he not poſſibly have an Eye to the judaiſing falſe Apoſtle of the Corinthians, to let them ſee what little Regard was to be had to that Miniſtration, in compariſon of the Miniſtry of the Goſpel?

(*i*) Here St. *Paul* mentions another Pre-eminency and Superiority of Glory in the Goſpel over the Law, *viz.* That the Law was to ceaſe and to be aboliſh'd, but the Goſpel to remain and never be aboliſh'd.

12 (*k*) *Such Hope:* That St. *Paul* by theſe words means the ſo honourable Employment of an Apoſtle and Miniſter of the Goſpel, or the Glory belonging to his Miniſtry in the Goſpel, is evident by the whole foregoing Compariſon which he has made, which is all along between διακονία, *the Miniſtry* of the Law and of the Goſpel, and not between the Law and the Goſpel themſelves. The calling of it *Hope* inſtead of Glory here, where he ſpeaks of his having of it, is the Language of Modeſty, which more particularly ſuited his preſent Purpoſe. For the Concluſion, which in this Verſe he draws from what went before, plainly ſhews the Apoſtle's Deſign in this Diſcourſe, to be the Juſtifying his ſpeaking freely of himſelf and others; his Argument amounting to thus much.

Having therefore ſo honourable an Employment, as is the Miniſtry of the Goſpel, which far exceeds the Miniſtry of the Law in Glory, though even that gave ſo great a Luſtre to *Moſes*'s Face, that the Children of *Iſrael* could not with fixed Eyes look upon him; I, as becomes one of ſuch Hopes, in ſuch a Poſt as ſets me above all mean Conſiderations and Compliances, uſe great Freedom and Plainneſs of Speech in all things that concern my Miniſtry.

ſo

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

13 And not as Moſes, which put a veil over his face, that the children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly look to the end of that which is aboliſhed.

14 But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the ſame veil untaken away, in the reading of the old teſtament; which veil is done away in Chriſt.

15 But even unto this day, when Moſes is read, the veil is upon their heart.

16 Nevertheleſs, when it ſhall turn to the Lord, the veil ſhall be taken away.

17 Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

18 But we all with open face, beholding as in a glaſs the glory of the Lord,

PARAPHRASE.

ſo that the Obſcurity of what we deliver, ſhould hinder (*l*) the Children of *Iſrael* from ſeeing in the Law, which was to be done away, Chriſt who was the end (*m*) of the Law: But their not ſeeing it, is from the Blindneſs of their own Minds; For unto this Day the ſame Veil remains upon their Underſtandings in reading of the Old Teſtament, which Veil is done away in Chriſt, *i. e.* Chriſt, now he is come, ſo exactly anſwers all the Types, Prefigurations, and Predictions of him in the Old Teſtament, that preſently, upon turning our Eyes upon him, he viſibly appears to be the Perſon deſigned, and all the Obſcurity of thoſe Paſſages concerning him, which before were not underſtood, is taken away, and ceaſes. Nevertheleſs, even until now, when the Writings of *Moſes* are read, the Veil (*n*) remains upon their Hearts, they ſee not the ſpiritual and evangelical Truths contain'd in them. But when their Heart ſhall turn to the Lord, and laying by Prejudice and Averſion, ſhall be willing to receive the Truth, the Veil ſhall be taken away, and they ſhall plainly ſee him to be the Perſon ſpoken of and intended (*o*). But the Lord is the Spirit (*p*) whereof we are Miniſters; and they who have this Spirit, they have liberty (*q*), ſo that they ſpeak openly and freely: But we, all the faithful Miniſters of the

13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

NOTES.

13 (*l*) Πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι, &c. *That the Children of* Iſrael *could not ſtedfaſtly look*, &c. St. *Paul* is here juſtifying himſelf, and other Miniſters of the Goſpel, the Plainneſs and Openneſs of their Preaching, which he had aſſerted in the immediately preceding Verſe. Theſe Words therefore here, muſt of neceſſity be underſtood not of *Moſes*, but of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, *viz.* That it was not the Obſcurity of their preaching, nor any thing veiled in their way of propoſing the Goſpel, which was the Cauſe why the Children of *Iſrael* did not underſtand the Law to the Bottom, and ſee Chriſt, and the end of it, in the Writings of *Moſes*. What St. *Paul* ſays in the next Verſe, *But their Minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the ſame Veil untaken away*, plainly determines the Words we are upon to the Senſe I have taken them in: For what Senſe is this? *Moſes put a Veil over his Face, ſo that the Children of* Iſrael *could not ſee the end of the Law; but their Minds were blinded; for the Veil remains upon them until this Day.* But this is very good Senſe, and to St. *Paul*'s Purpoſe, *viz.* "We the "Miniſters of the Goſpel ſpeak plainly and openly, and put no Veil upon our ſelves, as *Moſes* "did, whereby to hinder the Jews from ſeeing Chriſt in the Law: But that which hinders "them, is a Blindneſs on their Minds, which has been always on them, and remains to this "Day." This ſeems to be an obviating an Objection which ſome among the Corinthians might make to his boaſting of ſo much Plainneſs and Clearneſs in his preaching, *viz.* If you preach the Goſpel, and Chriſt contained in the Law, with ſuch a ſhining Clearneſs and Evidence, how comes it that the Jews are not converted to it? His Reply is, "Their Unbelief comes "not from any Obſcurity in our Preaching, but from a Blindneſs which reſts upon their Minds "to this Day; which ſhall be taken away when they turn to the Lord.

(*m*) *Vid.* Rom. 10. 2——4.

15 (*n*) St. *Paul* poſſibly alludes here to the Cuſtom of the Jews, which continues ſtill in the Synagogue, that when the Law is read they put a Veil over their Faces.

16 (*o*) When this ſhall be, ſee *Rom.* 11. 25——27.

17 (*p*) Ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι, *but the Lord is that Spirit*; theſe words relate to *ver.* 6. where he ſays, that he is a Miniſter, not of the Letter of the Law, not of the Outſide and literal Senſe, but of the myſtical and ſpiritual Meaning of it; which he here tells us is Chriſt.

(*q*) *There is Liberty*; becauſe the Spirit is given only to Sons, or thoſe that are free. See *Rom.* 8. 15. *Gal.* 4. 6, 7.

New

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

New Teſtament, not veiled (*r*), but with open Countenances, as Mirrours reflecting the Glory of the Lord, are changed into his very Image, by a continued Succeſſion of Glory, as it were ſtreaming upon us from the Lord, who is the Spirit who gives us this Clearneſs and Freedom. Seeing therefore I am intruſted
1. with ſuch a Miniſtry as this, according as I have received great Mercy, being extraordinarily and miraculouſly called when I was a Perſecutor, I do not fail (*s*) nor flag, I do not behave myſelf unworthily in it, nor misbecoming the Honour and Dignity of ſuch an
2. Employment: But having renounced all unworthy and indirect Deſigns, which will not bear the Light, free from Craft, and from playing any deceitful Tricks in my preaching the Word of God, I recommend my ſelf to every one's Conſcience, only by ma-

TEXT.

are changed into the ſame image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

Therefore ſeeing we 1
have this miniſtry, as we have received mercy we faint not:

But have renounced the 2
hidden things of diſhoneſty, not walking in craftineſs, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifeſtation of the truth, commending our ſelves to every man's conſcience in the ſight of God.

NOTES.

18 (*r*) St. *Paul* juſtifies his Freedom and Plainneſs of Speech, by his being made by God himſelf a Miniſter of the Goſpel, which is a more glorious Miniſtry than that of *Moſes*, in promulgating the Law. This he does from *ver.* 6. to *ver.* 12. incluſively. From thence to the end of the Chapter, he juſtifies his Liberty of ſpeaking, in that he, as a Miniſter of the Goſpel, being illuminated with greater and brighter Rays of Light than *Moſes*, was to ſpeak (as he did) with more Freedom and Clearneſs than *Moſes* had done. This being the Scope of St. *Paul* in this place, 'tis viſible, that all from theſe words, *Who put a Veil upon his Face*, ver. 13. to the beginning of *ver.* 18. is a Parentheſis; which being laid aſide, the Compariſon between the Miniſters of the Goſpel and *Moſes* ſtands clear; "*Moſes* with a Veil covered the "Brightneſs and Glory of God, which ſhone in his Countenance, but we the Miniſters of the "Goſpel with open Countenances, καλοπτριζόμενοι, reflecting as Mirrours the Glory of the Lord. So the Word καλοπτριζόμενοι muſt ſignifie here, and not *beholding as in a Mirrour*, becauſe the Compariſon is between the Miniſters of the Goſpel and *Moſes*, and not between the Miniſters of the Goſpel and the Children of *Iſrael*: Now the Action of *beholding* was the Action of the Children of *Iſrael*, but of *ſhining or reflecting the Glory received in the Mount*, was the Action of *Moſes*, and therefore it muſt be ſomething anſwering that in the Miniſters of the Goſpel wherein the Compariſon is made, as is farther manifeſt in another expreſs part of the Compariſon between the veiled Face of *Moſes*, ver. 13. and the open Face of the Miniſters of the Goſpel in this Verſe. The Face of *Moſes* was veiled, that the bright ſhining or Glory of God remaining on it, or reflected from it, might not be ſeen, and the Faces of the Miniſters of the Goſpel are open, that the bright ſhining of the Goſpel, or the Glory of Chriſt, may be ſeen. Thus the Juſtneſs of the Compariſon ſtands fair, and has an eaſie Senſe, which is hard to be made out, if καλοπτριζόμενοι be tranſlated *beholding as in a Glaſs*.

Τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα, *We are changed into that very Image*, i. e. the Reflection of the Glory of Chriſt from us is ſo very bright and clear, that we are changed into his very Image, whereas the Light that ſhone in *Moſes*'s Countenance, was but a faint Reflection of the Glory which he ſaw when God ſhew'd him his back-Parts; *Exod.* 33. 23.

Ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, *from Glory to Glory*, i. e. with a continued Influx and Renewing of Glory, in oppoſition to the ſhining of *Moſes*'s Face, which decay'd and diſappear'd in a little while: *Ver.* 7.

Καθάπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος, *as from the Lord the Spirit*, i. e. as if this Irradiation of Light and Glory came immediately from the Source of it, the Lord himſelf, who is that Spirit whereof we are the Miniſters, *ver.* 6. which giveth Life and Liberty, *v.* 17.

This Liberty he here ſpeaks of, *ver.* 17. is παῤῥησία, *Liberty of Speech*, mentioned *ver.* 12. the Subject of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here; as is farther manifeſt from what immediately follows in the ſix firſt Verſes of the next Chapter, wherein an attentive Reader may find a very clear Comment on this 18*th* Verſe we are upon, which is there explain'd in the Senſe we have given of it.

1 (*s*) Οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, *we faint not*, is the ſame with πολλῇ παῤῥησίᾳ χρώμεθα, *we uſe great Plainneſs of Speech*, ver. 12. of the foregoing Chapter, and ſignifies in both places the clear, plain, direct, diſintereſted Preaching of the Goſpel, which is what he means in that figurative way of Speaking in the former Chapter, eſpecially the laſt Verſe of it, and which he more plainly expreſſes in the five or ſix firſt Verſes of this. The whole Buſineſs of the firſt part of this Epiſtle being, as we have already obſerved, to juſtifie to the *Corinthians* his Behaviour in his Miniſtry, and to convince them that in his preaching the Goſpel he hath been plain, clear, open and candid, without any hidden Deſign, or the leaſt Mixture of any concealed Secular Intereſt.

king

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

3 But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost:
4 In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.
5 For we preach not our selves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and our selves your servants for Jesus sake.
6 For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ.
7 But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.
8 We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair;
9 Persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.
10 Always bearing about in the body, the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.
11 For we which live, are alway delivered unto death

PARAPHRASE.

king plain (*t*) the Truth which I deliver, as in the Presence of God. But if the Gospel which I preach 3.
be obscure and hidden, it is so only to those who are
lost, in whom being Unbelievers, the God of this 4.
World (*u*) has blinded their Minds (*w*), so that the
glorious (*x*) Brightness of the Light of the Gospel of
Christ, who is the Image of God, cannot enlighten
them. For I seek not my own Glory or secular Ad- 5.
vantage in preaching, but only the propagating of
the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, professing my
self your Servant for Jesus Sake. For God who made 6.
Light to shine out of Darkness, hath enlighten'd also
my dark Heart, who before saw not the End of the
Law, that I might communicate the Knowledge and
Light of the Glory of God, which shines in the
Face (*y*) of Jesus Christ. But yet we, to whom 7.
this Treasure of Knowledge the Gospel of Jesus
Christ is committed to be propagated in the
World, are but frail Men, that so the exceed-
ing great Power that accompanies it may appear
to be from God, and not from us. I am pressed on 8.
every side, but do not shrink: I am perplexed, but
yet not so as to despond; Persecuted, but yet not 9.
left to sink under it; thrown down, but not slain;
Carrying about every where in my Body the Morti- 10.
fication, *i. e.* a Representation of the Sufferings of
the Lord Jesus, that also the Life of Jesus risen
from the Dead may be made manifest by the En-
ergy that accompanies my Preaching in this frail
Body. For as long as I live I shall be exposed to the 11.
Danger of Death for the sake of Jesus, that the Life
of Jesus risen from the Dead, may be made manifest

NOTES.

2 (*t*) Ἀπειπάμεθα τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης, *have renounced the hidden things of Dishonesty*, and τῇ φανερώσει τῆς ἀληθείας, *by manifestation of the Truth*. These Expressions explain ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ, *with open Face*, ch. 3. 18.

4 (*u*) *The God of this World*, i. e. the Devil, so called, because the Men of the World worshipped and obey'd him as their God.

(*w*) Ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα, *blinded their Minds*, answers ἐπωρώθη τὰ νοήματα, *their Minds were blinded*, ch. 3. 14. And the second and third Verse of this explains the 13*th* and 14*th* Verses of the preceding Chapter.

(*x*) Δόξα, *Glory*, here, as in the former Chapter, is put for Shining and Brightness; so that εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ, is the Brightness or Clearness of the Doctrine wherein Christ is manifested in the Gospel.

6 (*y*) This is a Continuation still of the Allegory of *Moses*, and the Shining of his Face, &c. so much insisted on in the foregoing Chapter.

For the Explication whereof, give me leave to add here one Word more to what I have said upon it already; *Moses*, by approaching to God in the Mount, had a Communication of *Glory* or *Light* from him, which irradiated from his Face when he descended from the Mount. *Moses* put a Veil over his Face, to hide this *Light* or *Glory*; for both these Names St. *Paul* uses in this and the foregoing Chapter for the same thing. But the *Glory* or *Light* of the Knowledge of God more fully and clearly communicated by Jesus Christ, is said here to *shine in his Face*, and in that respect it is that Christ in the foregoing Verse is call'd by St. *Paul*, *the Image of God*; and the Apostles are said in the last Verse of the precedent Chapter, to be *transformed into the same Image from Glory to Glory*, i. e. by their large and clear Communications of the Knowledge of God in the Gospel, they are said to be transformed into the same Image, and to represent as Mirrours the Glory of the Lord, and to be as it were the Images of Christ, as Christ is (as we are told here, *ver.* 4.) *the Image of God*.

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

by my Preaching and Sufferings in this mortal Fleſh
12. of mine. So that the preaching of the Goſpel procures Sufferings and Danger of Death to me, but to you it procures Life, *i.e.* the Energy of the Spirit of Chriſt whereby he lives in and gives Life to thoſe
13. who believe in him. Nevertheleſs though Suffering and Death accompany the preaching the Goſpel, yet having the ſame Spirit of Faith that *David* had, when he ſaid, I believe, therefore have I ſpoken, I alſo be-
14. lieving therefore ſpeak, knowing that he who raiſed up the Lord Jeſus ſhall raiſe me up alſo by Jeſus, and
15. preſent me with you to God. For I do and ſuffer all things for your ſakes, that the exuberant Favour of God may abound by the Thankſgiving of a greater Number to the Glory of God, *i.e.* I endeavour by my Sufferings and Preaching to make as many Converts as I can, that ſo the more partaking of the Mercy and Favour of God, of which there is a plentiful and inexhauſtible Store, the more may give Thanks unto him, it being more for the Glory of God, that a greater Number ſhould give thanks and
16. pray to him: For which reaſon I faint not, (*z*), I flag not, but tho' my bodily Strength decay, yet the Vi-
17. gour of my Mind is daily renewed: For the more my Sufferings are here in propagating the Goſpel, which at worſt are but tranſient and light, the more will they procure me an exceedingly far greater Addition of that Glory (*a*) in Heaven which is ſolid and eter-
18. nal: I having no regard to the viſible things of this World, but to the inviſible things of the other; for the things that are ſeen are temporal, but thoſe
1. that are not ſeen eternal. For I know, that if this my Body, which is but as a Tent for my ſojourning here upon Earth for a ſhort time, were diſſolved, I ſhall have another of a divine Original, which ſhall not, like Buildings made with Men's Hands, be ſubject to
2. decay, but ſhall be eternal in the Heavens. For in this Tabernacle (*b*) I groan earneſtly, deſiring, without putting off this mortal earthly Body by Death, to have that celeſtial Body ſuperinduced: If ſo be, the coming (*c*) of Chriſt ſhall overtake me in this

TEXT.

for Jeſus ſake, that the life alſo of Jeſus might be made manifeſt in our mortal fleſh.

So then death worketh 12
in us, but life in you.

We having the ſame 13
ſpirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I ſpoken: we alſo believe, and therefore ſpeak;

Knowing that he which 14
raiſed up the Lord Jeſus, ſhall raiſe up us alſo by Jeſus, and ſhall preſent us with you.

For all things are for 15
your ſakes, that the abundant grace might, through the thankſgiving of many, redound to the glory of God.

For which cauſe we 16
faint not, but though our outward man periſh, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.

For our light affliction, 17
which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory;

While we look not at 18
the things which are ſeen, but at the things which are not ſeen: for the things which are ſeen, are temporary; but the things which are not ſeen are eternal.

For we know that if 1
our earthly houſe of this tabernacle were diſſolved, we have a building of God, an houſe not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

For in this we groan 2
earneſtly, deſiring to be cloathed upon with our houſe which is from heaven:

If ſo be, that being 3
cloathed, we ſhall not be found naked.

NOTES.

16 (*z*) *I faint not.* What this ſignifies we have ſeen, *ver.* 1. Here St. *Paul* gives another Proof of his Sincerity in his Miniſtry, and that is the Sufferings and Danger of Death, which he daily incurs by his Preaching the Goſpel. And the reaſon why thoſe Sufferings and Dangers deter him not, nor make him at all flag, he tells them, is, the Aſſurance he has that God, through Chriſt, will raiſe him again, and reward him with Immortality in Glory. This Argument he purſues, *ch.* 4. 17. and 5. 9.

17 (*a*) *Weight of Glory.* What an Influence St. *Paul*'s Hebrew had upon his Greek, is every where viſible, כבד in Hebrew ſignifies *to be heavy*, and *to be glorious* here in the Greek, St. *Paul* in the Greek joyns them and ſays, *Weight of Glory.*

2 (*b*) Vid. *ver.* 4.

3 (*c*) That the Apoſtle look'd on the Coming of Chriſt as not far off, appears by what he ſays, 1 *Theſ.* 4. 15. and 5. 6. which Epiſtle was written ſome Years before this. See alſo to the ſame purpoſe, 1 *Cor.* 1. 7. and 7. 29, 31. and 10. 11. *Rom.* 13. 11, 12. Heb. 10. 37.

Life

TEXT.

4 For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be uncloathed, but cloathed upon, that mortality might be ſwallowed up of life.

5 Now he that hath wrought us for the ſelf-ſame thing, is God, who alſo hath given unto us the earneſt of the Spirit.

6 Therefore we are always confident, knowing that whilſt we are at home in the body, we are abſent from the Lord:

7 (For we walk by faith, not by ſight)

8 We are confident, I ſay, and willing rather to be abſent from the body, and to be preſent with the Lord.

9 Wherefore we labour, that whether preſent or abſent we may be accepted of him.

10 For we muſt all appear before the judgment-ſeat

PARAPHRASE.

Life before I put off this Body. For we that are in the Body groan under the Preſſures and Inconveniencies that attend us in it, which yet we are not therefore willing to put off, but had rather, without dying have it changed (*d*) into a celeſtial immortal Body, that ſo this mortal State may be put an end to, by an immediate Entrance into an immortal Life. Now it is God who prepares and fits us for this immortal State, who alſo gives us the Spirit as a Pledge (*e*) of it. Wherefore being always undaunted (*f*), and knowing that whilſt I dwell or ſojourn in this Body I am abſent from my proper home, which is with the Lord (for I regulate my Conduct, not by the Enjoyment of the viſible things of this World, but by my Hope and Expectation of the inviſible things of the World to come) I with Boldneſs preach the Goſpel, preferring in my Choice the quitting this Habitation to get home to the Lord. Wherefore I make this my only Aim, whether ſtaying (*g*) here in this Body, or departing out of it, ſo to acquit my ſelf, as to be acceptable to him (*h*). For we muſt all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, that every one may receive according to what he has done in

4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

NOTES.

4 (*d*) The ſame that he had told them in the firſt Epiſtle, *ch.* 15. 51. ſhould happen to thoſe who ſhould be alive at Chriſt's coming. This I muſt own is no very eaſe Paſſage, whether we underſtand by γυμνοι *naked*, as I do here the State of the Dead, unclothed with immortal Bodies, till the Reſurrection; which Senſe is favour'd by the ſame word, 1 *Cor.* 15. 37. or whether we underſtand the *clothing upon*, which the Apoſtle deſires, to be thoſe immortal Bodies which Souls ſhall be clothed with at the Reſurrection, which Senſe of *clothing upon*, ſeems to be favour'd by 1 *Cor.* 15. 53, 54. and is that which one ſhould be inclined to, were it not accompanied with this Difficulty, *viz.* that then it would follow that the Wicked ſhould not have immortal Bodies at the Reſurrection. For whatever it be that St. *Paul* here means by being *clothed upon*, it is ſomething that is peculiar to the Saints, who have the Spirit of God, and ſhall be with the Lord in Contra-diſtinction to others, as appears from the following Verſes, and the whole Tenor of this Place.

5 (*e*) The Spirit is mentioned in more places than one, as the Pledge and Earneſt of Immortality; more particularly, *Eph.* 1. 13, 14. which compared with *Rom.* 8. 23. ſhews that the Inheritance whereof the Spirit is the Earneſt, is the ſame which the Apoſtle ſpeaks of here, *viz.* the Poſſeſſion of immortal Bodies.

6, 8 (*f*) Θαῤῥοῦντες and Θαῤῥοῦμεν, *we are confident*, ſignifies in theſe two Verſes the ſame that οὐκ ἐκκακοῦμεν, *we faint not*, does, *ch.* 4. 1, and 16. *i. e.* I go on undauntedly, without flagging, preaching the Goſpel with Sincerity, and direct Plainneſs of Speech. This Concluſion which he draws here from the Conſideration of the Reſurrection and Immortality, is the ſame that he makes upon the ſame ground, *ch.* 4. 14, 16.

9 (*g*) Εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες, εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες, *whether ſtaying in the Body, or going out of it*, i. e. Whether I am to ſtay longer here, or ſuddenly to depart. This Senſe the foregoing Verſe leads us to, and what he ſays in this Verſe, that he endeavours (whether ἐνδημοῦν, or ἐκδημοῦν) *to be well-pleaſing to the Lord*, i. e. do what is well-pleaſing to him, ſhews, that neither of theſe Words can ſignifie here his being with Chriſt in Heaven. For when he is there, the time of endeavouring to approve himſelf is over.

(*h*) St. *Paul* from *ch.* 4. 12. to this place, has, to convince them of his Uprightneſs in his Miniſtry, been ſhewing that the Hopes and ſure Expectation he had of eternal Life, kept him ſteady and reſolute in an open ſincere preaching of the Goſpel, without any Tricks or deceitful Artifice. In which his Argument ſtands thus; "Knowing that God who raiſed up "Chriſt, will raiſe me up again, I without any Fear or Conſideration of what it may draw up- "on me, preach the Goſpel faithfully, making this account, that the momentaneous Afflictions "which for it I may ſuffer here, which are but ſlight in compariſon of the eternal things of an- "other Life, will exceedingly increaſe my Happineſs in the other World, where I long to be, "and therefore Death, which brings me home to Chriſt, is no Terror to me, all my Care is, "that whether I am to ſtay longer in this Body, or quickly to leave it, living or dying I may "approve my ſelf to Chriſt in my Miniſtry." In the next two Verſes he has another Argument to fix in the *Corinthians* the ſame Thoughts of him, and that is, the Puniſhment he ſhall receive at the Day of Judgment, if he ſhould neglect to preach the Goſpel faithfully, and not endeavour ſincerely and earneſtly to make Converts to Chriſt.

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

11. the Body, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore this terrible Judgment of the Lord, I preach the Goſpel, perſuading Men to be Chriſtians. And with what Integrity I diſcharge that Duty, is manifeſt to God, and I truſt you alſo are convinced of it in your
12. Conſciences. And this I ſay, not that I commend (*i*) my ſelf again: But that I may give you an occaſion not to be aſhamed of me, but to glory on my behalf, having wherewithal to reply to thoſe who make a ſhew of glorying in outward Appearance,
13. without doing ſo inwardly in their Hearts (*k*). For if (*l*) I am beſides my ſelf (*m*), in ſpeaking as I do of my ſelf, it is between God and me, he muſt judge, Men are not concerned in it, nor hurt by it: Or if I do it ſoberly, and upon good ground. If what I profeſs of my ſelf be in Reality true, it is for your ſake
14. and advantage. For 'tis the Love of Chriſt conſtraineth me, judging as I do, that if Chriſt died for all,
15. then all were dead: And that if he died for all, his Intention was, that they who by him have attain'd to a State of Life, ſhould not any longer live to themſelves alone, ſeeking only their own private advantage, but ſhould imploy their Lives in promoting the Goſpel and Kingdom of Chriſt, who for them
16. died and roſe again: So that from henceforth I have no Regard to any one, according to the Fleſh (*n*), *i. e.* for being circumciſed or a Jew. For if I my ſelf have gloried in this, that Chriſt himſelf was circumciſed as I am, and was of my Blood and Nation, I do ſo

TEXT.

of Chriſt, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

11 Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we perſuade men; but we are made manifeſt unto God, and I truſt alſo are made manifeſt in your conſciences.

12 For we commend not our ſelves again unto you, but give you occaſion to glory on our behalf, that you may have ſomewhat to anſwer them which glory in appearance, and not in heart.

13 For whether we be beſides our ſelves, it is to God: or whether we be ſober, it is for your cauſe.

14 For the love of Chriſt conſtraineth us, becauſe we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead:

15 And that he died for all, that they which live, ſhould not henceforth live unto themſelves, but unto him which died for them, and roſe again.

16 Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the fleſh: yea, though we have known Chriſt after the fleſh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.

NOTES.

12 *(i)* From this place, and ſeveral others in this Epiſtle, it cannot be doubted but that his ſpeaking well of himſelf, had been objected to him as a Fault. And in this lay his great Difficulty, how to deal with this People. If he anſwer'd nothing to what was talk'd of him, his Silence might be interpreted Guilt and Confuſion: If he defended himſelf, he was accuſed of Vanity, Self-commendation and Folly. Hence it is that he uſes ſo many Reaſons to ſhew, that his whole Carriage was upon Principles far above all worldly Conſiderations: and tells them here, once for all, that the account he gives of himſelf is only to furniſh them who are his Friends, and ſtuck to him, with Matter to juſtifie themſelves in their Eſteem of him, and to reply to the contrary Faction.

(k) This may be underſtood of the Leaders of the oppoſite Faction, who, as 'tis manifeſt from *ch.* 10. 7, 15. and 11. 12, 22, 23. pretended to ſomething that they gloried in, though St. *Paul* aſſures us they were ſatisfied in Conſcience that they had no ſolid Ground of glorying.

13 *(l)* St. *Paul* from the 13*th* Verſe of this Chapter, to *ch.* 6. 12. gives another Reaſon for his diſintereſted Carriage in preaching the Goſpel, and that is his Love to Chriſt, who by his Death having given him Life who was dead, he concludes, that in Gratitude he ought not to live to himſelf any more. He therefore being as in a new Creation, had now no longer any regard to the Things or Perſons of this World, but being made by God a Miniſter of the Goſpel, he minded only the faithful Diſcharge of his Duty in that Ambaſſy, and purſuant thereunto took care that his Behaviour ſhould be ſuch as he deſcribes, *ch.* 6. 3——10.

(m) Beſides my ſelf, i. e. in ſpeaking well of my ſelf in my own Juſtification. He that obſerves what St. *Paul* ſays, *ch.* 11. 1. and 16.——21. *ch.* 12. 6. and 11. will ſcarce doubt but that the ſpeaking of himſelf, as he did, was by his Enemies called glorying, and imputed to him as Folly and Madneſs.

16 *(n)* This may be ſuppoſed to be ſaid with Reflection on their Jewiſh falſe Apoſtle, who gloried in his Circumciſion, and perhaps that he had ſeen Chriſt in the Fleſh, or was ſome way related to him.

TEXT.

17 Therefore if any man be in Chriſt, he is a new creature: old things are paſt away, behold, all things are become new.

18 And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, and hath given to us the miniſtry of reconciliation;

19 To wit, that God was in Chriſt, reconciling the world unto himſelf, not imputing their treſpaſſes unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

20 Now then we are ambaſſadours for Chriſt, as though God did beſeech you by us: we pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be ye reconciled to God.

21 For he hath made him to be ſin for us, who knew no ſin; that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.

1 We then as workers together with him, beſeech you alſo, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

2 (For he ſaith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of ſalvation have I ſuccoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of ſalvation)

3 Giving no offence in any thing, that the miniſtery be not blamed:

4 But in all things approving our ſelves as the miniſters of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in neceſſities, in diſtreſſes,

PARAPHRASE.

now no more any longer. So that if any one be in Chriſt, it is as if he were in a new Creation (*o*), wherein all former mundane Relations, Conſiderations and Intereſts (*p*) are ceaſed, and at an end, all things in that State are new to him, and he owes his very Being in it, and the Advantages he therein enjoys, not in the leaſt meaſure to his Birth, Extraction, or any legal Obſervances or Privileges, but wholely and ſolely to God alone; reconciling the World to himſelf by Jeſus Chriſt, and not imputing their Treſpaſſes to them. And therefore I whom God hath reconciled to himſelf, and to whom he hath given the Miniſtry, and committed the Word of his Reconciliation, as an Ambaſſador for Chriſt, as though God did by me beſeech you, I pray you in Chriſt's ſtead, be ye reconciled to God. For God hath made him ſubject to Sufferings and Death, the Puniſhment and Conſequence of Sin, as if he had been a Sinner, though he were guilty of no Sin; that we in and by him might be made righteous by a Righteouſneſs imputed to us by God. I therefore working together with him, beſeech you alway, that you receive not the Favour of God in the Goſpel preached to you in vain (*q*). (For he ſaith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of Salvation have I ſuccour'd thee: Behold now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of Salvation) giving no Offence to any one in any thing, that the Miniſtry be not blamed: But in every thing approving my ſelf as becomes the Miniſter of God, by much Patience in Af-

17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 1. 2. 3. 4.

NOTES.

17 (*o*) *Gal.* 6. 14. may give ſome light to this place. To make this 16*th* and 17*th* Verſes coherent to the reſt of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here, they muſt be underſtood in reference to the falſe Apoſtle, againſt whom St. *Paul* is here juſtifying himſelf, and makes it his main Buſineſs in this as well as his former Epiſtle, to ſhew what that falſe Apoſtle gloried in, was no juſt Cauſe of boaſting. Purſuant to this Deſign of ſinking the Authority and Credit of that falſe Apoſtle, St. *Paul* in theſe and the following Verſes dextrouſly inſinuates theſe two things: 1*ſt*, That the Miniſtry of Reconciliation being committed to him, they ſhould not forſake him, to hearken to, and follow, that Pretender. 2*dly*, That they being in Chriſt, and the new Creation, ſhould, as he does, not know any Man in the Fleſh, nor eſteem or glory in that falſe Apoſtle, becauſe he might perhaps pretend to have ſeen our Saviour in the Fleſh, or have heard him, or the like. Κτίσις ſignifies *Creation*, and is ſo tranſlated, *Rom.* 8. 22.

(*p*) Τὰ ἀρχαῖα, *old things*, perhaps may here mean the Jewiſh Oeconomy, for the falſe Apoſtle was a Jew, and as ſuch aſſumed to himſelf ſome Authority probably by Right of Blood and Privilege of his Nation, *vid.* 2 *Cor.* 11. 21, 22. But that St. *Paul* here tells them, now under the Goſpel is all antiquated and quite out of doors.

1 (*q*) *Receive the Grace of God in vain*, the ſame with *believing in vain*, 1 Cor. 15. 2. *i. e.* receiving the Doctrine of the Goſpel for true, and profeſſing Chriſtianity, without perſiſting in it, or performing what the Goſpel requires.

flictions,

PARAPHRASE.

5. flictions, in Neceſſities, in Streights, in Stripes, in Impriſonments, in being toſſed up and down, in La-
6. bours, in Watchings, in Faſtings: By a Life undefiled; by Knowledge; by Long-ſufferings; by the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; by Love unfeigned; by
7. preaching of the Goſpel of Truth ſincerely; by the Power of God aſſiſting my Miniſtry; by Uprightneſs of Mind, wherewith I am armed at all points,
8. both to do and to ſuffer; by Honour and Diſgrace; by good and bad Report, as a Deceiver (*r*), and yet
9. faithful; as an obſcure unknown Man, but yet known and owned; as one often in danger of Death, and yet
10. behold I live; as chaſtened, but yet not killed; as ſorrowful, but yet always rejoycing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet poſ-
11. ſeſſing all things. O ye Corinthians, my Mouth is opened to you, my Heart is enlarged (*s*) to you, my Affection, my Tenderneſs, my Compliance for you,
12. is not ſtreight or narrow. 'Tis your own Narrowneſs
13. makes you uneaſie. Let me ſpeak to you as a Father to his Children; in return do you likewiſe enlarge
14. your Affections and Deference to me. Be ye not aſſociated with Unbelievers, have nothing to do with them in their Vices or Worſhip (*t*), for what Fellowſhip hath Righteouſneſs with Unrighteouſneſs? What
15. Communion hath Light with Darkneſs? What Concord hath Chriſt with Belial (*u*)? Or what Part hath
16. a Believer with an Unbeliever? What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them, among them will I walk, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my People.

TEXT.

In ſtripes, in impriſon- 5
ments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in faſtings,

By pureneſs, by know- 6
ledge, by long ſuffering, by kindneſs, by the holy Ghoſt, by love unfeigned,

By the word of truth, 7
by the power of God, by the armour of righteouſneſs, on the right hand and on the left,

By honour and diſho- 8
nour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true;

As unknown, and yet 9
well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chaſtened, and not killed;

As ſorrowful, yet al- 10
way rejoycing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet poſſeſſing all things.

O ye Corinthians, our 11
mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged.

Ye are not ſtraitned in 12
us, but ye are ſtraitned in your own bowels.

Now for a recompenſe 13
in the ſame, (I ſpeak as unto my children) be ye alſo enlarged.

Be ye not unequally yo- 14
ked together with unbelievers: for what fellowſhip hath righteouſneſs with unrighteouſneſs? and what communion hath light with darkneſs?

And what concord hath 15
Chriſt with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?

And what agreement 16
hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath ſaid, I will dwell in them; and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people.

NOTES.

8 (*r*) *Deceiver*, a Title 'tis like he had received from ſome of the oppoſite Faction at *Corinth*, *Vid. ch.* 12. 16.

11 (*s*) Another Argument St. *Paul* makes uſe of to juſtifie and excuſe his Plainneſs of Speech to the *Corinthians*, is, the great Affection he has for them, which he here breaks out into an Expreſſion of, in a very pathetical manner. This, with an Exhortation to ſeparate from Idolaters and Unbelievers, is what he inſiſts on from this place to *ch.* 7. 16.

14 (*t*) *Vid. ch.* 7. 1.

15 (*u*) *Belial* is a general Name for all the falſe Gods worſhipped by the Idolatrous Gentiles.

Where-

TEXT.

17 Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye ſeparate, ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you,

18 And will be a father unto you, and ye ſhall be my ſons and daughters, ſaith the Lord almighty.

1 Having therefore theſe promiſes (dearly beloved) let us cleanſe our ſelves from all filthineſs of the fleſh and ſpirit, perfecting holineſs in the fear of God.

2 Receive us: we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man.

3 I ſpeak not this to condemn you: for I have ſaid before, that you are in our hearts to die and live with you.

4 Great is my boldneſs of ſpeech toward you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation.

5 For when we were come into Macedonia, our fleſh had no reſt, but we were troubled on every ſide: without were fightings, within were fears.

6 Nevertheleſs, God that comforteth thoſe that are caſt down, comforted us by the coming of Titus:

7 And not by his coming only, but by the conſolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earneſt deſire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; ſo that I rejoyced the more.

8 For though I made you ſorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent: for I perceive that the ſame epiſtle made you ſorry, though it were but for a ſeaſon.

9 Now I rejoyce, not that ye were made ſorry, but that ye ſorrowed to repentance: for ye were made ſorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing.

PARAPHRASE.

Wherefore come out from among them, and be ſeparate, 17.
ſaith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and
I will receive you to me, and I will be a Father, and 18.
ye ſhall be my Sons and Daughters, ſaith the Lord
Almighty. Having therefore theſe Promiſes, (dearly 1.
Beloved) let us cleanſe our ſelves from the Defilement
of all ſorts of Sins, whether of Body or Mind, endeavouring after perfect Holineſs in the Fear of God.
Receive me, as one to be hearken'd to, as one to be 2.
follow'd, as one that hath done nothing to forfeit your
Eſteem. I have wrong'd no Man: I have corrupted
no Man: I have defrauded no Man (*w*): I ſay not 3.
this to reflect on your Carriage towards me: (*x*) For
I have already aſſur'd you, that I have ſo great an
Affection for you, that I could live and die with you.
But in the Tranſport of my Joy, I uſe great Liberty
of Speech towards you. But let it not be thought to 4.
be of ill Will, for I boaſt much of you; I am filled
with Comfort, and my Joy abounds exceedingly in
all my Afflictions. For when I came to *Macedonia*, I 5.
had no reſpit from continual Trouble that beſet me on
every ſide. From without I met with Strife and Oppoſition in Preaching the Goſpel: and within I was
filled with Fear upon your account, leſt the falſe
Apoſtle continuing his Credit and Faction amongſt
you, ſhould pervert you from the Simplicity of the
Goſpel (*y*.) But God who comforteth thoſe who are 6.
caſt down, comforted me by the coming of *Titus*,
not barely by his Preſence, but by the Comfort I re- 7.
ceived from you by him, when he acquainted me with
your great Deſire of conforming your ſelves to my
Orders; your Trouble for any Neglects you have been
guilty of towards me; the great Warmth of your Affection and Concern for me; ſo that I rejoyced the
more for my paſt Fears, having writ to you a Letter, 8.
which I repented of, but now do not repent of, perceiving, that though that Letter grieved you, it made
you ſad but for a ſhort time: But now I rejoyce not 9.
that you were made ſorry, but that you were made
ſorry to Repentance. For this proved a beneficial
Sorrow acceptable to God, that in nothing you might
have cauſe to complain that you were damaged by me.

NOTES.

2 (*w*) This ſeems to inſinuate the contrary Behaviour of their falſe Apoſtle.
3 (*x*) *Vid.* 1 Cor. 4. 3. 2 Cor. 10. 2. and 11. 20, 21. and 13. 3.
5 (*y*) *Vid. ch.* 11. 3.

For

PARAPHRASE.

10. For godly Sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation not to be repented of: But Sorrow rising from
11. worldly Intereſt, worketh Death. In the preſent caſe mark it, (z) that godly Sorrow which you had, what Carefulneſs it wrought in you, to conform your ſelves to my Orders, *ver.* 15. yea, what clearing your ſelves from your former Miſcarriages; yea what Indignation againſt thoſe who led you into them; yea, what Fear to offend me (*a*); yea, what vehement Deſire of ſatisfying me; yea, what Zeal for me; yea, what Revenge againſt your ſelves for having been ſo miſled. You have ſhewn your ſelves to be ſet right *, and be as you ſhould be in every thing, by this Carriage of
12. yours †. If therefore I wrote unto you concerning the Fornicator, it was not for his ſake that had done, nor his that had ſuffer'd, the Wrong, but principally that my Care and Concern for you might be made
13. known to you, as in the Preſence of God. Therefore I was comforted in your Comfort: But much more exceedingly rejoyced I in the Joy of *Titus*, becauſe his Mind was ſet at Eaſe by the good Diſpoſition he found
14. you all in towards me (*b*). So that I am not aſhamed of having boaſted of you to him. For all that I have ſaid to you is Truth, ſo what I ſaid to *Titus* in your

TEXT.

For godly ſorrow work- 10
eth repentance to ſalvation not to be repented of: but the ſorrow of the world worketh death.

For behold, this ſelf- 11
ſame thing that ye ſorrowed, after a godly ſort, what careſulneſs it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of your ſelves, yea, what indignation, yea, what ſear, yea, what vehement deſire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge: in all things ye have approved your ſelves to be clear in this matter.

Wherefore though I 12
wrote unto you, I did it not for his cauſe that had done the wrong, nor for his cauſe that ſuffered wrong, but that our care for you in the ſight of God might appear unto you.

Therefore we are com- 13
forted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, becauſe his ſpirit was refreſhed by you all.

For if I have boaſted 14
any thing to him of you, I am not aſhamed; but as we ſpake all things to you in truth, even ſo our boaſting which I made before Titus is found a truth.

NOTES.

11 (z) St. *Paul* writing to thoſe who knew the Temper they were in, and what were the Objects of the ſeveral Paſſions which were raiſed in them, doth both here and in the 7*th* Verſe forbear to mention by and to what they were moved out of Modeſty and Reſpect to them. This is neceſſary for the Information of ordinary Readers, to be ſupplied as can be beſt collected from the main Deſign of the Apoſtle in theſe two Epiſtles, and from ſeveral Paſſages giving us Light in it.

(*a*) *Vid.* Ver. 15. * *Clear.* This word anſwers very well ἁγνὸς in the Greek: but then to be clear in Engliſh, is generally underſtood to ſignifie not to have been guilty; which could not be the Senſe of the Apoſtles, he having charged the Corinthians ſo warmly in his firſt Epiſtle. His Meaning muſt therefore be, that they had now reſolved on a contrary Courſe, and were ſo far clear, *i. e.* were ſet right, and in good Diſpoſition again, as he deſcribes it in the former part of this Verſe. † And therefore I think ἐν τῷ πράγματι, may beſt be render'd *in fact*, *i. e.* by your Sorrow, your Fear, your Indignation, your Zeal, &c. I think it cannot well be tranſlated *in this matter*, underſtanding thereby the Puniſhment of the Fornicator. For that was not the matter St. *Paul* had been ſpeaking of, but the Corinthians ſiding with the falſe Apoſtle againſt him, was the Subject of the preceding part of this, and of the three or four foregoing Chapters, wherein he juſtifies himſelf againſt their Slanders, and invalidates the Pretences of the adverſe Party. This is that which lay chiefly upon his Heart, and which he labours Might and Main both in this and the former Epiſtle to rectifie, as the Foundation of all the Diſorders amongſt them. And conſequently is the matter wherein he rejoyces to find them All ſet right. Indeed in the immediately following Verſe, he mentions his having writ to them concerning the Fornicatour, but it is only as an Argument of his Kindneſs and Concern for them: But that what was the great Cauſe of his Rejoycing, what it was that gave him the great Satisfaction, was the breaking the Faction, and the re-uniting them *All* to himſelf, which he expreſſes in the word *All*, emphatically uſed, *ver.* 13, 15. and from thence he concludes thus, *ver.* 16. *I rejoyce therefore that I have confidence in you in all things.* His Mind was now at reſt, the Partizans of his Oppoſer the falſe Apoſtle having forſaken that Leader whom they had ſo much gloried in, and being all now come over to St. *Paul*, he doubted not but all would go well, and ſo leaves off the Subject he had been upon in the ſeven foregoing Chapters, *viz.* the Juſtification of himſelf, with here and there Reflections on that falſe Apoſtle.

13 (*b*) *Vid.* ver. 15.

Commenda-

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
15 And his inward affection is more abundant toward you, whilſt he remembreth the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling you received him.	Commendation he has found to be true, whereby his Affection to you is abundantly increas'd, he carrying in his Mind the univerſal Obedience of you all unanimouſly to me, and the manner of your receiving him with Fear and Trembling.	15.
16 I rejoyce therefore that I have confidence in you in all things.	I rejoyce therefore that I have Confidence in you in all things.	16.

SECT. III.

CHAP. VIII. 1——IX. 15.

CONTENTS.

THE Apoſtle having imploy'd the Seven foregoing Chapters in his own Juſtification, in the cloſe whereof he expreſſes the great Satisfaction he had in their being all united again in their Affection and Obedience to him, he in the two next Chapters exhorts them eſpecially by the Example of the Churches of *Macedonia*, to a liberal Contribution to the poor Chriſtians in *Judea*.

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
1 MOreover brethren, we do you to wit of the grace of God beſtowed on the churches of Macedonia:	MOreover, Brethren, I make known to you the Gift, (*c*) which by the Grace of God is given in the Churches of *Macedonia*, *viz.* that amidſt the	1.
2 How that in a great trial of affliction, the abundance of their joy, and their deep poverty abounded unto the riches of their liberality.	Afflictions (*d*) they have been much tried with, they have with exceeding Chearfulneſs and Joy made their very low Eſtate of Poverty yield a rich Contribution of Liberality, being forward of themſelves (as I muſt	2.
3 For to their power (I bear record) yea, and beyond their power, they were willing of themſelves.	bear them witneſs) to the utmoſt of their Power; nay, and beyond their Power, earneſtly intreating	3.
4 Praying us with much intreaty, that we would receive the gift, and take upon us the fellowſhip of the miniſtring to the ſaints.	me to receive their Contribution, and be a Partner with others in the Charge of conveying and diſtributing it to the Saints. And in this they out-did my	4.
5 And this they did, not as we hoped, but firſt gave their own ſelves to the Lord, and unto us by the will of God.	Expectation, who could not hope for ſo large a Collection from them. But they gave themſelves firſt to the Lord, and to me, to diſpoſe of what they had according as the good Pleaſure of God ſhould direct.	5.

NOTES.

1 (*c*) Χάρις, which is tranſlated *Grace*, is here uſed by St. *Paul* for *Gift* or *Liberality*, and is ſo uſed, *ver.* 4, 6, 7, 9, 19. and 1 *Cor.* 16. 3. It is called alſo χάρις Θεῦ, the *Gift of God*, becauſe God is the Author and Procurer of it, moving their Hearts to it. Beſides δεδομένην ἐν cannot ſignifie *beſtowed on*, but *given in* or *by*.

2 (*d*) How ill-diſpos'd and rough to the Chriſtians the *Macedonians* were, may be ſeen, *Acts* 16, and 17.

PARAPHRASE.

6. Insomuch that I was moved to persuade *Titus*, that as he had begun; so he would also see this charitable Contribution carried on among you till it was per-
7. fected, that as you excel in every thing, abounding in Faith, in well speaking, in Knowledge, in every good Quality, and in your Affection to me, ye might
8. abound in this Act of charitable Liberality also. This I say to you, not as a Command from God, but on occasion of the great Liberality of the Churches of *Macedonia*, and to shew the World a Proof of the ge-
9. nuine noble Temper of your Love (*e*). For ye know the Munificence (*f*) of our Lord Jesus Christ, who being rich, made himself poor for your sakes, that
10. you by his Poverty might become rich, I give you my Opinion in the case, because it becomes you so to do, as having begun not only to do something in it, but to shew a Willingness to it above a Year ago.
11. Now therefore apply your selves to the doing of it in Earnest; so that as you undertook it readily, so you
12. would as readily perform it out of what you have: For every Man's Charity is accepted by God according to the Largeness and Willingness of his Heart in giving, and not according to the Narrowness of his Fortune.
13. For my Meaning is not that you should be burdened
14. to ease others, but that at this time your Abundance should make up what they through Want come short in, that in another occasion their Abundance may supply your Deficiency, that there may be an Equality.

TEXT.

Insomuch that we desi- 6
red Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also.

Therefore as ye abound 7
in every thing, in faith, in utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us; see that ye abound in this grace also.

I speak not by com- 8
mandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.

For ye know the grace 9
of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.

And herein I give my 10
advice: for this is expedient for you who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago.

Now therefore perform 11
the doing of it; that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which you have.

For if there be first a 12
willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.

For I mean not that o- 13
ther men may be eased and you burdened:

But by an equality, that 14
now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality.

NOTES.

8 (*e*) Τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων, *shewing the World a Proof of the genuine Temper of your Love.* Thus I think it should be render'd. St. *Paul*, who is so careful all along in this Epistle, to shew his Esteem and good Opinion of the Corinthians, taking all Occasions to speak and presume well of them, whereof we have an eminent Example in these Words, *Ye abound in your Love to us*, in the immediately preceding Verse, he could not in this place so far forget his Design of treating them very tenderly, now they were newly return'd to him, as to tell them, that he sent *Titus* for the promoting their Contribution to make a Trial of the *Sincerity of their Love*, this had been but an ill Expression of that *Confidence*, which, *ch.* 7. 16. he tells them, he has *in them in all things*. Taking therefore, as without Violence to the Words one may, δοκιμάζων for *drawing out a Proof*, and γνήσιον for *genuine*, the words very well express St. *Paul*'s obliging Way of stirring up the Corinthians to a liberal Contribution, as I have understood them. For St. *Paul*'s Discourse to them briefly stands thus; "The great Liberality "of the poor Macedonians, made me send *Titus* to you, to carry on the Collection of your "Charity which he had begun, that you who excel in all other Virtues, might be eminent "also in this. But this I urge, not as a Command from God, but upon Occasion of others "Liberality, lay before you an Opportunity of giving the World a Proof of the genuine Tem- "per of your Charity, which, like that of your other Virtues, loves not to come behind that "of others.

9 (*f*) Τὴν χάριν, the *Grace*, rather the *Munificence*, the Signification wherein St. *Paul* uses χάρις, over and over again in this Chapter, and is translated *Gift*, Ver. 4.

As

TEXT.

15 As it is written, He that had gathered much, had nothing over; and he that had gathered little, had no lack.
16 But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you.
17 For indeed he accepted the exhortation, but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you.
18 And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel, throughoutall thechurches.
19 (And not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with his grace, which is administred by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind)
20 Avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance, which is administred by us:
21 Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men.
22 And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have often-times proved diligent in many things, but how much more diligent, upon the great confidence which I have in you.
23 Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow helper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ.
24 Wherefore shew ye to them, and before the churches the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.
1 For as touching the ministring to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you.
2 For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was

PARAPHRASE.

As it is written, He that had much had nothing over, 15.
and he that had little had no lack. But Thanks be to 16.
God, who put into the Heart of *Titus* the same Concern for you, who not only yielded to my Exhortation; (*g*) But being more than ordinary concerned 17.
for you, of his own accord went unto you, with whom I have sent the Brother (*h*), who has Praise 18.
through all the Churches for his Labour in the Gospel, (and not that only, but who was also chosen of the 19.
Churches to accompany me in the carrying this Collection, which Service I undertook for the Glory of our Lord, and for your Encouragement to a liberal Contribution to prevent any Aspersion might be cast 20.
on me by any one on occasion of my medling with the Management of so great a Sum, and to take care, 21.
by having such Men joyn'd with me in the same Trust, that my Integrity and Credit should be preserved not only in the Sight of the Lord; but also in the Sight of Men. With them I have sent our Brother, of whom I have had frequent Experience in sun- 22.
dry Affairs, to be a forward active Man; but now much more earnestly intent by reason of the strong Perswasion he has of your contributing liberally. Now 23.
whether I speak of *Titus*, he is my Partner, and one who with me promotes your Interest; or the two other Brethren sent with him, they are the Messengers of the Churches of *Macedonia*, by whom their Collection is sent, and are promoters of the Glory of Christ. Give therefore to them, and by them to those 24.
Churches a Demonstration of your Love, and a Justi- 1.
fication of my boasting of you. For as touching the Relief of the poor Christians in *Jerusalem*, it is need- 2.
less for me to write to you. For I know the Forwardness of your Minds, which I boasted of on your

NOTES.

17 (*g*) *Vid.* ver. 6.
18 (*h*) This Brother most take to be St. *Luke*, who now was, and had been a long while, St. *Paul*'s Companion in his Travels.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

behalf to the *Macedonians*, that (*i*) *Achaia* was ready a Year ago, and your Zeal in this Matter hath been a
3. Spur to many others. Yet I have ſent theſe Brethren, that my boaſting of you may not appear to be vain and groundleſs in this part: But that you may, as I ſaid,
4. have your Collection ready, leſt if perchance the *Macedonians* ſhould come with me, and find it not ready, I (not to ſay you) ſhould be aſhamed in this Matter
5. whereof I have boaſted. I thought it therefore neceſſary to put the Brethren upon going before unto you, to prepare things by a timely Notice before-hand, that your Contribution may be ready, as a free Benevolence of yours, and not as a niggardly Gift extorted
6. from you. This, I ſay, He who ſoweth ſparingly ſhall reap alſo ſparingly; and he who ſoweth plentifully
7. ſhall alſo reap plentifully. So give as you find your ſelves diſpoſed every one in his own Heart, not grudgingly, as if it were wrung from you; for God loves
8. a cheerful Giver. For God is able to make every charitable Gift (*k*) of yours redound to your Advantage, that you having in every thing always a Fulneſs of
9. Plenty, ye may abound in every good Work (as it is written, He that ſcattered, he hath given to the Poor,
10. and his Liberality (*l*) remaineth for ever. Now he that ſupplies Seed to the Sower, and Bread for Food; ſupply and multiply your Stock of Seed (*m*), and en-
11. creaſe the Fruit of your Liberality) enrich'd in every thing to all Beneficence, which, by me is inſtrumen-
12. tal in it, procureth Thankſgiving to God. For the Performance of this Service doth not only bring Supply to the Wants of the Saints; but reacheth farther,

TEXT.

ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many.

2 Yet have I ſent the brethren, leſt our boaſting of you ſhould be in vain in this behalf; that, as I ſaid, ye may be ready:

4 Leſt haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we ſay not, you) ſhould be aſhamed in this ſame confident boaſting.

5 Therefore I thought it neceſſary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up before-hand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the ſame might be ready as a matter of bounty, and not as of covetouſneſs.

6 But this I ſay, He which ſoweth ſparingly, ſhall reap alſo ſparingly: and he which ſoweth bountifully, ſhall reap alſo bountifully.

7 Every Man according as he purpoſeth in his heart, ſo let him give; not grudgingly, or of neceſſity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.

8 And God is able to make all grace abound towards you; that ye always having all ſufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work:

9 (As it is written, He hath diſperſed abroad; he hath given to the poor: his righteouſneſs remaineth for ever.

10 Now he that miniſtreth ſeed to the ſower, both miniſter bread for your food, and multiply your ſeed ſown, and increaſe the fruits of your righteouſneſs)

11 Being enriched in every thing to all bountifulneſs, which cauſeth through us thankſgiving to God.

12 For the adminiſtration of this ſervice, not only ſupplieth the want of the

NOTES.

2 (*i*) *Achaia*, i. e. the Church of *Corinth*, which was made up of the Inhabitants of that Town, and of the circumjacent Parts of *Achaia*. Vid. *ch.* 1. 1.

8 (*k*) Χάρις *Grace*, rather *Charitable Gifts* or *Liberality*, as it ſignifies in the former Chapter, and as the Context determines the Senſe here.

9, 10 (*l*) Δικαιοσύνη *Righteouſneſs*, rather *Liberality*; for ſo δικαιοσύνη in Scripture-Language often ſignifies. And ſo *Math.* 6. 1. for ἐλεημοσύνην, *Alms*, ſome Copies have δικαιοσύνην *Liberality*. And ſo *Joſeph*, Matt. 1. 19. is called δίκαιος *juſt*, *benign*.

10 (*m*) Σπόρον *Seed ſown*, rather your *Seed and Seed-plot*, i. e. Increaſe your Plenty to be laid out in charitable Uſes.

even

TEXT.

saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God;
13 (Whiles by the experiment of this ministration, they glorifie God for your professed subjection unto the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men)
14 And by their prayer for you, which long after you, for the exceeding grace of God in you.
15 Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.

PARAPHRASE.

even to God himself, by many Thanksgivings (whilst they, having such a Proof of you in this your Supply, glorify God for your professed Subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and for your Liberality in communicating to them, and to all Men), and to the procuring their Prayers for you, they having a great Inclination towards you, because of that gracious Gift of God bestowed on them by your Liberality. Thanks be to God for this his unspeakable Gift. 13. 14. 15.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. X. 1.——XIII. 10.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* having finished his Exhortation to Liberality in their Collection for the Christians at *Jerusalem*, he here resumes his former Argument, and prosecutes the main Purpose of this Epistle, which was totally to reduce and put a final End to the adverse Faction, (which seems not yet to be entirely extinct) by bringing the *Corinthians* wholly off from the false Apostle they had adhered to: And to re-establish himself and his Authority in the Minds of all the Members of that Church. And this he does by the Steps contained in the following Numbers.

SECT. IV. *N.* 1.

CHAP. X. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

HE declares the extraordinary Power he hath in Preaching the Gospel, and to punish his Opposers amongst them.

TEXT.

1 NOw I Paul my self beseech you, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am base among you, but being absent am bold toward you.

PARAPHRASE.

NOW I the same *Paul* who am (as 'tis said amongst (*n*) you) base and mean when present with you, but bold towards you when absent, 1

NOTES.

(*n*) Vid. *ver.* 10.

beseech

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

beſeech you by the Meekneſs and Gentleneſs (*o*) of
2. Chriſt; I beſeech you, I ſay, that I may not, when preſent among you, be bold after that manner. I have reſolv'd to be bold towards ſome, who account that in my Conduct and Miniſtry I regulate my ſelf
3. wholly by carnal Conſiderations. For though I live in the Fleſh, yet I do not carry on the Work of the Goſpel (which is a Warfare) according to the Fleſh.
4. (For the Weapons of my Warfare are not fleſhly (*p*), but ſuch as God hath made mighty to the pulling down of ſtrong-Holds, *i. e.* what ever is made uſe of
5. in oppoſition.) Beating down humane Reaſonings, and all the towring and moſt elevated Superſtructures raiſed thereon, by the Wit of Men againſt the Knowledge of God, as held forth in the Goſpel, captivating all their Notions, and bringing them into Subjection
6. to Chriſt: and having by me in a readineſs Power wherewithal to puniſh and chaſtiſe all Diſobedience; when you, who have been miſled by your falſe Apoſtle, withdrawing your ſelves from him, ſhall return to a perfect Obedience (*q*).

TEXT.

But I beſeech you, that 2
I may not be bold when
I am preſent, with that
confidence wherewith I
think to be bold againſt
ſome which think of us,
as if we walked according
to the fleſh.

For though we walk in 3
the fleſh, we do not war
after the fleſh:

(For the weapons of our 4
warfare are not carnal, but
mighty through God, to
the pulling down of ſtrong
holds.)

Caſting down imagina- 5
tions, and every high
thing that exalteth it ſelf
againſt the knowledge of
God, and bringing into
captivity every thought to
the obedience of Chriſt:

And having in a readi- 6
neſs to revenge all diſo-
bedience, when your obe-
dience is fulfilled.

NOTES.

(*o*) St. *Paul* thinking it fit to forbear all Severity till he had by fair Means reduced as many of the contrary Party as he could, to a full Submiſſion to his Authority, (*vid. ver.* 6.) begins here his Diſcourſe by conjuring them by the Meekneſs and Gentleneſs of Chriſt, as an Example that might excuſe his Delay of exemplary Puniſhment on the Ringleaders and chief Offenders, without giving them Reaſon to think it was for Want of Power.

4 (*p*) What the ὅπλα σαρκικὰ, the *carnal Weapons*, and thoſe other oppoſed to them, which he calls δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *mighty through God*, are, may be ſeen if we read and compare 1 *Cor.* 1. 23, 24. and 2. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13. 2 *Cor.* 4. 2, 6.

6 (*q*) Thoſe whom he ſpeaks to here, are the Corinthian Converts to whom this Epiſtle is written. Some of theſe had been drawn into a Faction againſt St. *Paul*; theſe he had been, and was endeavouring to bring back to that Obedience and Submiſſion which the reſt had continued in to him as an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt. The Corinthians of theſe two ſorts are thoſe he means, when he ſays to them, *ch.* 2. 3. and *ch.* 7. 13, 15. *You all*, i. e. all ye Chriſtians of *Corinth* and *Achaia*. For he that had raiſed the Faction amongſt them, and given ſo much Trouble to St. *Paul*, was a Stranger and a Jew, *Vid.* ch. 11. 22. crept in amongſt them, after St. *Paul* had gather'd and eſtabliſh'd that Church, 1 *Cor.* 3. 6, 10. 2 *Cor.* 10. 5, 16. Of whom St. *Paul* ſeems to have no Hopes, *ch.* 11. 13——15. and therefore he every where threatens, 1 *Cor.* 4. 19. and here particularly, *ver.* 6, and 11. to make an Example of him and his Adherents, (if any were ſo obſtinate to ſtick to him) when he had brought back again all the Corinthians that he could hope to prevail on.

SECT. IV. *N.* 2.

CHAP. X. 7—18.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* examines the falſe Apoſtle's Pretenſions, and compares his own with his Performances.

Do

TEXT.

7 DO ye look on things after the outward appearance? if any man truſt to himſelf, that he is Chriſt's, let him of himſelf think this again, that as he is Chriſt's, even ſo are we Chriſt's.

8 For though I ſhould boaſt ſomewhat more of our authority, (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your deſtruction) I ſhould not be aſhamed:

9 That I may not ſeem as if I would terrifie you by letters.

10 For his letters (ſay they) are weighty and powerful, but his bodily preſence is weak, and his ſpeech contemptible.

11 Let ſuch an one think this, that ſuch as we are in word by letters, when we are abſent, ſuch will we be alſo in deed when we are preſent.

12 For we dare not make our ſelves of the number, or compare our ſelves with ſome that commend themſelves: but they meaſuring themſelves by themſelves, and comparing themſelves amongſt themſelves, are not wiſe.

13 But we will not boaſt of things without our meaſure, but according to the meaſure of the rule which God hath diſtributed to us, a meaſure to reach even unto you.

PARAPHRASE.

DO ye judge of Men by the outward Appearance of things? Is it by ſuch Meaſures you take an Eſtimate of me and my Adverſaries? If he has Confidence in himſelf that he is Chriſt's, *i. e.* aſſumes to himſelf the Authority of one imploy'd and commiſſioned by Chriſt (*r*); let him on the other ſide count thus with himſelf, that as he is Chriſt's, ſo I alſo am Chriſt's. Nay, if I ſhould boaſtingly ſay ſomething more (*s*) of the Authority and Power which the Lord has given me for your Edification, and not for your Deſtruction, * I ſhould not be put to Shame (*t*). But that I may not ſeem to terrifie you by Letters, as is objected to me by ſome, who ſay, that my Letters are weighty and powerful, but my bodily Preſence weak, and my Diſcourſe contemptible. Let him that ſays ſo reckon upon this, that ſuch as I am in Word by Letters when I am abſent, ſuch ſhall I be alſo in Deed when preſent. For I dare not be ſo bold, as to rank or compare my ſelf with ſome who vaunt themſelves: But they meaſuring themſelves within themſelves (*u*), and comparing themſelves with themſelves, do not underſtand (*w*). But I for my part will not boaſt of my ſelf in what has not been meaſur'd out, or allotted to me (*x*), *i. e.* I will not go out of my own Province to ſeek Matter of Commendation, but proceeding orderly in the Province which God hath meaſured out, and allotted to me, I have reach'd even unto you, *i. e.* I preach'd the Goſpel in every Country as I

7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13.

NOTES.

7 (*r*) Vid. *ch.* 11. 33.

8 (*s*) *More*, vid. *ch.* 11. 23. * Another Reaſon inſinuated by the Apoſtle for his forbearing Severity to them.

(*t*) *I ſhould not be put to ſhame*, *i. e.* the Truth would juſtifie me in it.

12 (*u*) This is ſpoken Ironically: ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, *amongſt themſelves*, rather *within themſelves*. For in all likelihood, the Faction and Oppoſition againſt St. *Paul* was made by one Perſon, as as we before obſerved. For though he ſpeaks here in the plural Number, which is the ſofter and decenter way in ſuch caſes; yet we ſee in the foregoing Verſe he ſpeaks directly and expreſly as of one Perſon; and therefore ἐν ἑαυτοῖς may, moſt conſonantly to the Apoſtle's Meaning here, be underſtood to ſignifie *within themſelves*, i. e. with what they find in themſelves. The whole Place ſhewing, that this Perſon made an Eſtimate of himſelf only by what he found in himſelf; and thereupon preferr'd himſelf to St. *Paul*, without conſidering what St. *Paul* was, or had done.

(*w*) *Do not underſtand*, that they ought not to intrude themſelves into a Church planted by another Man, and there vaunt themſelves, and ſet themſelves above him that planted it, which is the Meaning of the four next Verſes.

13 (*x*) Ἄμετρα, here and in *ver.* 15. doth not ſignifie immenſe, or immoderate, but ſomething that hath not been meaſured out and allotted to him, ſomething that is not committed to him, nor within his Province.

went,

PARAPHRASE.

14. went, till I came as far as you. For I do not extend my ſelf farther than I ſhould, as if I had skip'd over other Countries in my way, without proceeding gradually to you; no, for I have reach'd even unto you in Preaching of the Goſpel in all Countries as I paſſed
15. along (*y*); Not extending my Boaſting (*z*) beyond my own Bounds into Provinces not allotted to me, nor vaunting my ſelf of any thing I have done in another's Labour, (*a*) *i. e.* in a Church planted by another Man's Pains: But having Hope that your Faith increaſing, my Province will be enlarged by you yet
16. farther; So that I may preach the Goſpel to the yet unconverted Countries beyond you, and not take Glory to my ſelf from another Man's Province, where
17. all things are made ready to my Hand (*a*). But he that will glory, let him glory or ſeek Praiſe from that which is committed to him by the Lord, or in that
18. which is acceptable to the Lord. For not he who commends himſelf does thereby give a Proof of his Authority or Miſſion; but he whom the Lord commends by the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt (*b*).

TEXT.

For we ſtretch not our 14
ſelves beyond our meaſure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you alſo, in preaching the goſpel of Chriſt:

Not boaſting of things 15
without our meaſure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope when our faith is increaſed, that we ſhall be enlarged by you, according to our rule abundantly.

To preach the goſpel in 16
the regions beyond you, and not to boaſt in another man's line of things made ready to our hand.

But he that glorieth, let 17
him glory in the Lord.

For not he that com- 18
mendeth himſelf is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

NOTES.

14 (*y*) This ſeems to charge the falſe pretended Apoſtle, who had cauſed all this Diſturbance in the Church of *Corinth*, that, without being appointed to it, without preaching the Goſpel in his way thither, as became an Apoſtle, he had crept into the Church of *Corinth*.

15 (*z*) *Boaſting*, i. e. intermedling, or aſſuming to my ſelf Authority to meddle, or Honour for medling.

15, 16 (*a*) Here St. *Paul* viſibly taxes the falſe Apoſtle for coming into a Church converted and gathered by another, and there pretending to be ſome body, and to rule all. This is another thing that makes it probable, that the Oppoſition made to St. *Paul* was but by one Man that had made himſelf the Head of an oppoſite Faction. For it is plain it was a Stranger who came thither after St. *Paul* had planted this Church, who pretending to be more an Apoſtle than St. *Paul*, with greater Illumination, and more Power, ſet up againſt him to govern that Church, and withdraw the Corinthians from following St. *Paul*'s Rules and Doctrine. Now this can never be ſuppoſed to be a Combination of Men who came to *Corinth* with that Deſign, nor that they were different Men that came thither ſeparately, each ſetting up for himſelf, for then they would have fallen out one with another, as well as with St. *Paul*: And in both Caſes St. *Paul* muſt have ſpoken of them in a different way from what he does now. The ſame Character and Carriage is given to them all throughout both theſe Epiſtles; and 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. he plainly ſpeaks of one Man, that ſetting up thus to be a Preacher of the Goſpel amongſt thoſe that were already Chriſtians, was look'd upon by St. *Paul* to be a Fault, we may ſee, *Rom.* 15. 20.

18 (*b*) 'Tis of theſe Weapons of his Warfare that St. *Paul* ſpeaks in this Chapter; and 'tis by them that he intends to try which is the true Apoſtle when he comes to them.

SECT. IV. *N.* 3.

CHAP. XI. 1——6.

CONTENTS.

HE ſhews that their pretended Apoſtle bringing to them no other Saviour or Goſpel; nor conferring greater Power of Miracles than he [St. *Paul*] had done, was not to be preferr'd before him.

Would

An.Ch.57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

1 WOuld to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly; and indeed bear with me.

2 For I am jealous over you with godly jealouſie: for I have eſpouſed you to one husband, that I may preſent you as a chaſte virgin to Chriſt.

3 But I fear, leſt by any means, as the ſerpent beguiled Eve through his ſubtilty, ſo your minds ſhould be corrupted from the ſimplicity that is in Chriſt.

4 For if he that cometh, preacheth another Jeſus whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another ſpirit, which ye have not received, or another goſpel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him.

5 For I ſuppoſe I was not a whit behind the very chiefeſt apoſtles.

6 But though I be rude in ſpeech, yet not in knowledge; but we have been throughly made manifeſt among you in all things.

PARAPHRASE.

WOuld you could bear me a little in my Folly (*c*), and indeed do bear with me. For I am jealous over you with a Jealouſie that is for God: For I have fitted and prepared you for one alone to be your Husband, *viz.* that I might deliver you up a pure Virgin to Chriſt. But I fear leſt ſome way or other, as the Serpent beguiled *Eve* by his Cunning; ſo your Minds ſhould be debauch'd from that Singleneſs which is due to Chriſt (*d*). For if this Intruder who has been a Leader amongſt you, can preach to you another Saviour, whom I have not preach'd; or if you receive from him other or greater Gifts of the Spirit, than thoſe you received from me; or another Goſpel than what you accepted from me, you might well bear with him, and allow his Pretenſions of being a new and greater Apoſtle. For as to the Apoſtles of Chriſt, I ſuppoſe I am not a whit behind the chiefeſt of them. For though I am but a mean Speaker; yet I am not without Knowledge, but in every thing have been made manifeſt unto you, *i. e.* to be an Apoſtle.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

NOTES.

1 (*c*) *Folly*, ſo he modeſtly calls his Speaking in his own Defence.

3 (*d*) Ἁπλότητ☉ τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν *The Simplicity that is in*, rather *towards Chriſt*, anſwers to ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ Χριστῷ, *to one Husband Chriſt*, in the immediately foregoing Verſe. For ἑνὶ *one*, is not put there for nothing, but makes the Meaning plainly this; "I have formed and fitted you "for one Perſon alone, one Husband who is Chriſt: I am concerned, and in Care, that you "may not be drawn aſide from that Submiſſion, that Obedience, that Temper of Mind that is "due ſingly to him, for I hope to put you into his Hands poſſeſſed with pure Virgin Thoughts, "wholly fixed on him, not divided, nor roving after any other, that he may take you to Wife, "and marry you to himſelf for ever." 'Tis plain their Perverter, who oppoſed St. *Paul*, was a Jew, as we have ſeen. 'Twas from the Jews, from whom, of all profeſſing Chriſtianity, St. *Paul* had moſt Trouble and Oppoſition. For they, having their Hearts ſet upon their old Religion, endeavour'd to mix Judaiſm and Chriſtianity together: We may ſuppoſe the Caſe here to be much the ſame with that which he more fully expreſſes in the Epiſtle to the Galatians, particularly *Gal.* 1. 6—12. and *ch.* 4. 9.—11. and 16. 21. and *ch.* 5. 1.——13. The Meaning of this place here ſeems to be this; "I have taught you the Goſpel alone, in its pure and unmix'd Sim-"plicity, by which only you can be united to Chriſt: But I fear leſt this your new Apoſtle ſhould "draw you from it, and that your Minds ſhould not ſtick to that ſingly, but ſhould be corrupted "by a Mixture of Judaiſm." After the like manner St. *Paul* expreſſes Chriſtians being delivered from the Law, and their Freedom from the ritual Obſervances of the Jews, by being married to Chriſt, *Rom.* 7. 4. which place may give ſome Light to this.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. IV. N. 4.

CHAP. XI. 7——15.

CONTENTS.

HE juſtifies himſelf to them, in his having taken nothing of them. There had been great Talk about this, and Objections raiſed againſt St. *Paul* thereupon; *Vid.* 1 Cor. 9. 1——3. As if by this he had diſcover'd himſelf not to be an Apoſtle: To which he there anſwers, and here toucheth it again, and anſwers an other Objection which it ſeems was made, *viz.* that he refuſed to receive Maintenance from them out of Unkindneſs to them.

PARAPHRASE.

7. HAVE I committed an Offence (*e*) in abaſing my ſelf to work with my hands, neglecting my Right of Maintenance due to me as an Apoſtle, that you might be exalted in Chriſtianity, becauſe I preach'd
8. the Goſpel of God to you *gratis*? I robb'd other Churches, taking Wages of them to do you Service:
9. And being with you and in Want, I was chargeable to not a Man of you. For the Brethren who came from *Macedonia*, ſupplied me with what I needed: And in all things I have kept my ſelf from being burdenſome
10. to you, and ſo will I continue to do. The Truth and Sincerity I owe to Chriſt is in what I ſay to you, *viz.* This Boaſting of mine ſhall not in the Regions of *A-*
11. *chaia* be ſtop'd in me. Why ſo? Is it becauſe I love you not? For that God can be my Witneſs, he know-
12. eth. But what I do and ſhall do (*f*) is, that I may cut off all Occaſion from thoſe who, if I took any thing of you; would be glad of that Occaſion to boaſt, that in it they had me for a Pattern, and did nothing
13. but what even I my ſelf had done. For theſe are falſe (*g*) Apoſtles, deceitful Labourers in the Goſpel,

TEXT.

7 HAve I committed an offence in abaſing my ſelf that you might be exalted, becauſe I have preached to you the goſpel of God freely?

8 I robbed other Churches, taking wages of them to do you ſervice.

9 And when I was preſent with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia ſupplied: and in all things I have kept my ſelf from being burdenſome unto you, and ſo will I keep my ſelf.

10 As the truth of Chriſt is in me, no man ſhall ſtop me of this boaſting in the regions of Achaia.

11 Wherefore? becauſe I love you not? God knoweth.

12 But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occaſion from them which deſire occaſion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we.

13 For ſuch are falſe apoſtles, deceitful workers

NOTES.

7 (*e*) The adverſe Party made it an Argument againſt St. *Paul*, as an Evidence that he was no Apoſtle, ſince he took not from the Corinthians Maintenance, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1——3. Another Objection raiſed againſt him from hence, was, That he would receive nothing from them, becauſe he loved them not, 2 *Cor.* 11. 11. This he anſwers here, by giving another Reaſon for his ſo doing. A third Allegation was, That it was only a crafty Trick in him to catch them, 2 *Cor.* 12. 16, which he anſwers there.

12 (*f*) ἵνα ποιῶσω, *that I will do*, rather *and will do*; ſo the Words ſtand in the Greek, and do not refer to *v.* 10. as a Profeſſion of his Reſolution to take nothing of them; but to *ver.* 11. to which it is joyn'd; ſhewing that his refuſing any Reward from them, was not out of Unkindneſs, but for another Reaſon.

13 (*g*) They had queſtioned St. *Paul*'s Apoſtleſhip, 1 *Cor.* 9. becauſe of his not taking Maintenance of the Corinthians. He here directly declares them to be no true Apoſtles.

having

TEXT.

transforming themſelves into the Apoſtles of Chriſt.

14 And no marvel; for ſatan himſelf is transformed into an angel of light.

15 Therefore it is no great thing if his miniſters alſo be transformed as the miniſters of righteouſneſs; whoſe end ſhall be according to their works.

PARAPHRASE.

having put on the counterfeit Shape and Outſide of Apoſtles of Chriſt: And no marvel, for Satan himſelf is ſometimes transformed into an Angel of Light. Therefore it is not ſtrange, if ſo be his Miniſters are diſguiſed ſo as to appear Miniſters of the Goſpel: whoſe End ſhall be according to their Works. 14. 15.

SECT. IV. N. 5.

CHAP. XI. 16—33.

CONTENTS.

HE goes on in his Juſtification, reflecting upon the Carriage of the falſe Apoſtle towards the Corinthians, *v.* 16—21. He compares himſelf with the falſe Apoſtle in what he boaſts of, as being an Hebrew, *v.* 21, 22. or Miniſter of Chriſt, *v.* 23. and here St. *Paul* enlarges upon his Labours and Sufferings.

TEXT.

16 I Say again, Let no man think me a fool; if otherwiſe, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boaſt my ſelf a little.

17 That which I ſpeak, I ſpeak it not after the Lord, but as it were fooliſhly in this confidence of boaſting.

18 Seeing that many glory after the fleſh, I will glory alſo.

19 For ye ſuffer fools gladly, ſeeing ye your ſelves are wiſe.

20 For ye ſuffer if a man bring you into bondage, if a man devour you, if a man take of you, if a man exalt himſelf, if a man ſmite you on the face.

PARAPHRASE.

I Say again, Let no Man think me a Fool, that I ſpeak ſo much of my ſelf: or at leaſt if it be a Folly in me, bear with me as a Fool, that I too as well as others (*b*) may boaſt my ſelf a little. That which I ſay on this Occaſion is not by Command from Chriſt, but as it were fooliſhly in this matter of Boaſting. Since many glory in their Circumciſion or Extraction (*i*), I will glory alſo. For ye bear with Fools (*k*) eaſily, being your ſelves wiſe. (*l*) For you bear with it if a Man bring you into Bondage (*m*), *i. e.* domineer over you, and uſe you like his Bondmen; If he make a Prey of you; If he take or extort Preſents or a Salary from you; If he be elevated and high amongſt you; If he ſmite you on the Face, *i. e.* 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

NOTES.

16 (*b*) *Vid.* ver. 18.

18 (*i*) *Vid.* ch. 12. 11.

19 (*k*) *After the Fleſh.* What this glorying *after the Fleſh* was in particular here, *vid.* ver. 22. (*viz.*) being a Jew by deſcent.

20 (*l*) Spoken Ironically for their bearing with the Inſolence and Covetouſneſs of their falſe Apoſtle.

(*m*) The *Bondage* here meant, was, Subjection to the Will of their falſe Apoſtle, as appears by the following Particulars of this Verſe, and not Subjection to the Jewiſh Rites. For if that had been, St. *Paul* was ſo zealous againſt it, that he would have ſpoke more plainly and warmly, as we ſee in his Epiſtle to the Galatians, and not have touched it thus only by the bye ſlightly in a doubtful Expreſſion. Beſides, it is plain no ſuch thing was yet attempted openly, only St. *Paul* was afraid of it; *vid.* ver. 3.

PARAPHRASE.

21. treat you contumeliouſly. I ſpeak according to the Reproach has been caſt upon me, as if I were weak, *i. e.* deſtitute of what might ſupport me in Dignity and Authority equal to this falſe Apoſtle, as if I had not as fair Pretences to Power and Profit amongſt you
22. as he. Is he an Hebrew (*n*), *i. e.* by Language an Hebrew? So am I: Is he an Iſraelite, truly of the Jewiſh Nation, and bred up in that Religion? So am I: Is he of the Seed of *Abraham* really deſcended from him? And not a Proſelyte of a foreign Extraction? So
23. am I: Is he a Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt? (I ſpeak in my fooliſh way of boaſting) I am more ſo: In toilſome Labours I ſurpaſs him: In Stripes I am exceedingly beyond him (*o*): In Priſons I have been oftner;
24. and in the very Jaws of Death more than once: Of the Jews I have five times received forty Stripes ſave
25. one: Thrice was I whip'd with Rods: Once was I ſtoned: Thrice ſhipwracked: I have paſſed a Night
26. and a Day in the Sea: In Journeyings often: In Perils by Water; In Perils by Robbers; In Perils by my own Countrey-men; In Perils from the Heathen; In Perils in the City; In Perils in the Country; In
27. Perils at Sea; In Perils amongſt falſe Brethren; In Toil and Trouble, and ſleepleſs Nights often; In Hunger and Thirſt; in Faſtings often; in Cold and
28. Nakedneſs. Beſides theſe Troubles from without, the Diſturbance that comes daily upon me from my Con-
29. cern for all the Churches. Who is a weak Chriſtian in danger through Frailty or Ignorance to be miſled, whoſe Weakneſs I do not feel and ſuffer-in, as if it were my own? Who is actually miſled, for whom my Zeal and Concern does not make me uneaſie, as if I
30. had a Fire in me? If I muſt be compelled (*p*) to glory (*q*), I will glory of thoſe things which are of my weak

TEXT.

I ſpeak as concerning 21
reproach, as though we had been weak: howbeit, wherein ſoever any is bold (I ſpeak fooliſhly) I am bold alſo.

Are they Hebrews? ſo 22
am I: are they Iſraelites? ſo am I: are they the ſeed of Abraham? ſo am I:

Are they miniſters of 23
Chriſt? (I ſpeak as a fool) I am more: in labours more abundant, in ſtripes above meaſure, in priſons more frequent, in deaths oft.

Of the Jews five times 24
received I forty ſtripes ſave one.

Thrice was I beaten with 25
rods, once was I ſtoned, thrice I ſuffer'd ſhipwrack; a night and a day I have been in the deep:

In journeying often, in 26
perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrey men, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderneſs, in perils in the ſea, in perils among falſe brethren;

In wearineſs and pain- 27
fulneſs, in watchings often, in hunger and thirſt, in faſtings often, in cold and nakedneſs.

Beſides thoſe things that 28
are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.

Who is weak, and I am 29
not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?

If I muſt needs glory, 30
I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities.

NOTES.

22 (*n*) *Is he an Hebrew?* Having in the foregoing Verſe ſpoke in the Singular Number, I have been fain to continue on the ſame Number here, though different from that in the Text, to avoid an Inconſiſtency in the Paraphraſe, which could not but ſhock the Reader. But this I would be underſtood to do, without impoſing my Opinion on any body, or pretending to change the Text: But as an Expoſitor, to tell my Reader that I think, that though St. *Paul* ſays *they*, he means but one, as often, when he ſays *we*, he means only himſelf, the Reaſon whereof I have given elſewhere.

23 (*o*) Ἐν πληγαῖς ὑπερβαλλόντως, *in Stripes above meaſure*, rather *in Stripes exceeding*. For theſe Words, as the other Particulars of this Verſe, ought to be taken comparatively with Reference to the falſe Apoſtle, with whom St. *Paul* is comparing himſelf in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel. Unleſs this be underſtood ſo, there will ſeem to be a diſagreeable Tautology in the following Verſes; which, taking theſe Words in a comparative Senſe, are Proofs of his ſaying, *In Stripes I am exceedingly beyond him, for of the Jews five times*, &c.

30 (*p*) *Compelled.* Vid. *ch.* 12. 11.

(*q*) By Καυχᾶσθαι, which is tranſlated ſometimes to *glory*, and ſometimes to *boaſt*; the Apoſtle all along, where he applies it to himſelf, means nothing but the mentioning ſome commendable Action of his without Vanity or Oſtentation, but barely upon neceſſity on the preſent Occaſion.

and

TEXT.

31 The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.

32 In Damascus the governour under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me:

33 And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

PARAPHRASE.

and suffering side. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that I lie not. In *Damascus*, the Governour under *Aretas* the King, who kept the Town with a Garrison, being desirous to apprehend me; I was through a Window let down in a Basket, and escaped his Hands. 31. 32. 33.

SECT. IV. *N.* 6.

CHAP. XII. 1—11.

CONTENTS.

HE makes good his Apostleship by the extraordinary Visions and Revelations which he had received.

TEXT.

1 IT is not expedient for me doubtless to glory: I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.

2 I knew a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth) such an one caught up to the third heaven.

3 And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth:)

4 How that he was caught up into paradice, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.

5 Of such an one will I glory: yet of my self I will not glory, but in my infirmities.

6 For though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool; for I will say the truth: but now I forbear

PARAPHRASE.

IF I must be forced to glory (*r*) for your sakes, for me it is not expedient, I will come to Visions and Revelations of the Lord. I knew a Man by (*s*) the Power of Christ, above fourteen Years ago, caught up into the third Heaven, whether the intire Man, Body and all, or out of the Body in an Exstacy, I know not; God knows. And I knew such an one (*s*), whether in the Body or out of the Body I know not, God knows, that he was caught up into Paradice, and there heard what is not in the power of Man to utter: Of such an one I will glory: But my self will I not mention with any Boasting, unless in things that carry the Marks of Weakness, and shew my Sufferings. But if I should have a mind to glory in other things, I might do it without being a Fool, for I would speak nothing but what is true, having Matter in abundance; (*t*) But I forbear, lest any one should think of me beyond what he sees me, or hears 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

NOTES.

1 (*r*) Ἐι καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ, *If I must glory*, is the reading of some Copies, and is justified by *ver.* 30. of the foregoing Chapter, by the vulgar Translation, and by the Syriac, much to the same Purpose, and suiting better with the Context, renders the Sense clearer.

2, 3 (*s*) *Modestly* speaking of himself in a third Person.

6 (*t*) *Vid.* ver. 7.

commonly

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

7. commonly reported of me. And that I might not be exalted above meaſure, by reaſon of the Abundance of Revelations that I had, there was given me a Thorn in the Fleſh (*u*), the Meſſenger of Satan to buffet me,
8. that I might not be over-much elevated. Concerning this thing I beſought the Lord thrice that it might de-
9. part from me; And he ſaid, My Favour is ſufficient for thee; for my Power exerts it ſelf, and its Sufficiency is ſeen the more perfectly, the weaker thou thy ſelf art. I therefore moſt willingly chuſe to glory, rather in things that ſhew my Weakneſs, than in my abundance of glorious Revelations, that the Power of Chriſt may the more viſibly be ſeen to dwell in me:
10. Wherefore I have Satisfaction in Weakneſſes, in Reproaches, in Neceſſities, in Perſecutions, in Diſtreſſes, for Chriſt's ſake. For when I, look'd-upon in my outward State, appear weak, then by the Power of Chriſt which dwelleth in me, I am found to be
11. ſtrong. I am become fooliſh in glorying thus: But it is you who have forced me to it. For I ought to have been commended by you, ſince in nothing came I behind the chiefeſt of the Apoſtles, though in my ſelf I am nothing.

TEXT.

leſt any man ſhould think of me above that which he ſeeth me to be, or that he heareth of me.

7 And leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the fleſh, the meſſenger of ſatan to buffet me, leſt I ſhould be exalted above meaſure.

8 For this thing I beſought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me.

9 And he ſaid unto me, My Grace is ſufficient for thee: for my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs. Moſt gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Chriſt may reſt upon me.

10 Therefore I take pleaſure in infirmities, in reproaches, in neceſſities, in perſecutions, in diſtreſſes for Chriſt's ſake: for when I am weak, then am I ſtrong.

11 I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefeſt apoſtles, though I be nothing.

NOTES.

7 (*u*) *Thorn in the Fleſh*, what this was in particular, St. *Paul* having thought fit to conceal it, is not eaſie for thoſe who come after to diſcover, nor is it much material.

SECT. IV. *N.* 7.

CHAP. XII. 12, 13.

CONTENTS.

HE continues to juſtifie himſelf to be an Apoſtle by the Miracles he did, and the ſupernatural Gifts he beſtowed amongſt the Corinthians.

PARAPHRASE.

12. TRuly the Signs whereby an Apoſtle might be known, were wrought among you by me, in all Patience (*w*) and Submiſſion under the Difficulties I there met with, in miraculous, wonderful and

TEXT.

12 TRuly the ſigns of an apoſtle were wrought among you in all patience, in ſigns and wonders, and mighty deeds.

NOTES.

12 (*w*) This may well be underſtood to reflect on the Haughtineſs and Plenty wherein the falſe Apoſtle lived amongſt them.

mighty

TEXT. *PARAPHRASE.*

13 For what is it wherein ye were inferiour to other churches, except it be that my ſelf was not burdenſome to you? forgive me this wrong.

mighty Works perform'd by me. For what is there which you were any way ſhorten'd in, and had not equally with other Churches (*x*), except it be that I my ſelf was not burdenſome to you? Forgive me this Injury. 13.

NOTES.

13 (*x*) Vid. 1 *Cor.* 1. 4——7.

SECT. IV. *N.* 8.

CHAP. XII. 14——21.

CONTENTS.

HE farther juſtifies himſelf to the Corinthians, by his paſt Diſintereſtedneſs, and his continued kind Intentions to them.

TEXT. *PARAPHRASE.*

14 BEhold, the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdenſome to you: for I ſeek not yours, but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.

15 And I will very gladly ſpend and be ſpent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the leſs I be beloved.

16 But be it ſo, I did not burden you: nevertheleſs being crafty, I caught you with guile.

17 Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I ſent unto you?

18 I deſired Titus, and with him I ſent a brother: did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the ſame ſpirit? walked we not in the ſame ſteps?

19 Again, think you that we excuſe our ſelves unto you? we ſpeak before God

BEhold this is the third time I am ready to come unto you, but I will not be burdenſome to you; for I ſeek not what is yours, but you; for 'tis not expected, nor uſual, that Children ſhould lay up for their Parents, but Parents (*y*) for their Children. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Poſſeſſion or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my ſelf for your Souls (*z*), though it ſhould ſo fall out, that the more I love you, the leſs I ſhould be beloved by you (*a*). Be it ſo, as ſome ſuggeſt, that I was not burdenſome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Deſign to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refuſed in Perſon. In anſwer to which, I ask, Did I by any of thoſe I ſent unto you make a Gain of you? I deſired *Titus* to go to you, and with him I ſent a Brother: Did *Titus* make a gain of you? Did not they behave themſelves with the ſame Temper that I did amongſt you? Did we not walk in the ſame ſteps? *i. e.* neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (*b*) do not, upon my mentioning my ſending of *Titus* to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my ſelf; I ſpeak as in the Preſence of God, and as a Chriſtian, there 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

NOTES.

14 (*y*) Vid. 1 *Cor.* 4. 14, 15.

15 (*z*) Vid. 2 *Tim.* 2. 10.

(*a*) Vid. *ch.* 6. 12, 13.

19 (*b*) He had before given the Reaſon, *ch.* 1. 23. of his not coming to them, with the like Aſſeveration that he uſes here. If we trace the Thread of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here, we may obſerve, that having concluded the Juſtification of himſelf and his Apoſtleſhip by his paſt Actions,

ver. 13.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

there is no such thing: In all my whole Carriage towards you, Beloved, all that has been done, has been done only for your Edification. No, there is no need of an Apology for my not coming to you sooner:
20. For I fear, when I do come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that you will find me such as you would not: I am afraid, that among you there are Disputes, Envyings, Animosities, Strifes, Backbitings, Whisperings, Swellings of Mind, Disturban-
21. ces. And that my God, when I come to you again, will humble me amongst you, and I shall bewail many who have formerly sinned, and have not yet repented of the Uncleanness, Fornication, and Lasciviousness whereof they are guilty.

TEXT.

in Christ: but we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.

For I fear, lest when I 20
come I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be found unto you such as ye would not: lest there be debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, back-bitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults:

And lest when I come 21
again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed.

NOTES.

ver. 13. he had it in his Thoughts to tell them how he would deal with the false Apostle and his Adherents when he came, as he was ready now to do. And therefore solemnly begins, *ver.* 14. with *behold*, and tells them now *the third time* he was ready to come to them, to which joyning (what was much upon his Mind) that he would not be burdensome to them when he came, this suggested to his Thoughts an Objection, (*viz.*) that this personal Shyness in him was but Cunning, for that he design'd to draw Gain from them by othr Hands. From which he clears himself by the Instance of *Titus*, and the Brother whom he had sent together to them, who were as far from receiving any thing from them as he himself. *Titus* and his other Messenger being thus mentioned, he thought it necessary to obviate another Suspicion that might be raised in the Minds of some of them, as if he mention'd the sending of those two as an Apology for his not coming himself; this he disclaims utterly; and to prevent any Thoughts of that kind, solemnly protests to them that in all his Carriage to them he had done nothing but for their Edification, nor had any other Aim in any of his Actions but purely that; and that he forbore coming meerly out of Respect and good Will to them. So that all, from *Behold this third time I am ready to come to you*, ver. 14. to *This third Time I am coming to you*, Ch. 13. 1. must be look'd on as an incident Discourse that fell in occasionally, though tending to the same Purpose with the rest; a Way of Writing very usual with our Apostle, and with other Writers, who abound in Quickness and Variety of Thoughts as he did. Such Men are often, by new Matter rising in their way, put by from what they were going and had begun to say; which therefore they are fain to take up again, and continue at a Distance; which St. *Paul* does here after the Interposition of Eight Verses. Other Instances of the like kind may be found in other places of St. *Paul*'s Writings.

SECT. IV. *N.* 9.

CHAP. XIII. 1——10.

CONTENTS.

HE re-assumes what he was going to say, *Ch.* 12. 14. and tells them how he intends to deal with them when he comes to them, and assures them, that however they question it, he shall be able, by Miracles, to give Proof of his Authority and Commission from Christ.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THIS is now the third time I am coming to you; and when I come I shall not spare you, having proceeded according to our Saviour's Rule, and endeavour'd by fair Means first to reclaim you, before

TEXT.

THis is the third time I
I am coming to you: in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.

I come

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

2 I told you before, and foretel you as if I were preſent the ſecond time, and being abſent, now I write to them which heretofore have ſinned, and to all other, that if I come again I will not ſpare:

3 Since ye ſeek a proof of Chriſt ſpeaking in me, which to youward is not weak, but is mighty in you.

4 For though he was crucified through weakneſs, yet he liveth by the power of God: for we alſo are weak in him, but we ſhall live with him by the power of God towards you.

5 Examine your ſelves, whether ye be in the faith, prove your own ſelves: know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates?

PARAPHRASE.

I come to the laſt extremity. And of this my former Epiſtle, wherein I applied my ſelf to you, and this wherein I now, as if I were preſent with you, foretel thoſe who have formerly ſinned, and all the reſt, to whom, being now abſent, I write, that when I come I will not ſpare you. I ſay, theſe two Letters are my Witneſſes according to our Saviour's Rule, which ſays, In the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes every Word ſhall be eſtabliſhed (*c*). Since you demand a Proof of my Miſſion, and of what I deliver, that it is dictated by Chriſt ſpeaking in me, who muſt be acknowledged not to be weak to you-ward, but has given ſufficient Marks of his Power amongſt you. For though his Crucifixion and Death were with appearance (*d*) of Weakneſs; yet he liveth with the Manifeſtation (*d*) of the Power of God appearing in my puniſhing you. You examine me whether I can by any miraculous Operation give a Proof that Chriſt is in me. Pray examine your ſelves whether you be in the Faith; make a Trial upon your ſelves, whether you your ſelves are not ſomewhat deſtitute of Proofs (*e*); or are you ſo little acquainted with your ſelves,

2. 3. 4. 5.

NOTES.

2 (*c*) *In the Mouth of two or three Witneſſes ſhall every word be eſtabliſhed.* Theſe words ſeem to be quoted from the Law of our Saviour, *Mat.* 18. 16. and not from the Law of *Moſes* in *Deuteronomy*, not only becauſe the words are the ſame with thoſe in St. *Matthew*, but from the likeneſs of the Caſe. In *Deuteronomy* the Rule given concerns only Judicial Trials: In St. *Matthew* it is a Rule given for the Management of Perſuaſion uſed for the reclaiming an Offender, by fair Means, before coming to the utmoſt Extremity, which is the caſe of St. *Paul* here: In *Deuteronomy* the Judge was to hear the Witneſſes, *Deut.* 17. 6. and 19. 15. In St *Matthew* the Party was to hear the Witneſſes, *Mat.* 18. 17. which was alſo the caſe of St. *Paul* here; the Witneſſes which he means that he made uſe of to perſuade them being his two Epiſtles. That by Witneſſes he means his two Epiſtles, is plain from his Way of expreſſing himſelf here, where he careſully ſets down his telling them twice, (*viz.*) *before* in his former Epiſtle, *ch.* 4. 19. and now a *ſecond time* in his ſecond Epiſtle; and alſo by theſe words ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, *As if I were preſent* with you *a ſecond time.* By our Saviour's Rule the offended Perſon was to go twice to the Offender; and therefore St. *Paul* ſays, *as if I were with you a ſecond time*, counting his Letters as two perſonal Applications to them, as our Saviour directed ſhould be done before coming to rougher Means. Some take the Witneſſes to be the three Meſſengers by whom his firſt Epiſtle is ſuppoſed to be ſent. But this would not be according to the Method preſcribed by our Saviour in the place from which St. *Paul* takes the words he uſes; for there were no Witneſſes to be made uſe of in the firſt Application; neither, if thoſe had been the Witneſſes meant, would there have been any need for St. *Paul* ſo careſully and expreſly to have ſet down ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον, *as if preſent a ſecond time*, words which in that caſe would be ſuperfluous. Beſide, thoſe three Men are no where mentioned to have been ſent by him to perſuade them, nor the Corinthians required to hear them, or reproved for not having done it: And laſtly, they could not be better Witneſſes of St. *Paul*'s Endeavours twice to gain the Corinthians by fair means, before he proceeded to Severity, than the Epiſtles themſelves.

4 (*d*) Ἐξ ἀσθενείας, *through Weakneſs*, ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, *by the Power of God*, I have render'd *with the Appearance of Weakneſs, and with the Manifeſtation of the Power of God*, which I think the Senſe of the place, and the Stile of the Apoſtle will juſtifie. St. *Paul* ſometimes uſes the Greek Prepoſitions in a larger Senſe than that Tongue ordinarily allows. Farther it is evident, that ἐξ joyn'd to ἀσθενείας, has not a caſual ſignification, and therefore in the Antitheſis ἐκ δυνάμεως Θεοῦ, it cannot be taken caſually. And it is uſual for St. *Paul* in ſuch caſes to continue the ſame word, though it happens ſometimes ſeemingly to carry the Senſe another way. In ſhort, the Meaning of the place is this: "Though Chriſt in his Crucifixion appeared weak and deſpica-"ble; yet he now lives to ſhew the Power of God in the Miracles and mighty Works which "he does: So I, though I by my Sufferings and Infirmities appear weak and contemptible; "yet ſhall I live to ſhew the Power of God in puniſhing you miraculouſly.

5, 6, 7. (*e*) Ἀδόκιμοι, tranſlated here *Reprobates*, 'tis plain, in theſe three Verſes, has no ſuch Signification,

PARAPHRASE.

6. as not to know whether Chriſt be in you? But if you do not know your ſelves whether you can give Proofs or no, yet I hope you ſhall know that I am not unable
7. to give Proofs (*e*) of Chriſt in me. But I pray to God that you may do no Evil, wiſhing not for an Opportunity to ſhew my Proofs (*e*): but that you doing what is right, I may be as if I had no Proofs (*e*), no
8. ſupernatural Power; For though I have the Power of puniſhing ſupernaturally, I cannot ſhew this Power upon any of you, unleſs it be that you are Offenders, and your Puniſhment be for the Advantage of the
9. Goſpel. I am therefore glad when I am weak, and can inflict no Puniſhment upon you, and you are ſo ſtrong, *i.e.* clear of Faults, that ye cannot be touched. For all the Power I have, is only for promoting the Truth of the Goſpel; whoever are faithful and obedient to that, I can do nothing to, I cannot make Examples of them, by all the extraordinary Power I have, if I would. Nay, this alſo I wiſh, even your
10. Perfection. Theſe things therefore I write to you, being abſent, that when I come I may not uſe Severity, according to the Power which the Lord hath given me for Edification, not for Deſtruction.

TEXT.

But I truſt that ye ſhall 6
know that we are not reprobates.

Now I pray to God that 7
ye do no evil; not that we ſhould appear approved, but that ye ſhould do that which is honeſt, though we be as reprobates.

For we can do nothing 8
againſt the truth, but for the truth.

For we are glad when 9
we are weak, and ye are ſtrong: and this alſo we wiſh, even your perfection.

Therefore I write theſe 10
things being abſent, leſt being preſent I ſhould uſe ſharpneſs, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to deſtruction.

NOTES.

Signification, Reprobation being very remote from the Argument the Apoſtle is here upon: But the word ἀδόκιμος is here uſed for one that cannot give Proof of Chriſt being in him; one that is deſtitute of a ſupernatural Power; for thus ſtands St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe, *ver.* 3. ἐπεὶ δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε, *ver.* 6. γνώσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀδόκιμοι ἐσμεν, *Since you ſeek a Proof, you ſhall know that I am not deſtitute of a Proof.*

SECT. V.

CHAP. XIII. 11——13.

CONCLUSION.

PARAPHRASE.

11. FInally, Brethren, farewell. Bring your ſelves into one well united, firm, unjarring Society (*f*). Be of good comfort; be of one mind; live in peace, and the God of Love and Peace ſhall be with
12. you: Salute one another with a holy Kiſs: All the
13. Saints ſalute you. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus
14. Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghoſt be with you all. *Amen.*

TEXT.

FInally, brethren, fare- 11
well: be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace ſhall be with you.

Greet one another with 12
an holy kiſs.

All the Saints ſalute you. 13

The grace of our Lord 14
Jeſus Chriſt, and the love of God, and the communion of the holy Ghoſt, be with you all. Amen.

NOTES.

21 (*f*) The ſame that he exhorts them to in the Beginning of the firſt Epiſtle, ch. 1. *ver.* 10.

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Epiſtle of St. PAUL

TO THE

ROMANS.

SYNOPSIS.

BEFORE we take into Conſideration the Epiſtle to the *Romans* in particular, it may not be amiſs to premiſe, That the Miraculous Birth, Life, Death, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were all Events that came to paſs within the Confines of *Judea*; And that the ancient Writings of the Jewiſh Nation, allow'd by the Chriſtians to be of Divine Original, were appealed to as witneſſing the Truth of his Miſſion and Doctrine, whereby it was manifeſt that the Jews were the Depoſitaries of the Proofs of the Chriſtian Religion. This could not chuſe but give the Jews, who were owned to be the People of God, even in the days of our Saviour, a great Authority among the Convert Gentiles, who knew nothing of the Meſſias they were to believe in, but what they derived from that Nation, out of which he and his Doctrine ſprung. Nor did the Jews fail to make uſe of this Advantage ſeveral ways, to the Diſturbance of the Gentiles that embraced Chriſtianity.

From *Corinth, Anno Æræ vulg.* 57. *Neronis* 3.

An. Ch. 57. *Neronis* 3. The Jews, even thoſe of them that received the Goſpel, were for the moſt part ſo devoted to the Law of *Moſes* and their ancient Rites, that they could by no means bring themſelves to think that they were to be laid aſide. They were every where ſtiff and zealous for them, and contended that they were neceſſary to be obſerved even by Chriſtians, by all that pretended to be the People of God, and hoped to be accepted by him. This gave no ſmall Trouble to the newly converted Gentiles, and was a great Prejudice to the Goſpel, and therefore we find it complain'd of in more Places than one; *Vid. Acts* 15. 1. 2 *Cor.* 11. 3. *Gal.* 2. 4. and 5. 1, 10, 12. *Phil.* 3. 2. *Col.* 2. 4, 8, 16. *Tit.* 1. 10, 11, 14, *&c.* This Remark may ſerve to give Light not only to this Epiſtle to the *Romans*, but to ſeveral other of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles written to the Churches of converted Gentiles.

As to this Epiſtle to the *Romans*, the Apoſtle's principal Aim in it ſeems to be to perſuade them to a ſteady Perſeverance in the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, by convincing them that God is the God of the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and that now under the Goſpel there is no difference between Jew and Gentile. This he does ſeveral ways.

1. By ſhewing that though the Gentiles were very ſinful, yet the Jews, who had the Law, kept it not, and ſo could not upon account of their having the Law (which being broken, aggravated their Faults, and made them as far from righteous as the Gentiles themſelves) have a Title to exclude the Gentiles from being the People of God under the Goſpel.

2. That *Abraham* was the Father of all that believe as well Uncircumciſed, as Circumciſed; ſo that thoſe that walk in the Steps of the Faith of *Abraham*, though uncircumciſed, are the Seed to which the Promiſe is made, and ſhall receive the Bleſſing.

3. That it was the Purpoſe of God from the Beginning, to take the Gentiles to be his People under the Meſſias, in the place of the Jews, who had been ſo till that time, but were then nationally rejected, becauſe they nationally rejected the Meſſias, whom he ſent to them to be their King and Deliverer, but was received by but a very ſmall Number of them, which Remnant was receiv'd into the Kingdom of Chriſt, and ſo continued to be his People with the converted Gentiles, who all together made now the Church and People of God.

4. That the Jewiſh Nation had no Reaſon to complain of any Unrighteouſneſs in God, or Hardſhip from him in their being caſt off for their Unbelief, ſince they had been warned of it, and they might find it threaten'd in their ancient Prophets. Beſides the raiſing or depreſſing of any Nation is the Prerogative of God's Sovereignty. Preſervation in the Land that God has given them being not the Right of any one Race of Men above another. And God might, when he thought fit, reject the Nation of the Jews by the ſame Sovereignty, whereby he at firſt choſe the Poſterity of *Jacob* to be his People, paſſing by other Nations, even ſuch as deſcended from *Abraham* and *Iſaac*: But yet he tells them, that at laſt they ſhall be reſtor'd again.

Beſides the Aſſurance he labours to give the *Romans*, that they are by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt the People of God, without Circumciſion or other Obſervances of the Jews, whatever they may ſay, which is the main Drift of this Epiſtle, it is farther remarkable, that this Epiſtle being writ to a Church of Gentiles in the Metropolis of the Roman Empire, but not planted by St. *Paul* himſelf, he as Apoſtle of the Gentiles, out of Care that they ſhould rightly underſtand the Goſpel, has woven into his Diſcourſe the chief Doctrines of it, and given them a comprehenſive View of God's dealing with Mankind, from firſt to laſt, in Reference to eternal Life. The principal Heads whereof are theſe.

That by *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and ſo Death reigned over all Men from *Adam* to *Moſes*.

That by *Moſes* God gave the Children of *Iſrael* (who were his People, *i. e.* owned him for their God, and kept themſelves free from the Idolatry and Revolt of the Heathen World) a Law, which if they obey'd, they ſhould have Life thereby, *i. e.* attain to Immortal Life, which had been loſt by *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion.

That

That though this Law which was righteous, juſt and good, were ordained to Life, yet not being able to give Strength to perform what it could not but require, it failed by reaſon of the Weakneſs of humane Nature to help Men to Life. So that though the Iſraelites had Statutes, which if a Man did he ſhould live in them; yet they all tranſgreſſed, and attain'd not to Righteouſneſs and Life by the Deeds of the Law. *An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.*

That therefore there was no Way to Life left to thoſe under the Law, but by the Righteouſneſs of Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, by which Faith alone they were that Seed of *Abraham*, to whom the Bleſſing was promis'd.

This was the State of the *Iſraelites*.

As to the *Gentile* World; he tells them,

That though God made himſelf known to them by legible Characters of his Being and Power viſible in the Works of the Creation; yet they glorified him not, nor were thankful to him: they did not own nor worſhip the one only true inviſible God, the Creator of all things, but revolted from him, to Gods ſet up by themſelves in their own vain Imaginations, and worſhiped Stocks and Stones, the corruptible Images of corruptible Things.

That they having thus caſt off their Allegiance to him their proper Lord, and revolted to other Gods, God therefore caſt them off, and gave them up to vile Affections, and to the Conduct of their own darkened Hearts, which led them unto all ſorts of Vices.

That both Jews and Gentiles being thus all under Sin, and coming ſhort of the Glory of God: God, by ſending his Son Jeſus Chriſt, ſhews himſelf to be the God both of Jews and Gentiles, ſince he juſtifieth the Circumciſion by Faith, and the Uncircumciſion through Faith, ſo that all that believe are freely juſtified by his Grace.

That though Juſtification unto Eternal Life be only by Grace, through Faith in Jeſus Chriſt; yet we are to the utmoſt of our Power ſincerely to endeavour after Righteouſneſs, and from our Hearts obey the Precepts of the Goſpel, whereby we become the Servants of God, for his Servants we are whom we obey, whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto Righteouſneſs.

Theſe are but ſome of the more general and comprehenſive Heads of the Chriſtian Doctrine, to be found in this Epiſtle. The Deſign of a Synopſis will not permit me to deſcend more minutely to Particulars. But this let me ſay, that he that would have an enlarged View of true Chriſtianity, will do well to ſtudy this Epiſtle.

Several Exhortations, ſuited to the State that the Chriſtians of *Rome* were then in, make up the latter Part of the Epiſtle.

This Epiſtle was writ from *Corinth* the Year of our Lord, according to the common Account, 57, the third Year of *Nero*, a little after the Second Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*.

SECT.

ROMANS.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1——15.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION, with his Profeſſion of a Deſire to ſee them.

PARAPHRASE.

1. PAUL a Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, called (*a*) to be an Apoſtle, ſeparated (*b*) to the Preaching of the
2. Goſpel of God (which he had heretofore promiſed by
3. his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures) concerning his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, who according to the Fleſh, *i. e.* as to the Body which he took in the Womb of the bleſſed Virgin his Mother, was of the Poſte-
4. rity and Lineage of *David* (*c*), according to the Spirit of Holineſs (*d*), *i. e.* as to that more pure and ſpiritual Part, which in him over-ruled all, and kept even his frail Fleſh holy and ſpotleſs from the leaſt Taint of Sin (*e*), and was of another Extraction with moſt mighty Power (*f*) declared (*g*) to be the Son
5. of God by his Reſurrection from the Dead, by whom I have received Favour, and the Office of an Apoſtle, for the bringing of the Gentiles every where to the Obedience of Faith, which I preach in his Name;
6. of which Number, *i. e.* Gentiles that I am ſent to preach to, are ye who are already called, (*h*) and
7. become Chriſtians, to all the Beloved of God (*i*), and called to be Saints, who are in *Rome*, Favour and
8. Peace be to you from God our Father. In the firſt place I thank my God through Jeſus Chriſt for you all, that your Faith is ſpoken of throughout the whole

TEXT.

1 PAUL a ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, called to be an Apoſtle, ſeparated unto the goſpel of God.

2 (Which he had promiſed afore by his Prophets in the holy ſcriptures.)

3 Concerning his ſon Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, which was made of the ſeed of David according to the fleſh;

4 And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the ſpirit of holineſs, by the reſurrection from the dead:

5 By whom we have received grace and apoſtleſhip, for Obedience to the faith among all nations for his name;

6 Among whom are ye alſo the called of Jeſus Chriſt.

7 To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be ſaints: Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

8 Firſt, I thank my God through Jeſus Chriſt for you all, that your faith is

NOTES.

1 (*a*) *Called.* The Manner of his being called, ſee *Acts* 11. 1——22.

(*b*) *Separated*, vid. *Acts* 13. 2.

3 (*c*) Of *David*, and ſo would have been regiſter'd of the Houſe and Lineage of *David*, as both his Mother and reputed Father were, if there had been another Tax in his days. Vid. *Luke* 11. 4. *Mat.* 13. 55.

4 (*d*) *According to the Spirit of Holineſs*, is here manifeſtly oppoſed to, *according to the Fleſh*, in the foregoing Verſe, and ſo muſt mean that more pure and ſpiritual Part in him, which by divine Extraction he had immediately from God; unleſs this be ſo underſtood, the Antitheſis is loſt.

(*e*) See Paraphraſe, *Chap.* 8. 3.

(*f*) Ἐν δυνάμει, *with Power:* He that will read in the Original what St. *Paul* ſays, *Eph.* 1. 19. 20. of the Power which God exerted in raiſing Chriſt from the Dead, will hardly avoid thinking that he there ſees St. *Paul* labouring for Words to expreſs the Greatneſs of it.

(*g*) *Declared* does not exactly anſwer the Word in the Original, nor is it perhaps eaſie to find a Word in Engliſh that perfectly anſwers ὁρισθέντος in the Senſe the Apoſtle uſes it here, ὁρίζειν ſignifies properly to bound, terminate, or circumſcribe, by which Termination the Figure of things ſenſible is made, and they are known to be of this or that Race, and are diſtinguiſhed from others. Thus St. *Paul* takes Chriſt's Reſurrection from the Dead, and his Entering into Immortality, to be the moſt eminent and characteriſtical Mark, whereby Chriſt is certainly known, and as it were determined to be the Son of God.

7 (*h*) To take the Thread of St. *Paul*'s Words here right, all from the Word *Lord* in the middle of *ver.* 3. to the beginning of this 7*th*, muſt be read as a Parentheſis.

6 & 7 (*i*) *Called of Jeſus Chriſt*; *called to be Saints*; *beloved of God*; are but different Expreſſions for Profeſſors of Chriſtianity.

World.

TEXT.

ſpoken of throughout the whole world.

9 For God is my witneſs, whom I ſerve with my ſpirit in the goſpel of his Son, that without ceaſing I make mention of you always in my prayers.

10 Making requeſt (if by any means now at length I might have a proſperous Journey by the Will of God) to come unto you.

11 For I long to ſee you, that I may impart unto you ſome ſpiritual gift, to the end you may be eſtabliſhed;

12 That is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.

13 Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purpoſed to come unto you (but was let hitherto) that I might have ſome fruit among you alſo, even as among other Gentiles.

14 I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians, both to the wiſe and to the unwiſe.

15 So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the goſpel to you that are at Rome alſo.

PARAPHRASE.

World. For God is my Witneſs whom I ſerve with the whole Bent of my Mind in preaching the Goſpel of his Son, that without ceaſing I conſtantly make mention of you in my Prayers, requeſting (if it be God's Will, that I may now at length, if poſſible, have a good Opportunity) to come unto you. For I long to ſee you, that I may communicate to you ſome ſpiritual Gift (*k*) for your Eſtabliſhment (*l*) in the Faith, that is (*m*), that when I am among you, I may be comforted together with you, both with your Faith and my own. This I think fit you ſhould know, Brethren, that I often purpoſed to come unto you, that I may have ſome Fruit of my Miniſtry among you alſo, even as among other Gentiles. I owe what Service I can do to the Gentiles of all kinds, whether Greeks or Barbarians, to both the more knowing and civilized, and the uncultivated and ignorant, ſo that, as much as in me lies, I am ready to preach the Goſpel to you alſo who are at *Rome*.

9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

NOTES.

11 (*k*) *Spiritual Gift.* If any one deſire to know more particularly the ſpiritual Gifts, he may read 1 *Cor.* 12.

(*l*) *Eſtabliſhment.* The Jews were the Worſhippers of the true God, and had been for many Ages his People, this could not be denied by the Chriſtians. Whereupon they were very apt to perſuade the convert Gentiles, that the Meſſias was promiſed, and ſent to the Jewiſh Nation alone, and that the Gentiles could claim or have no Benefit by him; or if they were to receive any Benefit by the Meſſias, they were yet bound to obſerve the Law of *Moſes*, which was the way of Worſhip which God had preſcribed to his People. This in ſeveral places very much ſhook the Gentile Converts. St. *Paul* makes it (as we have already obſerved) his Buſineſs in this Epiſtle, to prove that the Meſſias was intended for the Gentiles as much as for the Jews, and that to make any one Partaker of the Benefits and Privileges of the Goſpel, there was nothing more required but to believe and obey it: And accordingly here in the entrance of the Epiſtle, he wiſhes to come to *Rome*, that, by imparting ſome miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt to them, they might be eſtabliſhed in the true Notion of Chriſtianity againſt all Attempts of the Jews, who would either exclude them from the Privileges of it, or bring them under the Law of *Moſes*. So where St. *Paul* expreſſes his Care that the *Coloſſians* ſhould be *eſtabliſhed in the Faith*, Col. 2. 7. It is viſible by the Context, that what he oppoſed was Judaiſm.

12 (*m*) *That is*, St. *Paul* in the former Verſe had ſaid that he deſired to come amongſt them to eſtabliſh them; in theſe words, *That is*, he explains, or as it were recalls what he had ſaid, that he might not ſeem to think them not ſufficiently inſtructed or eſtabliſhed in the Faith, and therefore turns the End of his coming to them, to their mutual rejoycing in one another's Faith, when he and they came to ſee and know one another.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 16—II. 29.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* in this Section ſhews, that the Jews exclude themſelves from being the People of God under the Goſpel, by the ſame Reaſon that they would have the Gentiles excluded.

It cannot be ſufficiently admired how skilfully, to avoid offending thoſe of his own Nation, St. *Paul* here enters into an Argument ſo unpleaſing to the Jews as this of perſuading them, that the Gentiles had as good a Title to be taken in to be the People of God under the Meſſias, as they themſelves, which is the main Deſign of this Epiſtle.

In this latter part of the firſt Chapter, he gives a Deſcription of the Gentile World in very black Colours, but very adroitly interweaves ſuch an Apology for them, in reſpect of the Jews, as was ſufficient to beat that aſſuming Nation out of all their Pretences to a Right to continue to be alone the People of God, with an Excluſion of the Gentiles. This may be ſeen, if one carefully attends to the Particulars that he mentions relating to the Jews and Gentiles, and obſerves how what he ſays of the Jews in the ſecond Chapter, anſwers to what he had charged on the Gentiles in the firſt. For there is a ſecret Compariſon of them one with another runs through theſe two Chapters, which as ſoon as it comes to be minded, gives ſuch a Light and Luſtre to St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe, that one cannot but admire the skilful Turn of it; and look on it as the moſt ſoft, the moſt beautiful, and moſt preſſing Argumentation that one ſhall any where meet with altogether: Since it leaves the Jews nothing to ſay for themſelves, why they ſhould have the Privilege continued to them under the Goſpel, of being alone the People of God. All the things they ſtood upon, and boaſted in, giving them no Preference in this reſpect to the Gentiles; nor any Ground to judge them to be uncapable or unworthy to be their Fellow-Subjects in the Kingdom of the Meſſias. This is what he ſays, ſpeaking of them Nationally. But as to every one's perſonal Concerns in a future State, he aſſures them, both Jews and Gentiles, that the Unrighteous of both Nations, whether admitted or not into the viſible Communion of the People of God, are liable to Condemnation. Thoſe who have ſinned without Law, ſhall periſh without Law; and thoſe who have ſinned in the Law, ſhall be judged, *i. e.* condemned by the Law.

Perhaps ſome Readers will not think it ſuperfluous, if I give a ſhort Draught of St. *Paul*'s Management of himſelf here, for allaying the Sowrèneſs of the Jews againſt the Gentiles, and their Offence at the Goſpel for allowing any of them place among the People of God under the Meſſias.

After he had declared that the Goſpel is the Power of God unto Salvation to thoſe who believe; to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Gentile, and that the Way of this Salvation is revealed to be by the Righteouſneſs of God, which is by Faith: he tells them, that the Wrath of God is alſo now revealed againſt all Atheiſm, Polytheiſm, Idolatry and Vice whatſoever of Men, holding the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs, becauſe they might come to the Knowledge of the true God, by the viſible Works of the Creation; ſo that the Gentiles were without Excuſe for turning from the true God to Idolatry, and the Worſhip of falſe Gods, whereby their Hearts were darken'd; ſo that they were without God in the World. Wherefore God gave them up to vile Affections, and all manner of Vices, in which State, though by the Light of Nature they know what was right, yet underſtanding not that ſuch things were worthy of Death, they not only do themſelves, but abſtaining from Cenſure, live fairly, and in Fellowſhip with thoſe that do them. Whereupon he tells the Jews, that they are more inexcuſable than the Heathen,

then, in that they judge, abhor, and have in Averſation the Gentiles for what they themſelves do with greater Provocation. Their Cenſure and Judgment in the Caſe is unjuſt and wrong: But the Judgment of God is always right and juſt, which will certainly overtake thoſe who judge others for the ſame things they do themſelves; and do not conſider that God's Forbearance to them ought to bring them to Repentance. For God will render to every one according to his Deeds; to thoſe that in Meekneſs and Patience continue in well-doing, everlaſting Life; but to thoſe who are cenſorious, proud and contentious, and will not obey the Goſpel, Condemnation and Wrath at the day of Judgment, whether they be Jews or Gentiles: For God puts no Difference between them. Thou that art a Jew boaſteſt that God is thy God; that he has enlighten'd thee by the Law, that he himſelf gave thee from Heaven, and hath by that immediate Revelation taught thee what things are excellent and tend to Life, and what are evil and have Death annexed to them. If therefore thou tranſgreſſeſt, doſt not thou more diſhonour God and provoke him, than a poor Heathen that knows not God, nor that the things he doth, deſerve Death, which is their Reward? Shall not he, if by the Light of Nature he do what is conformable to the revealed Law of God, judge thee who haſt received that Law from God by Revelation, and breakeſt it? Shall not this rather than Circumciſion make him an Iſraelite? For he is not a Jew, *i. e.* one of God's People, who is one outwardly by Circumciſion of the Fleſh, but he that is one inwardly by the Circumciſion of the Heart.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

16 FOR I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt; for it is the power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Greek.

17 For therein is the righteouſneſs of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The juſt ſhall live by faith.

PARAPHRASE.

FOR I am not aſham'd to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, even at *Rome* it ſelf, that Miſtreſs of the World: For whatever it may be thought of there (*n*) by that vain and haughty People, it is that wherein God exerts himſelf, and ſhews his Power (*o*) for the Salvation of thoſe who believe, of the Jews in the firſt (*p*) place, and alſo of the Gentiles. For therein is the Righteouſneſs (*q*) which is of the Free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt revealed to be wholly 16. 17.

NOTES.

16 (*n*) Vid. *ver.* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 1. 21.

(*o*) Vid. *Eph.* 1. 19.

(*p*) *Firſt*, The Jews had the firſt Offers of the Goſpel, and were always conſider'd as thoſe who were firſt regarded in it. Vid. *Luke* 24. 47. *Mat.* 10. 6. and 15. 24. *Acts* 13. 46. and 17. 2.

17 (*q*) Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, *The Righteouſneſs of God*, called ſo, becauſe it is a Righteouſneſs of his Contrivance, and his Beſtowing. *It is God that juſtifieth*, Ch. 3. 21——24, 26, 30: and 8. 33. Of which St. *Paul* ſpeaks thus, *Phil.* 3. 9. *Not having mine own Righteouſneſs which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith.*

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

by Faith (*r*) as it is written, *The Juſt ſhall live by Faith.*
18. And 'tis no more than need that the Goſpel, wherein the Righteouſneſs of God by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt is revealed, ſhould be preached to you Gentiles, ſince the Wrath of God is now revealed (*s*) from Heaven by Jeſus Chriſt, againſt all Ungodlineſs (*t*) and Unrighteouſneſs of Men (*u*) who live not up to the Light that
19. God has given them (*w*). Becauſe God in a clear Manifeſtation of himſelf amongſt them, has laid before them ever ſince the Creation of the World, his Divine
20. Nature and eternal Power; ſo that what is to be known of his inviſible Being might be clearly diſcover'd and underſtood from the viſible Beauty, Order, and Operations obſervable in the Conſtitution and Parts of the Univerſe, by all thoſe that would caſt their Regards, and apply their Minds (*x*) that way: Inſomuch
21. that they are utterly without Excuſe: For that when the Deity was ſo plainly diſcover'd to them, yet they glorified him not as was ſuitable to the Excellency of

TEXT.

For the wrath of God is 18
revealed from heaven againſt all ungodlineſs, and unrighteouſneſs of men, who hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs.

Becauſe that which 19
may be known of God, is manifeſt in them; for God hath ſhewed it unto them.

For the inviſible things 20
of him from the creation of the world are clearly ſeen, being underſtood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; ſo that they are without excuſe:

Becauſe that when they 21
knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was darkened.

NOTES.

(*r*) *From Faith to Faith.* The Deſign of St. *Paul* here being to ſhew, that neither Jews nor Gentiles could by Works attain to Righteouſneſs, *i. e.* ſuch a perfect and compleat Obedience whereby they could be juſtified, which he calls their own Righteouſneſs, *ch.* 10. 3. He here tells them, that in the Goſpel *the Righteouſneſs of God*, i. e. the Righteouſneſs of which he is the Author, and which he accepts in the way of his own Appointment, *is revealed from Faith to Faith*, i. e. to be all through, from one end to the other, founded in Faith. If this be not the Senſe of this Phraſe here, it will be hard to make the following words, *as it is written, The Juſt ſhall live by Faith*, cohere: But thus they have an eaſie and natural Connexion, (*viz.*) whoever are juſtified either before, without, or under the Law of *Moſes*, or under the Goſpel, are juſtified, not by Works, but by Faith alone. Vid. *Gal.* 3. 11. which clears this Interpretation. The ſame Figure of ſpeaking St. *Paul* uſes in other places to the ſame purpoſe; *ch.* 6. 19. *Servants to Iniquity unto Iniquity*; i. e. wholly to Iniquity. 2 *Cor.* 3. 18. *From Glory to Glory*, *i. e.* wholly glorious.

18 (*s*) *Now revealed.* Vid. *Acts* 17. 30, 31. *God now commandeth all Men every where to repent, becauſe he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the World in Righteouſneſs by the Man whom he hath ordained.* Theſe Words of St. *Paul* to the Athenians give light to theſe here to the Romans. A Life again after Death, and a Day of Judgment wherein Men ſhould be all brought to receive Sentence according to what they had done, and be puniſhed for their Miſdeeds, was what was before unknown, and was brought to light by the Revelation of the Goſpel from Heaven, 2 *Tim.* 1. 10. *Mat.* 15. 41. *Luke* 12. 27. and *Rom.* 2. 5. he calls the day of Judgment *the Day of Wrath*, conſonant to his ſaying here, *the Wrath of God is revealed.*

(*t*) Ἀσέβειαν, *Ungodlineſs*, ſeems to comprehend the Atheiſm, Polytheiſm and Idolatry of the Heathen World, as ἀδικίαν, *Unrighteouſneſs*, their other Miſcarriages and vicious Lives, according to which they are diſtinctly threaten'd by St. *Paul* in the following Verſes. The ſame Appropriation of theſe Words I think may be obſerved in other Parts of this Epiſtle.

(*u*) *Of Men*, i. e. of all Men, or as in the 17*th* of *Acts* before cited, all Men every where, *i. e.* all Men of all Nations: Before it was only to the Children of *Iſrael* that Obedience and Tranſgreſſion were declared and propoſed as Terms of Life and Death.

(*w*) *Who hold the Truth in Unrighteouſneſs*, i. e. Who are not wholly without the Truth, but yet do not follow what they have of it, but live contrary to that Truth they do know, or neglect to know what they might. This is evident from the next Words, and for the ſame Reaſon of God's Wrath given, *ch.* 2. 8. in theſe Words, *Who do not obey the Truth, but obey Unrighteouſneſs.*

20 (*x*) St. *Paul* ſays, νοούμενα καθορᾶται, If they are minded they are ſeen: The inviſible things of God lie within the Reach and Diſcovery of Men's Reaſon and Underſtandings, but yet they muſt exerciſe their Faculties, and imploy their Minds about them.

his

TEXT.

22 Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe, they became fools:

23 And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things.

24 Wherefore God alſo gave them up to uncleanneſs, through the luſts of their own hearts, to diſhonour their own bodies between themſelves:

25 Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worſhipped and ſerved the creature more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever. Amen.

26 For this cauſe God gave them up unto vile affections: For even their women did change the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature:

27 And likewiſe alſo the men, leaving the natural uſe of the woman, burned in their luſt one toward another, men with men working that which is unſeemly, and receiving in themſelves that recompenſe of their error which was meet.

28 And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe things which are not convenient:

PARAPHRASE.

his Divine Nature: nor did they with due Thankfulneſs acknowledge him as the Author of their Being, and the Giver of all the Good they enjoy'd: but following the vain Phanſies of their own vain (*y*) Minds, ſet up to themſelves fictitious no Gods, and their fooliſh Underſtandings were darkened: Aſſuming to 22.
themſelves the Opinion and Name (*z*) of being wiſe, they became Fools; and quitting the incomprehenſible Majeſty and Glory of the Eternal Incorruptible 23.
Deity, ſet up to themſelves the Images of corruptible Men, Birds, Beaſts, and Inſects, as fit Objects of their Adoration and Worſhip. Wherefore they having for- 24.
ſaken God, he alſo left them to the Luſts of their own Hearts, and that Uncleanneſs their darken'd Hearts led them into, to diſhonour their Bodies among themſelves: Who ſo much debaſed themſelves, 25.
as to change the true God who made them, for a Lie (*a*) of their own making, worſhiping and ſerving the Creature, and things even of a lower Rank than themſelves, more than the Creator, who is God over all, bleſſed for evermore, Amen. For this Cauſe God 26.
gave them up to ſhameful and infamous Luſts and Paſſions: For even their Women did change their natural Uſe into that which is againſt Nature: And 27.
likewiſe their Men leaving alſo the natural Uſe of the Women, burned in their Luſts one towards another, Men with Men practiſing that which is ſhameful, and receiving in themſelves a fit Reward of their Error, *i. e.* Idolatry (*b*). And (*c*) as they did not ſearch 28.
out (*d*) God whom they had in the World, ſo as to

NOTES.

21 (*y*) Ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, *became vain in their Imaginations* or *Reaſonings*. What it is to become vain in the Scripture-Language, one may ſee in theſe words, *And they followed Vanity, and became vain, and went after the Heathen, and made to themſelves molten Images, and worſhipped all the Hoſt of Heaven, and ſerved* Baal, 2 *Kings* 17, 15, 16. And accordingly the forſaking of Idolatry and the Worſhip of falſe Gods, is called by St. *Paul*, *turning from Vanity to the living God*, Acts 14. 15.

22 (*z*) Φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ, *Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe*; Though the Nations of the Heathens generally thought themſelves wiſe in the Religions they embrac'd; yet the Apoſtle here having all along in this and the following Chapter uſed Greeks for Gentiles, he may be thought to have an Eye to the Greeks, among whom the Men of Study and Enquiry had aſſumed to themſelves the Name of σοφοὶ *wiſe*.

25 (*a*) The falſe and fictitious Gods of the Heathen are very fitly call'd in the Scripture, *Lies*, *Amos* 2. 4. *Jer.* 17. 19, 20.

27 (*b*) *Error*, ſo Idolatry is call'd, 2 *Pet.* 2. 18. As they againſt the Light of Nature debaſed and diſhonour'd God by their Idolatry, 'twas a juſt and fit Recompenſe they received in being left to debaſe and diſhonour themſelves by unnatural Luſts.

28 (*c*) *And.* This Copulative joyns this Verſe to the 25*th*, ſo that the Apoſtle will be better underſtood, if all between be look'd on as a Parentheſis, this being a Continuation of what he was there ſaying, or rather a Repetition of it in ſhort, which led him into the Thread of his Diſcourſe.

(*d*) Οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν, *did not like*, rather *did not try* or *ſearch*, for the Greek word ſignifies to ſearch and find out by ſearching: So St. *Paul* often uſes it, *ch.* 2. 18. and 12. 2. compared, and 14. 22. *Eph.* 5. 10.

PARAPHRASE.

have him with a due Acknowledgment (*e*) of him, God gave them up to an unſearching and unjudicious (*f*) Mind, to do things incongruous, and not meet
29. (*g*) to be done; Being filled with all manner of Iniquity, Fornication, Wickedneſs, Covetouſneſs, Malice, full of Envy, Contention, Deceit, Malignity
30 even to Murder, Backbiters, Haters of God, Inſulters of Men, Proud, Boaſters, Inventers of new
31. Arts of Debauchery, diſobedient to Parents, Without Underſtanding, Covenant-breakers, without natural
32. Affection, implacable, unmerciful: Who though they acknowledge the Rule of Right (*h*) preſcribed them by God, and diſcover'd by the Light of Nature, did not yet underſtand (*i*) that thoſe who did ſuch things were worthy of Death, do (*k*) not only do them themſelves, but live well together without any Mark of Diſ-eſteem or Cenſure with them that do them.

TEXT.

Being filled with all unrighteouſneſs, fornication, wickedneſs, covetouſneſs, maliciouſneſs, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whiſperers, 29

Backbiters, haters of God, deſpiteful, proud, boaſters, inventers of evil things, diſobedient to parents, 30

Without underſtanding, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful. 31

Who knowing the judgment of God (that they which commit ſuch things are worthy of death) not only do the ſame, but have pleaſure in them that do them. 32

NOTES.

(*e*) Ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, *with Acknowledgment.* That the Gentiles were not wholly without the Knowledge of God in the World, St. *Paul* tells us in this very Chapter, but they did not acknowledge him as they ought, *ver.* 21. They had God εἶχον θεὸν, but οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, but did not ſo improve that Knowledge, as to acknowledge or honour him as they ought. This Verſe ſeems in other Words to expreſs the ſame that is ſaid, *ver.* 21.

(*f*) Εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, *to a reprobate Mind*, rather to an *unſearching Mind*, in the Senſe of St. *Paul*, who often uſes Compounds and Derivatives in the Senſe wherein a little before he uſed the Primitive Words, though a little varying from the preciſe Greek Idiom: an Example whereof we have in this very word ἀδόκιμος, 2 *Cor.* 13. where having, *ver.* 3. uſed δοκιμὴ for a Proof of his Miſſion by ſupernatural Gifts, he uſes ἀδόκιμος for one that was deſtitute of ſuch Proofs. So here he tells the Romans, that the Gentiles not exerciſing their Minds to ſearch out the Truth, and form their Judgments right, God left them to an unſearching, unjudicious Mind.

Non explorantibus permiſit mentem non exploratricem.

(*g*) A Diſcourſe like this of St. *Paul* here, wherein Idolatry is made the Cauſe of the enormous Crimes and profligate Lives Men run into, may be read, *Wiſdom* 14. 11, &c.

32 (*h*) Τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ, *The Judgment of God*, might it not be tranſlated, *the Rectitude of God? i. e.* That Rule of Rectitude which God had given to Mankind in giving them Reaſon: As that Righteouſneſs which God requires, for Salvation in the Goſpel is called *the Righteouſneſs of God*, ver. 17. *Rectitude* in the Tranſlation being uſed in this appropriated Senſe, as δικαίωμα is in the Original. *Vid.* Note, *ch.* 2. 26.

(*i*) Οὐκ ἐνόησαν ὅτι, *Did not underſtand that they who commit*, &c. This reading is juſtified by the *Clermont*, and another ancient Manuſcript, as well as by that which the Old Latin Verſion follow'd, as well as *Clement*, *Iſidore*, and *Oecumenius*, and will probably be thought the more genuine by thoſe who can hardly ſuppoſe that St. *Paul* ſhould affirm that the Gentile World did know that he who offended againſt any of the Directions of this natural Rule of Rectitude, taught or diſcoverable by the Light of Reaſon, was worthy of Death, eſpecially if we remember what he ſays, *ch.* 5. 13. *That Sin is not imputed when there is no poſitive Law*: And *ch.* 7. 9. *I was alive without the Law once*: Both which places ſignifying that Men did not know Death to be the Wages of Sin in general, but by the Declaration of a poſitive Law.

(*k*) Συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι, *have Pleaſure in thoſe that do them.* He that conſiders that the Deſign of the Apoſtle here, manifeſt in the immediately following Words, is to combat the Animoſity of the Jews againſt the Gentiles, and that there could not be a more effectual way to ſhame them into a more modeſt and mild Temper, than by ſhewing them that the Gentiles, in all the Darkneſs that blinded them, and the Extravagancies they run into, were never guilty of ſuch an Abſurdity as this, to cenſure and ſeparate from others, and ſhew an implacable Averſion to them, for what they themſelves were equally guilty of. He I ſay that conſiders this, will be eaſily perſuaded to underſtand συνευδοκοῦσι here as I do, for a Complacency that avoided cenſuring or breaking with them who were in the ſame State and Courſe of Life with themſelves, that did nothing amiſs but what they themſelves were equally guilty of. There can be nothing clearer than that συνευδοκοῦσι, *have pleaſure*, in this Verſe, is oppoſed to κρίνεις, *judgeſt*, in the next Verſe, without which I do not ſee how it is poſſible to make out the Inference which the Apoſtle draws here.

(*l*) Therefore

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

TEXT.

1 Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever thou art that judgeſt: for wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf; for thou that judgeſt, doſt the ſame things.

2 But we are ſure that the judgment of God is according to truth, againſt them which commit ſuch things.

3 And thinkeſt thou this, O man that judgeſt them which do ſuch things, and

PARAPHRASE.

(*l*) Therefore thou art unexcuſable, O Man, who ever thou art (*m*), that judgeſt (*n*) or cenſureſt another; For wherein thou judgeſt another, thou condemneſt thy ſelf: For thou that judgeſt, art alike guilty in doing the ſame things. But this we are ſure of, that the Judgment that God paſſes upon any Offenders, is according to (*o*) Truth, right and juſt. Canſt thou who doſt thoſe things which thou condemneſt in another, think that thou ſhalt eſcape the

1. 2. 3.

NOTES.

1 (*l*) *Therefore*; This is a Term of Illation, and ſhews the Conſequence here drawn from the foregoing Words. *Therefore* the Jew is inexcuſable in judging, becauſe the Gentiles with all the Darkneſs that was on their Minds, were never guilty of ſuch a Folly as to judge thoſe who were no more faulty than themſelves. For the better underſtanding of this place, it may not perhaps be amiſs to ſet the whole Argumentation of the Apoſtle here in its due Light: It ſtands thus; "The Gentiles acknowledged the Rectitude of the Law of Nature, but knew "not that thoſe who break any of its Rules, incurred Death by their Tranſgreſſion: But as "much in the dark as they were, they are not guilty of any ſuch Abſurdity as to condemn "others, or refuſe Communication with them as unworthy of their Society, who are no worſe "than themſelves, nor do any thing but what they themſelves do equally with them, but live "in Complacency on fair Terms with them, without Cenſure or Separation, thinking as well of "their Condition as of their own: *Therefore* if the blinded Heathen do ſo, thou, O Jew, "art inexcuſable, who having the Light of the revealed Law of God, and knowing by it, "that the Breaches of the Law merit Death, doſt judge others to Perdition, and ſhut them "out from Salvation, for that which thou thy ſelf art equally guilty of, *viz.* Diſobedience to "the Law. Thou, a poor, ignorant, conceited, fallible Man, ſitteſt in Judgment upon others, "and committeſt the ſame things thou condemneſt them for: But this thou mayſt be ſure, that "the Judgment and Condemnation of God is right and firm, and will certainly be executed "upon thoſe who do ſuch things. For thou who adjudgeſt the Heathen to Condemnation for "the ſame things which thou doſt thy ſelf, canſt thou imagine that thou thy ſelf ſhalt eſcape the "ſame Judgment of God? God, whatever thou mayſt think, is no Reſpecter of Perſons: Both "Jews as well as Gentiles, that are perverſely contentious againſt others, and do not themſelves "obey the Goſpel, ſhall meet with Wrath and Indignation from God: And Gentiles as well as "Jews, whom the Goodneſs and Forbearance of God bringeth to Repentance, and an humble, "ſubmiſſive Acceptance of the Goſpel, ſhall find Acceptance with God, and eternal Life in "the Kingdom of the Meſſias; from which if thou art contentious to ſhut out the Gentiles, "thou manifeſtly ſhutteſt out thy ſelf.

(*m*) *O Man, whoſoever thou art.* It is plain from *ver.* 17, and 27. and the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that St. *Paul* by theſe words means the Jews; but there are two viſible Reaſons why he ſpeaks in theſe Terms: 1*ſt*, He makes his Concluſion general, as having the more Force, but leſs Offence, than if he had bluntly named the Jews, whom he is very careful in all this Epiſtle to treat in the ſofteſt manner imaginable. 2*dly*, He uſes the Term *Man* emphatically, in Oppoſition to *God* in the next Verſe.

(*n*) *Judgeſt.* There will need nothing to be ſaid to thoſe who read this Epiſtle with the leaſt Attention, to prove that the *judging* which St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of, was, that Averſion which the Jews generally had to the Gentiles, ſo that the unconverted Jews could not bear with the Thoughts of a Meſſias, that admitted the Heathen equally with them into his Kingdom; nor could the converted Jews be brought to admit them into their Communion, as the People of God now equally with themſelves; ſo that they generally, both one and t'other, judg'd them unworthy the Favour of God, and out of Capacity to become his People any other way, but by Circumciſion and an Obſervance of the ritual Parts of the Law, the Inexcuſableneſs and Abſurdity whereof St. *Paul* ſhews in this Chapter.

2 (*o*) *According to Truth*, doth, I ſuppoſe, ſignifie not barely a true Judgment, which will ſtand in Oppoſition to erroneous, and that will not take effect, but ſomething more, *i. e.* according to the Truth of his Predictions and Threats. As if he had ſaid, "But if God in Judg-"ment caſt off the Jews from being any longer his People, we know this to be according to "his Truth, who hath forewarned them of it. Ye Jews judge the Gentiles not to be received "into the People of God, and refuſe them Admittance into the Kingdom of the Meſſias, "though you break the Law, as well as they, you judge as prejudic'd paſſionate Men. But "the Judgment of God againſt you will ſtand firm." The Reaſon why he does it ſo covertly, may be that which I have before-mention'd, his great Care not to ſhock the Jews, eſpecially here in the beginning, till he had got faſt hold upon them. And hence poſſibly it is, that he calls obeying the Goſpel, *obeying the Truth*, ver. 8. and uſes other the like ſoft Expreſſions in this Chapter.

condemn-

PARAPHRASE.

4. condemning Sentence of God? Or ſlighteſt thou the Riches of his Goodneſs, Forbearance and long-Suffering, not knowing nor conſidering that the Goodneſs of God ought to lead thee to Repentance? But
5. layeſt up to thy ſelf Wrath and Puniſhment, which thou wilt meet with at the day of Judgment, and that juſt Retribution which ſhall be awarded thee by God in proportion to thy Impenitency, and the
6. Hardneſs of thy Heart; who will retribute to every
7. one according to his Works, *viz.* Eternal Life to all thoſe who by Patience (*p*) and Gentleneſs in Well-doing ſeek Glory and Honour, and a State of Im-
8. mortality: But to them who are contentious * and froward, and will not obey the Truth (*q*), but ſubject themſelves to Unrighteouſneſs, Indignation and Wrath;
9. Tribulation and Anguiſh, ſhall be poured out upon every Soul of Man that worketh Evil, of the Jew
10. firſt, and alſo of the Gentile. But Glory, Honour and Peace, ſhall be beſtowed on every Man that worketh Good, on the Jew firſt (*r*), and alſo on the

TEXT.

doſt the ſame, that thou ſhalt eſcape the judgment of God?

Or deſpiſeſt thou the 4
riches of his Goodneſs, and forbearance, and long-ſuffering, not knowing that the goodneſs of God leadeth thee to repentance?

But after thy hardneſs 5
and impenitent heart, treaſureſt up unto thy ſelf wrath againſt the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God;

Who will render to 6
every man according to his deeds:

To them, who by pa- 7
tient continuance in well-doing, ſeek for glory, and honour, and immortality; eternal life:

But unto them that are 8
contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteouſneſs, indignation, and wrath;

Tribulation and anguiſh 9
upon every ſoul of man that doth evil, of the Jew firſt, and alſo of the Gentile.

But glory, honour, and 10
peace, to every man that

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7 (*p*) *Patience* in this Verſe is oppoſed to *Contentious* * in the next, and ſeems principally to regard the Jews, who had no Patience for any Conſideration of the Gentiles, but with a ſtrange Peeviſhneſs and Contention, oppoſed the Freedom of the Goſpel in admitting the believing Gentiles to the Franchiſes of the Kingdom of the Meſſias, upon equal Terms with themſelves.

8 (*q*) Though by *Truth*, the Goſpel be here meant, yet I doubt not but St. *Paul* uſed the Term Truth with an Eye to the Jews, who though ſome few of them received the Goſpel, yet even a great part of thoſe few join'd with the reſt of their Nation in oppoſing this great Truth of the Goſpel, that under the Meſſias the Gentiles who believed were the People of God, as well as the Jews, and ſuch as were to be received by them.

9, 10 (*r*) *The Jew firſt and alſo the Gentile.* We ſee by theſe two Verſes, and *ch.* 1. 16. that St. *Paul* carefully lays it down, that there was now under the Goſpel no other National Diſtinction between the Jews and the Gentiles, but only a Priority in the Offer of the Goſpel, and in the Deſign of Rewards and Puniſhments, according as the Jews obey'd or not. Which may farther ſatisfie us, that the Diſtinction which St. *Paul* inſiſts on ſo much here, and all through the firſt part of this Epiſtle is National, the Compariſon being between the Jews as nationally the People of God; and the Gentiles, as not the People of God before the Meſſias; and that under the Meſſias the Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, conſiſting moſt of converted Gentiles, were the People of God, owned and acknowledg'd as ſuch by him, the unbelieving Jews being rejected, and the unbelieving Gentiles never received, but that yet perſonally both Jews and Gentiles, every ſingle Perſon, ſhall be puniſhed for his own particular Sin, as appears by the two next Verſes.

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worketh good, to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Gentile.

11 For there is no reſpect of Perſons with God.

12 For as many as have ſinned without law, ſhall alſo periſh without law: and as many as have ſinned in the law, ſhall be judged by the law,

13 (For not the hearers of the law are juſt before God, but the doers of the law ſhall be juſtified.

14 For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, theſe having not the law, are a law unto themſelves:

15 Which ſhew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conſcience alſo bearing witneſs, and their thoughts the mean while accuſing, or elſe excuſing one another)

16 In the day when God ſhall judge the ſecrets of men by Jeſus Chriſt, according to my goſpel.

17 Behold, thou art called a Jew, and reſteſt in the law, and makeſt thy boaſt of God;

PARAPHRASE.

Gentile. For with God there is no reſpect of Perſons. 11.
For all that have ſinned without having the poſitive 12.
Law of God, which was given the Iſraelites, ſhall periſh (*s*) without the Law; and all who have ſinned being under the Law, ſhall be judged by the Law. (For the bare Hearers of the Law are not thereby 13.
juſt or righteous in the ſight of God; but the Doers of the Law, they who exactly perform all that is commanded in it ſhall be juſtified. For when the 14.
Gentiles, who have no poſitive Law given them by God (*t*), do by the Direction of the Light of Nature obſerve or keep to the moral Rectitude contained in the poſitive Law given by God to the Iſraelites, they being without any poſitive Law given them, have nevertheleſs a Law within themſelves; and ſhew the 15.
Rule of the Law written in their Hearts, their Conſciences alſo bearing witneſs to that Law, they amongſt themſelves, in the reaſoning of their own Minds, accuſing or excuſing one another) At the 16.
Day of Judgment, when as I make known in my preaching the Goſpel (*u*), God ſhall judge all the Actions of Men by Jeſus Chriſt. Behold thou art 17.
named (*w*) a Jew; and thou with Satisfaction reſteſt in the Privilege of having the Law, as a Mark of

NOTES.

12 (*s*) Ἀπολοῦνται, *ſhall periſh*; κριθήσονται, *ſhall be judged.* Thoſe under the Law St. *Paul* ſays ſhall be *judg'd* by the Law; and this is eaſie to conceive, becauſe they were under a poſitive Law, wherein Life and Death were annexed as the Reward and Puniſhment of Obedience and Diſobedience; but of the Gentiles who were not under that poſitive Law, he ſays barely that they ſhall *periſh.* St. *Paul* does not uſe theſe ſo eminently differing Expreſſions for nothing; they will, I think, give ſome Light to *ch.* 5. 13. and my Interpretation of it, if they lead us no farther.

14 (*t*) Μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα, *having not the Law*, or *not having a Law.* The Apoſtle by the word *Law* generally in this Epiſtle ſignifying a poſitive Law given by God, and promulgated by a Revelation from Heaven, with the Sanction of declared Rewards and Puniſhments annexed to it, it is not improbable that in this Verſe (where by the Greek Particle he ſo plainly points out the Law of *Moſes*) by νόμῳ, without the Article, may intend *Law* in general, in his Senſe of a *Law*, and ſo this Verſe may be tranſlated thus; *For when the Gentiles who have not a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law; theſe not having a Law, are a Law to themſelves.* And ſo *ver.* 12. *As many as have ſinned, being under a Law, ſhall be judged by a Law.* For though from *Adam* to Chriſt there was no revealed poſitive Law, but that given to the *Iſraelites*; yet it is certain that by Jeſus Chriſt a poſitive Law from Heaven is given to all Mankind, and that thoſe to whom this has been promulgated by the Preaching of the Goſpel, are all under it, and ſhall be judg'd by it.

16 (*u*) *According to my Goſpel*, i. e. as I make known in my preaching the Goſpel. That this is the Meaning of this Phraſe, may be ſeen, 2 *Tim.* 2. 8. And of St. *Paul*'s declaring of it in his Preaching, we have an Inſtance left upon Record, *Acts* 17. 31.

17 (*w*) Ἐπονομάζῃ, *thou art named*, emphatically ſaid by St. *Paul*; For he that was ſuch a Jew as he deſcribes in the following Verſe, he inſiſts on it, was a Jew only in Name, not in Reality, for ſo he concludes, *ver.* 28, and 29. he is not in the Eſteem of God a Jew, who is ſo outwardly only.

God's

PARAPHRASE.

God's peculiar Favour (*x*), whom thou glorieſt in, as being thy God, and thou one of his People; a People who alone know and worſhip the true God;
18. And thou knoweſt his Will, and haſt the Touchſtone of things excellent (*y*), having been educated in the
19. Law. And takeſt upon thee as one who art a Guide to the Blind (*z*), a Light to the ignorant Gentiles
20. who are in Darkneſs (*z*), an Inſtructer of the Fooliſh, (*z*), a Teacher of Babes, having an exact Draught, and a compleat Syſtem (*a*) of Knowledge
21. and Truth in the Law. Thou therefore who art a Maſter in this Knowledge, and teacheſt others, teacheſt thou not thy ſelf? Thou that preacheſt that
22. a Man ſhould not ſteal, doſt thou ſteal? Thou that declareſt Adultery to be unlawful, doſt thou commit it? Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit
23. Sacrilege? Thou who glorieſt in the Law, doſt thou
24. by breaking of the Law diſhonour God? For the Name of God is blaſphemed amongſt the Gentiles, by reaſon of your Miſcarriages, as it is written (*b*);
25. Circumciſion (*c*) indeed, and thy being a Jew, profiteth (*d*), if thou keep the Law: But if thou be a Tranſgreſſor of the Law, thy Circumciſion is made Uncircumciſion; thou art no way better than an
26. Heathen. If therefore an uncircumciſed Gentile keep the moral Rectitudes (*e*) of the Law, ſhall he not be reckon'd and accounted of, as if he were circumciſed, and

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And knoweſt his will, 18
and approveſt the things
that are more excellent,
being inſtructed out of the
law.

And art confident that 19
thou thy ſelf art a guide
of the blind, a light of
them which are in dark-
neſs,

An inſtructer of the 20
fooliſh, a teacher of babes,
which haſt the form of
knowledge, and of the
truth in the law.

Thou therefore which 21
teacheſt another, teacheſt
thou not thy ſelf? Thou
that preacheſt a man
ſhould not ſteal, doſt thou
ſteal?

Thou that ſayeſt a man 22
ſhould not commit adul-
tery, doſt thou commit
adultery? thou that abhor-
reſt idols, doſt thou com-
mit ſacrilege?

Thou that makeſt thy 23
boaſt of the Law, through
breaking the law diſho-
noureſt thou God?

For the name of God 24
is blaſphemed among the
Gentiles through you, as
it is written;

For circumciſion verily 25
profiteth, if thou keep
the law: but if thou be a
breaker of the law, thy
circumciſion is made un-
circumciſion.

Therefore, if the un- 26
circumciſion keep the
righteouſneſs of the law,

NOTES.

17——20 (*x*) In thoſe four Verſes St. *Paul* makes uſe of the Titles the Jews aſſumed to themſelves, from the Advantages they had of Light and Knowledge above the Gentiles, to ſhew them how inexcuſable they were in judging the Gentiles, who were even in their own Account ſo much beneath them in Knowledge, for doing thoſe things which they themſelves were alſo guilty of.

17 (*x*) Vid. *Mic.* 3. 11.

18 (*y*) Τὰ διαφέροντα, ſignifies *things excellent, convenient, controverted* or *differing*. In either of theſe Senſes it may be underſtood here, though the laſt, *viz.* their Difference in reſpect of lawful and unlawful, I think may be pitch'd on, as moſt ſuited to the Apoſtle's Deſign here, and that which the Jews much ſtood upon, as giving them one great Pre-eminence above the defiled Gentiles.

19, 20 (*z*) *Blind*, in *Darkneſs*; *Fooliſh*, *Babes*, were Appellations which the Jews gave to the Gentiles, ſignifying how much inferior to themſelves they thought them in Knowledge.

20 (*a*) Μόρφωσις, *Form*, ſeems here to be the ſame with τύπος, *Form*, ch. 6. 17. *i. e.* ſuch a Draught as contained and repreſented the Parts and Lineaments of the whole. For it is to be remember'd, that the Apoſtle uſes theſe Expreſſions and Terms here in the ſame Senſe the Jews ſpoke of themſelves vauntingly over the Gentiles, he thereby aggravating their Fault in judging the Gentiles as they did.

24 (*b*) See 2 *Sam.* 12. 14. *Ezek.* 36. 23.

25 (*c*) *Circumciſion* is here put for being a Jew, as being one of the chief and moſt diſcriminating Rites of that People.

(*d*) *Profiteth if thou keep the Law*; Becauſe a Jew that kept the Law was to have Life therein, *Lev.* 18. 4.

26 (*e*) Τὰ δικαιώματα τῦ νόμυ, *The Righteouſneſs of the Law*. I have taken the Liberty to render it, *The Rectitudes of the Law*, in an appropriated Senſe of the word *Rectitude*, in Imitation

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
shall not his uncircumcision he counted for circumcision?	and every way a Jew? And shall not a Gentile, who in his natural State of Uncircumcision fulfils the Law,	27.
27 And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?		

NOTES.

Imitation of St. *Paul*, who uses δικαιώματα here for all those Precepts of the Law which contain in them any part of the natural and eternal Rule of *Rectitude*, which is made known to Men by the Light of Reason. This Rule of their Actions all Mankind, uncircumcised as well as circumcised, had, and is that which St. *Paul* calls δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ, *ch.* 1. 32. Because it came from God, and was made by him; the moral Rule to all Mankind being laid within the Discovery of their Reason, which if they kept to, it was δικαίωμα, Righteousness to them, or they were justified. And this Rule of Morality St. *Paul* says the Gentile World did acknowledge. So that δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ, *ch.* 1. 32. signifies that Rule of Right taken in general, and δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου here signifies the particular Branches of it contain'd in the Law of *Moses*. For no other part of the Law of *Moses* could an Heathen be supposed to observe or be concerned in: And therefore those only can be the δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου here meant. If we consider the various Senses that Translators and Expositors have given to this Term δικαίωμα, in the several places of St. *Paul*'s Epistles, where it occurs, we shall have occasion to think, that the Apostle used this Word with great Latitude and Variety of Significations; whereas I imagine, that if we carefully read those Passages, we shall find that he used it every where in the same Sense, *i. e.* for that Rule which, if complied with, justified, or render'd perfect, the Person or thing it referr'd to. For Example:

Rom. 1. 32. Δικαίωμα θεοῦ, translated *the Judgment of God*, is that Rule of Right, which if the Heathen World had kept and perfectly obey'd, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 2. 26. δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου, *The Righteousness of the Law*, are those Precepts of the Law of *Moses*, which if the Uncircumcised whom he there speaks of had kept, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 5. 16. Εἰς δικαίωμα, *to Justification*, is to the obtaining of Righteousness.

Rom. 5. 18. δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, *By one Righteousness*, is by one Act whereby he was justified or compleatly perfected to be what he had undertaken to be, *viz.* the Redeemer and Saviour of the World. For it was διὰ παθημάτων, or as some Copies read it, διὰ παθήματος, by his Suffering, *viz.* Death on the Cross, that he was perfected, *Heb.* 2. 9, 10. and 14, 15. and 5. 7——9. *Rom.* 5. 10. *Phil.* 2. 8. *Col.* 1. 21, 22. *Rom.* 8. 4. τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ νόμου, *The Righteousness of the Law*. Here, as *Rom.* 2. 26. it is that Rule of Right contained in the Law, which if a Man exactly performed, he was righteous and perfect before God.

Heb. 9. 1. δικαιώματα λατρείας, *Ordinances of Divine Service*, are those Rules or Precepts concerning the outward Worship of God, which when conformed to render it perfect, and such as was right and unblameable before God.

Heb. 9. 10. δικαιώματα σαρκὸς, *Carnal Ordinances*, are such Rules concerning ritual Performances, as when observ'd, justified the Flesh. By these Observances, according as they were prescribed, the Flesh or natural outward Man obtain'd a legal outward Holiness or Righteousness, there was no Exception against him, but he was freely admitted into the Congregation, and into the Sanctuary.

In the same Sense δικαιώματα is also used in the Apocalypse.

Rev. 15. 4. Τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐφανερώθησαν, *Thy Judgments are made manifest*, i. e. those Terms whereupon Men were to be justified before God, were clearly and fully made known under the Gospel. Here, as *Rom.* 1. they are called δικαιώματα θεοῦ, the Terms which God had prescribed to Men for their Justification. And,

Rev. 19. 8. Τὰ δικαιώματα τῶν ἁγίων, *The Righteousness of the Saints*, *i. e.* The Performances whereby the Saints stand justified before God.

So that if we well observe it, δικαίωμα is the Rule of Right, as having God for its Author, it is δικαίωμα θεοῦ; as contain'd in the Precepts of the Law 'tis δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου; as it concerns the external, instituted Rites of the Levitical Worship of God, it is δικαιώματα λατρείας; as it concerns the outward Legal or Ritual Holiness of the Jews, it is δικαιώματα σαρκὸς; as it is in holy Men made perfect, it is δικαιώματα ἁγίων.

It may not be amiss to take a little Notice also of St. *Paul*'s Use of the other Term here, νόμος, Law, which he commonly puts for a positive Rule given to Men, with the Sanction of a Penalty annexed; and in particular frequently (sometimes with, sometimes without, the Particle) for the Law of *Moses*, without naming what Law he means, as if there had been no other Law in the World, as indeed there was not any other in St. *Paul*'s Notion of a Law, from the Fall to our Saviour's time, but only the Law given by God to the *Israelites* by the Hand of *Moses*. Under the Gospel the Law of *Moses* was abrogated: But yet the δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου were not abrogated. The δικαίωμα τοῦ θεοῦ not only stood firm, but was by

PARAPHRASE.

Law, condemn (*f*) thee who, notwithſtanding the Advantage of having the Law and Circumciſion (*g*),
28. art a Tranſgreſſor of the Law? For he is not a Jew who is one in outward Appearance and Conformity (*h*) nor is that the Circumciſion which renders a Man ac-
29. ceptable to God, which is outwardly in the Fleſh. But he is a Jew, and one of the People of God, who is one in an inward Conformity to the Law: and that is the Circumciſion which avails a Man, which is of the Heart (*i*), according to the ſpiritual Senſe of the Law, which is the purging our Hearts from Iniquity by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not in an external Obſervance of the Letter, by which a Man cannot attain Life (*k*); ſuch true Iſraelites as theſe, though they are judg'd, condemn'd, and rejected by Men of the Jewiſh Nation, are nevertheleſs honoured and accepted by God.

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For he is not a Jew, 28
which is one outwardly; neither is that circumciſion, which is outward in the fleſh:

But he is a Jew, which 29
is one inwardly, and circumciſion is that of the heart, in the ſpirit, and not in the letter, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.

NOTES.

the divine Authority promulgated anew by Jeſus Chriſt, the King and Saviour of the World. For 'tis of this that he ſays, that he *is not come to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil it, i. e.* to give it poſitively and plainly its full Latitude and Extent, and ſet theſe δικαιώματα τῦ νόμε in their due Light and full Force; and accordingly we ſee all the Branches of it more expreſly commanded, and with Penalties more vigorouſly inforced on all his Subjects by our Saviour and his Apoſtles, than they were in the Law of *Moſes*.

Thus we ſee that by the Doctrine of St. *Paul* and the New Teſtament, there is one and the ſame Rule of Rectitude ſet to the Actions of all Mankind, Jews, Gentiles, and Chriſtians; and that failing of a compleat Obedience to it in every tittle, makes a Man unrighteous, the Conſequence whereof is Death. For the Gentiles that have ſinned without a Law, ſhall periſh without a Law; the Jews that have ſinned having a Law, ſhall be judg'd by that Law; but that both Jews and Gentiles ſhall be ſaved from Death, if they believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and ſincerely endeavour after Righteouſneſs, though they do not attain unto it, their Faith being accounted to them for Righteouſneſs, *Rom.* 3. 19——24.

27 (*f*) *Judge thee.* This he ſaith proſecuting the Deſign he began with, *ver.* 1. of ſhewing the Folly and Unreaſonableneſs of the Jews in judging the Gentiles, and denying them Admittance and Fellowſhip with themſelves in the Kingdom of the Meſſias.

(*g*) It is plain that *by Nature*, and *by the Letter and Circumciſion*, are there oppoſed to one another, and mean the one a Man in his natural State, wholly a Stranger to the Law of God revealed by *Moſes*, and the other a Jew obſerving the external Rites contained in the Letter of that Law.

28 (*h*) Vid. *ch.* 9. 6, 7. *Gal.* 6. 15, 16.

29 (*i*) St. *Paul*'s Expoſition of this, ſee *Phil.* 3. 3. *Col.* 2. 11.

(*k*) *Letter*, vid. *ch.* 7. 6. 2 *Cor.* 3. 6, 7. compared with 17.

SECT. III.

CHAP. III. 1——31.

CONTENTS.

IN this third Chapter St. *Paul* goes on to ſhew that the National Privileges the Jews had over the Gentiles, in being the People of God, gave them no peculiar Right, or better Title to the Kingdom of the Meſſias, than what the Gentiles had. Becauſe they as well as the Gentiles all ſinned, and not being able to attain Righteouſneſs by the Deeds of the Law more than the Gentiles, Juſtification was to be had only by the Free Grace of God through Faith in Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that upon their Believing, God, who is the God not of

of the Jews alone, but alſo of the Gentiles, accepted the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and now admits all who profeſs Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, to be equally his People. *An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.*

To clear his way to this, he begins with removing an Objection of the Jews ready to ſay; If it be ſo as you have told us in the foregoing Section, that it is the Circumciſion of the Heart alone that availeth, what Advantage have the Jews, who keep to the Circumciſion of the Fleſh, and the other Obſervances of the Law, by being the People of God? To which he anſwers, that the Jews had many Advantages above the Gentiles; but yet that in reſpect of their Acceptance with God under the Goſpel, they had none at all. He declares that both Jews and Gentiles are Sinners, both equally uncapable of being juſtified by their own Performances: That God was equally the God both of Jews and Gentiles, and out of his Free Grace juſtified thoſe, and only thoſe who believ'd, whether Jews or Gentiles.

TEXT.

1 WHat advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumciſion?

2 Much every way: chiefly, becauſe that unto them were committed the oracles of God.

3 For what if ſome did not believe: ſhall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?

4 God forbid: yea let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, That thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy ſayings, and mighteſt overcome when thou art judged.

5 But if our unrighteouſneſs commend the righteouſneſs of God, what ſhall we ſay? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I ſpeak as a man)

PARAPHRASE.

IF it be thus that Circumciſion by a Failure of Obedience to the Law becomes Uncircumciſion; and that the Gentiles who keep the Righteouſneſs or moral part of the Law, ſhall judge the Jews that tranſgreſs the Law, what Advantage have the Jews? or what Profit is there of Circumciſion? I anſwer, Much every way (*l*); chiefly that God particularly preſent amongſt them revealed his Mind and Will, and engaged himſelf in Promiſes to them, by *Moſes* and other his Prophets, which Oracles they had, and kept amongſt them, whilſt the reſt of Mankind had no ſuch Communication with the Deity, had no Revelation of his Purpoſes of Mercy to Mankind, but were, as it were, without God in the World. For though ſome of the Jews who had the Promiſes of the Meſſias, did not believe in him when he came, and ſo did not receive the Righteouſneſs which is by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt; yet their Unbelief cannot render the Faithfulneſs and Truth of God of no Effect, who had promiſed to be a God to *Abraham* and his Seed after him, and bleſs them to all Generations (*m*). No, by no means. God forbid that any one ſhould entertain ſuch a Thought: Yea, let God be acknowledged to be true, and every Man a Liar, as it is written, *That thou mighteſt be juſtified in thy Sayings, and mighteſt overcome when thou art judged.*

But you will ſay farther, *If it be ſo that our Sinfulneſs commendeth the Righteouſneſs of God ſhewn in keeping his word (n) given to our Forefathers, what ſhall I ſay, Is it not Injuſtice in God to puniſh us for it, and caſt us off (I muſt be under-*

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

NOTES.

2 (*l*) A Liſt of the Advantages the Jews had over the Gentiles he gives, *ch.* 9. 4, 5. but here mentions only one of them, that was moſt proper to his preſent purpoſe.

(*m*) How this was made good, St. *Paul* explains more at large in the following Chapter, and *ch.* 9. 6——13.

5 (*n*) That by *the Righteouſneſs of God* St *Paul* here intends God's Faithfulneſs in keeping his Promiſe of ſaving Believers, Gentiles as well as Jews, by Righteouſneſs through Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, is plain, *ver.* 4, 7, 26. St. *Paul*'s great Deſign here, and all through the eleven firſt Chapters of this Epiſtle being to convince the *Romans*, that God purpoſed, and in the Old Teſtament declared, that he would receive and ſave the Gentiles by Faith in the Meſſias, which was the only way whereby Jews or Gentiles (they being all Sinners, and equally deſtitute of Righteouſneſs by Works) were to be ſaved. This was a Doctrine which the Jews could not bear, and therefore the Apoſtle here in the Perſon of a Jew, urges, and in his own Perſon anſwers their Objections againſt it, confirming to the *Romans* the Veracity and Faithfulneſs of God, on whom they might with all Aſſurance depend for the Performance of whatever he ſaid.

An.Ch.57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

ſtood to ſay this in the Perſon of a carnal Man pleading for
6. *himſelf*) God forbid: For if God be unrighteous, how
7. ſhall he judge the World (*o*)? *For* (*p*) *if the Truth and Ve-*
racity of God hath the more appear'd to his Glory, by reaſon
of my Lie (*q*), i. e. *my Sin, why yet am I condemn'd for a*
8. *Sinner, and puniſhed for it? Why rather ſhould not this be*
thought a right Conſequence, and a juſt Excuſe? Let us do
Evil that Good may come of it, that Glory may come to God
by it. This (*r*) ſome maliciouſly and ſlanderouſly re-
port us Chriſtians to ſay, for which they deſerve, and
will from God receive Puniſhment as they deſerve.
9. *Are we Jews then in any whit a better Condition than the*
Gentiles (*s*)? Not at all. For I have already (*t*) brought
a Charge of Guilt and Sin both againſt Jews and Gen-
tiles, and urg'd that there is not one of them clear, which
10. I ſhall prove now againſt you Jews; For it is written,
11. *There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that under-*
12. *ſtandeth, there is none that ſeeketh after God. They are all*
gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable, there
13. *is none that doth good, no not one. Their Throat is an open*
Sepulchre; with their Tongues they have uſed Deceit; the Poiſon
14. *of Aſps is under their Lips; whoſe Mouth is full of Curſing*

TEXT.

God forbid: for then how 6
ſhall God judge the world?
For if the truth of 7
God hath more abounded
through my lie unto his
glory; why yet am I alſo
judged as a ſinner?
And not rather, as we 8
be ſlanderouſly reported,
and as ſome affirm that
we ſay, Let us do evil,
that good may come?
whoſe damnation is juſt.
What then? are we 9
better than they? No in
no wiſe: for we have be-
fore proved both Jews
and Gentiles, that they
are all under ſin;
As it is written, There is 10
none righteous, no not one:
There is none that un- 11
derſtandeth, there is none
that ſeeketh after God.
They are all gone out 12
of the way, they are toge-
ther become unprofitable,
there is none that doth
good, no not one.
Their throat is an open 13
ſepulchre; with their
tongues they have uſed
deceit; the poiſon of aſps
is under their lips;
Whoſe mouth is full of 14
curſing and bitterneſs.

NOTES.

6 (*o*) This which is an Argument in the Mouth of *Abraham*, Gen. 18. 25. St. *Paul* very appoſitly makes uſe of to ſtop the Mouths of the blaſphemous Jews.

7 (*p*) *For.* This Particle plainly joyns what follows in this and the next Verſe to *Vengeance* in the 5*th* Verſe, and ſhews it to be, as it is, a Continuation of the Objection begun in that Verſe, why St. *Paul* broke it into pieces by intruding the 6th Verſe in the middle of it, there is a very plain Reaſon. In the Objection there were two things to be corrected; 1*ſt*. The charging God with Unrighteouſneſs, which as ſoon as mentioned, it was a becoming Interruption in St. *Paul*, to quaſh immediately, and to ſtop the Jews Mouth with the words of *Abraham*. 2*dly*, The other thing in the Objection was a falſe Calumny upon the Chriſtians, as if they preaching Juſtification by Free Grace, ſaid, *Let us do Evil that Good may come of it.* To which the Apoſtle's Anſwer was the more diſtinct, being ſubjoyn'd to that Branch ſeparated from the other.

(*q*) *Lie.* The Senſe of the Place makes it plain, that St. *Paul* by *Lie* here means Sin in general, but ſeems to have uſed the word *Lie*, as having a more forcible and graceful Antitheſis *to the Truth of God*, which the Objection pretends to be thereby illuſtrated.

8 (*r*) *Some.* 'Tis paſt doubt that theſe were the Jews. But St. *Paul* always, tender towards his own Nation, forbears to name them, when he pronounces this Sentence, that their caſting-off and Deſtruction now at hand, for this Scandal and other Oppoſition to the Chriſtian Religion, was juſt.

9 (*s*) Having in the ſix foregoing Verſes juſtified the Truth of God, notwithſtanding his caſting-off the Jews, and vindicated the Doctrine of Grace againſt the Cavils of the Jews, which two Objections of their's came naturally in his way, the Apoſtle takes up here again the Jews queſtion propoſed, *ver.* 1. and urges it home to the caſe in hand. Τὶ ἐν προεχόμεθα, being but the ſame with Τὶ ἐν σφισσὸν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ; *ver.* 1. *Have Jews then any Preference in the Kingdom of the Meſſias?* To which he anſwers, No, not at all. That this is the meaning, is viſible from the whole Chapter, where he lays both Jews and Gentiles in an equal State, in reference to Juſtification.

(*t*) *Already*, viz. *ch.* 2. 3. where St. *Paul* under the gentler Compellation of O Man, charges the Jews to be Sinners as well as the Gentiles: and *ver.* 17——24. ſhews, that by having the Law they were no more kept from being Sinners than the Gentiles were without the Law. And this Charge againſt them, that they were Sinners, he here proves againſt them from the Teſtimony of their own ſacred Books contain'd in the Old Teſtament.

and

TEXT.

15 Their feet are swift to shed blood.
16 Destruction and misery are in their ways:
17 And the way of peace have they not known.
18 There is no fear of God before their eyes.
19 Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.
20 Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin.
21 But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;
22 Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference:
23 For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;
24 Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ:

PARAPHRASE.

and Bitterness. Their Feet are swift to shed Blood, Destruction and Misery are in their ways, and the way of Peace have they not known. There is no Fear of God before their Eyes. 15. 16. 17. This is all said in the Sacred Book of our Law (*u*); And 18. what is said there, we know is said to the Jews, who 19. are under the Law, that the Mouth of every Jew that would justifie himself might be stopped, and all the World, Jews as well as Gentiles, may be forced to acknowledge themselves guilty before God. From whence 20. it is evident, that by his own Performances, in Obedience to a Law (*w*) no (*x*) Man can attain to an exact Conformity to the Rule of Right, so as to be righteous in the sight of God. For by Law, which is the publishing the Rule with a Penalty, we are not delivered from the Power of Sin, nor can it help Men to Righteousness, (*y*) but by Law we come experimentally to know Sin in the Force and Power of it, since we find it prevail upon us notwithstanding the Punishment of Death is by the Law annexed to it (*z*). But now the 21. Righteousness of God, that Righteousness which he intended, and will accept, and is a Righteousness not within the Rule and Rigour of Law, is now made manifest and confirm'd by the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets, which bear Witness to this Truth, that Jesus is the Messias, and that it is according to his Purpose and Promise, That the Righteousness of God by 22. Faith in Jesus the Messias, is extended to, and bestowed on, all who believe in him (*a*), (For there is no Difference between them. They have all, both Jews 23. and Gentiles, sinned, and fail of attaining that Glory (*b*) which God hath appointed for the Righteous) being 24. made righteous *gratis* by the Favour of God through

NOTES.

19 (*u*) *The Law* here signifies the whole Old Testament, which containing Revelations from God in the time of the Law, and being to those under the Law, of Divine Authority, and a Rule as well as the Law it self, it is sometimes in the New Testament call'd *the Law*, and so our Saviour himself uses the Term *Law*, John 10. 34. The meaning of St. *Paul* here is, That the Declarations of God, which he had cited out of the Old Testament, were spoken of the Jews, who were under the Dispensation of the Old Testament, and were, by the word of God to them, all of them pronounced Sinners.

20 (*w*) Ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, I should render, *by Deeds of Law*, i. e. by Actions of Conformity to a Law requiring the Performance of the δικαίωμα θεοῦ, *the Right Rule of God* (mentioned, *ch.* 1. 32.) with a Penalty annexed, no Flesh can be justified: But every one failing of an exact Conformity of his Actions, to the immutable Rectitude of that eternal Rule of Right, will be found unrighteous, and so incur the Penalty of the Law. That this is the meaning of ἔργα νόμου, is evident, because the Apostle's Declaration here is concerning all Men, πᾶσα σάρξ. But we know the Heathen World were not under the Law of *Moses*: And accordingly St. *Paul* does not say, ἐξ ἔργων τοῦ νόμου, *by the Deeds of the Law*, but ἐξ ἔργων νόμου, *by Deeds of Law*. Though in the foregoing and following Verse, where he would specify the Law of *Moses*, he uses the Article with νόμῳ three times.

(*x*) *No Man.* St. *Paul* uses here the word *Flesh*, for Man emphatically, as that wherein the Force of Sin is seated. Vid. *ch.* 7. 14, 18. and 8. 14.

(*y*) *The Law cannot help Men to Righteousness.* This, which is but implied here, here he is large and express in, *ch.* 7. and is said expressly, *ch.* 8. 3. *Gal.* 3. 21.

(*z*) *Chap.* 7. 13.

22 (*a*) Vid. *ch.* 10. 12. *Gal.* 3. 22——28.

23 (*b*) Here the Glory that comes from God, or by his Appointment, is called the *Glory of God*, as the Righteousness which comes from him, or by his Appointment, is called *the Righteousness of God*, ch. 1. 17. and the Rule of moral Rectitude which has God for its Author, or is appointed by him, is called δικαίωμα θεοῦ, *ch.* 1. 32. That this is the Glory here meant, *vid.* ch. 2. 7, 10. In the same Sense the *Glory of God* is used, *ch.* 5. 2.

the

PARAPHRASE.

the Redemption (*c*) which is by Jesus Christ; Whom God hath set forth to be the Propitiatory or Mercy-seat (*d*) in his own Blood (*e*), for the Manifestation of his [God's] Righteousness (*f*), by passing over (*g*) their Transgressions formerly committed, which he hath bore with hitherto, so as to with-hold his Hand from

TEXT.

Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.

25

NOTES.

24 (*c*) *Redemption* signifies Deliverance, but not Deliverance from every thing, but Deliverance from that to which a Man is in Subjection or Bondage. Nor does Redemption by Jesus Christ import there was any Compensation made to God by paying what was of equal Value, in consideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconsistent with what St. *Paul* expressly says here, *viz.* that Sinners are justified by God *gratis*, and of his free Bounty. What this *Redemption* is, St. *Paul* tells us, *Eph.* 1. 7. *Col.* 1. 14. even the Forgiveness of Sins. But if St. *Paul* had not been so express in defining what he means by *Redemption*, they yet would be thought to lay too much Stress upon the Criticism of a Word in the Translation, who would thereby force from the Word in the Original a necessary Sense, which 'tis plain it hath not. That Redeeming in the Sacred Scripture-Language signifies not precisely paying an Equivalent, is so clear, that nothing can be more. I shall refer my Reader to three or four places amongst a great Number; *Exod.* 6. 6. *Deut.* 7. 8. and 15. 15. and 24. 18. But if any one will from the literal Signification of the word in English, persist in it against St. *Paul*'s Declarations, that it necessarily implies an equivalent Price paid, I desire him to consider to whom: And that if we will strictly adhere to the Metaphor, it must be to those whom the Redeemed are in Bondage to, and from whom we are redeemed, *viz.* Sin and Satan. If he will not believe his own System for this, let him believe St. *Paul*'s Words; *Tit.* 2. 14. *Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity.* Nor could the Price be paid to God in Strictness of Justice (For that is made the Argument here) unless the same Person ought by that strict Justice to have both the Thing redeem'd, and the Price paid for its Redemption. For 'tis to God we are redeemed by the Death of Christ, *Rev.* 5. 9. *Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood.*

25 (*d*) Ἱλαστήριον, signifies *Propitiatory*, or *Mercy-Seat*, and not *Propitiation*, as Mr. *Mede* has rightly observed upon this place in his Discourse of God's House, §. 1.

(*e*) The Alexandrine Copy omits the words διὰ πίστεως, by Faith: which seems conformable to the Sense of the Apostle here: He says, that *God hath set forth Christ to be the Propitiatory in his Blood.* The Atonement under the Law, was made by Blood sprinkled on the Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat, *Lev.* 17. 14. Christ, says St. *Paul* here, is now set out and shewn by God to be the real Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat in his own Blood; see *Heb.* 9. 25, 26. where the Sacrifice of himself is opposed to the Blood of others. God has set him out to be so, to declare his Righteousness; the Mercy-Seat being the place wherein God spake and declared his Pleasure, *Exod.* 25. 22. *Numb.* 7. 8, 9. And it was there where God always appear'd, *Lev.* 17. 2. It was the place of his Presence, and therefore he is said to dwell between the Cherubims, *Psal.* 80. 1. 2 *Kings* 19. 15. For between the Cherubims was the Mercy-Seat. In all which Respects our Saviour, who was the Antitype, is properly call'd the *Propitiatory.*

(*f*) Δικαιοσύνη, *Righteousness*, seems to be used here in the same Sense it is *ver.* 5. for the Righteousness of God, in keeping his word with the Nation of the *Jews*, notwithstanding their Provocations. And indeed, with the following words of this Verse, contains in it a farther Answer to the *Jews* Insinuation of God's being hard to their Nation, by shewing that God had been very favourable to them, in not casting them off as they had deserv'd, till according to his Promise he had sent them the Messias, and they had rejected him.

(*g*) Διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν, *by passing over*: I do not remember any place where πάρεσις signifies Remission or Forgiveness, but passing by, or *passing over*, as our Translation has it in the Margent, *i. e.* over-looking, or as it were, not minding; in which Sense, it cannot be applied to the past Sins of private Persons, for God neither remits nor passes them by so as not to take notice of them. But this πάρεσις τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων, *passing over past Sins*, is spoken nationally, in respect of the People of the *Jews*; who though they were a very sinful Nation, as appears by the places here brought against them by St. *Paul*, yet God passed by all that, and would not be hinder'd by their past Sinfulness, from being just in keeping his Promise, in exhibiting to them Christ the Propitiatory. But though he would not be provoked by their past Sins, so as to cast them off from being his People before he had sent them the promised Messias to be their Saviour; yet after that, when at the due time he had manifested his Righteousness to them, that he might be just, and the Justifier of those who believe in Jesus, he no longer bore with their sinful Obstinacy; but when they rejected the Saviour (whom he had sent according to his Promise) from being their King, God rejected them from being his People, and took the Gentiles into his Church, and made them his People joyntly and equally with the few believing Jews. This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle here, where he is discoursing of the Nation of the Jews, and their State in comparison with the Gentiles; not of the State of private Persons. Let any one without Prepossession attentively read the Context, he will find it to be so.

casting

TEXT.

26 To declare, I ſay at this time his righteouſneſs, that he might be juſt, and the juſtifier of him which believeth in Jeſus.

27 Where is boaſting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.

28 Therefore we conclude, that a man is juſtified by faith without the deeds of the law.

29 Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not alſo of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles alſo:

30 Seeing it is one God which ſhall juſtifie the circumciſion by faith, and uncircumciſion through faith.

31 Do we then make void the law through faith?

PARAPHRASE.

caſting off the Nation of the Jews as their paſt Sins deſerved, for the manifeſting of his Righteouſneſs (*h*) at this time (*i*), that he might be juſt in keeping his Promiſe, and be the Juſtifier of every one, not who is of the Jewiſh Nation or Extraction, but of the Faith (*k*) in Jeſus Chriſt. What Reaſon then have you Jews to glory (*l*), and ſet your ſelves ſo much above the Gentiles in judging them as you do? None at all: Boaſting is totally excluded. By what Law? By the Law of Works? No, but by the Law of Faith. I conclude therefore (*m*), that a Man is juſtified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law (*n*). Is God the God of the Jews only, and not of the Gentiles alſo? Yea certainly of the Gentiles alſo. Since the time is come that God is no longer one to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, but he is now become one and the ſame (*o*) God to them all, and will juſtifie the Jews by Faith, and the Gentiles alſo through Faith, who by the Law of *Moſes* were heretofore ſhut out (*p*) from being the People of God. Do we then make the Law (*q*) inſignificant or uſeleſs by our Doctrine of Faith? By no means:

26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31.

NOTES.

26 (*h*) Δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, *his Righteouſneſs*, is here to be underſtood in both Senſes in which St. *Paul* had uſed it before in this Chapter, *viz.* *ver.* 5, and 22. as it is manifeſt by St. *Paul's* explaining of it himſelf in theſe Words immediately following: That he might be juſt, and the Juſtifier of him who believeth in Jeſus, which are the two Senſes wherein *the Righteouſneſs of God* is uſed.

(*i*) *At this time, viz.* The Fulneſs of Time, according to his Promiſe.

(*k*) Τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ, If this Phraſe had been tranſlated, *him that is of the Faith of Jeſus*, as it is, *ch.* 4. 16. and *Gal.* 3. 7. rather than *him which believeth in Jeſus*, it would better have expreſſed the Apoſtle's meaning here, which was to diſtinguiſh οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, *thoſe who are of Faith*, from οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, or οἱ ἐκ νόμου, *thoſe who are of the Circumciſion*, or *thoſe who are of the Law*, ſpeaking of them as of two ſorts or Races of Men, of two different Extractions. To underſtand this place fully, let any one read *ch.* 4. 12——16. *Gal.* 3. 7——10. where he will find the Apoſtle's Senſe more at large.

27 (*l*) The *Glorying* here ſpoken of, is that of the Jews, *i.e.* their judging of the Gentiles, and their Contempt of them, which St. *Paul* had before in ſeveral places taken notice of. And here to take down their Pride and Vanity, he tells them, it is wholly excluded by the Goſpel, wherein God, who is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, juſtifieth by Faith alone the Jews as well as the Gentiles, ſince no Man could be juſtified by the Deeds of the Law. This ſeems to be ſaid to the converted Jews, to ſtop their thinking that they had any Advantage over the Gentiles under the Goſpel. No, ſays he, the Goſpel which is the Law of Faith lays you equal with the Gentiles, and you have no Ground to aſſume any thing to your ſelves, or ſet your ſelves above them now under the Meſſias. This, and all the reſt to this purpoſe in this Epiſtle, is ſaid to eſtabliſh the converted Romans in their Title to the Favour of God, equally with the Jews, in the Goſpel, and to fortify them againſt any Diſturbance might be given them by the pretending Jews, which is the principal Deſign of this Epiſtle, as we have already obſerved.

28 (*m*) *Therefore*, this Inference is drawn from what he had taught, *ver.* 23.

(*n*) Vid. *Acts* 13. 39. *ch.* 8. 3. *Gal.* 2. 16.

30 (*o*) Ἐπείπερ εἷς ὁ θεὸς, *ſince God is one.* He that will ſee the Force of St. *Paul's* Reaſoning here, muſt look to *Zachary* 14. 9. from whence theſe Words are taken, where the Prophet ſpeaking of the time when *the Lord ſhall be King over all the Earth*, and not barely over the little People ſhut up in the Land of *Canaan*, he ſays, *In that day there ſhall be one Lord, i.e.* God ſhall not be as he is now, the God of the Jews alone, whom only he hath known of all the People of the Earth; but he ſhall be the God of the Gentiles alſo, the ſame merciful reconciled God to the People of all Nations. This Propheſie the Jews underſtood of the Times of the Meſſias, and St. *Paul* here preſſes them with it.

(*p*) It was impoſſible for remote Nations to keep the Law of *Moſes*, a great Part of the Worſhip required by it being local, and confined to the Temple at *Jeruſalem*.

31 (*q*) Νόμον, *Law*, is here repeated twice without the Article, and it is plain that by it St. *Paul* does not mean preciſely the Moſaical Law, but ſo much of it as is contained in the natural and eternal Rule of Right mentioned, *ch.* 1. 32. and 11. 26. and is again by a poſitive Command re-enacted and continued as a Law under the Meſſias, *Vid. Mat.* 28. 20.

but

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

but on the contrary we eſtabliſh (*r*) and confirm the Law.

God forbid: yea, we eſtabliſh the law.

NOTES.

(*r*) *Eſtabliſh.* The Doctrine of Juſtification by Faith neceſſarily ſuppoſeth a Rule of Righteouſneſs, which thoſe who are juſtified by Faith come ſhort of; and alſo a Puniſhment incurr'd, from which they are ſet free by being juſtified: and ſo this Doctrine eſtabliſhes a Law, and accordingly the moral part of the Law of *Moſes*, that δικαίωμα τῦ θεῦ, as the Apoſtle calls it in the place above-quoted, *ch.* 1. 32. is inforced again by our Saviour and the Apoſtles in the Goſpel, with Penalties annexed to the Breach of it.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. IV. 1—25.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* having in the foregoing Section cut off all glorying from the Jews, upon the account of their having the Law, and ſhewn that that gave them no manner of Title or Pretence to be the People of God, more than the Gentiles under the Meſſias; and ſo they had no Reaſon to *judge* or exclude the Gentiles as they did, he comes here to prove that their lineal Extraction from their Father *Abraham*, gave them no better a Pretence of glorying, or of ſetting themſelves upon that account above the Gentiles now in the time of the Goſpel.

1. Becauſe *Abraham* himſelf was juſtified by Faith, and ſo had not whereof to glory; for as much as he that receiveth Righteouſneſs as a Boon, has no Reaſon to glory: but he that attains it by Works.

2. Becauſe neither they who had Circumciſion derived down to them, as the Poſterity of *Abraham*, nor they who had the Law; but they only who had Faith were the Seed of *Abraham*, to whom the Promiſe was made. And therefore the Bleſſing of Juſtification was intended for the Gentiles, and beſtowed on them as well as on the Jews, and upon the ſame Ground.

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

1. WHAT then ſhall we ſay of *Abraham* our Father according to the Fleſh (*s*), what has he ob-
2. tained? Has not he found Matter of Glorying? Yes if he were juſtified by Works, he had Matter of Glorying (*t*), he might then have gloried over the reſt of the Gentile World in having God for his God, and he

1 WHat ſhall we ſay then, that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the fleſh, hath found?

2 For if Abraham were juſtified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God.

NOTES.

1 (*s*) *Our Father according to the Fleſh.* St. *Paul* ſpeaks here as lineally deſcended from *Abraham*, and joyns himſelf herein with the reſt of his Nation, of whom he calls *Abraham the Father according to the Fleſh*, to diſtinguiſh the Jews by Birth, from thoſe who were *Abraham*'s Seed according to the Promiſe, *viz.* thoſe who were of the Faith of *Abraham*, whether Jews or Gentiles, a Diſtinction which he inſiſts on all through this Chapter.

2 (*t*) Καύχημα, tranſlated here *glorying*, I take to ſignify the ſame with καυχᾶσθαι, tranſlated *Boaſting*, *ch.* 2. 17, 23. in which places it is uſed to ſignify the Jews valuing themſelves upon ſome national Privileges above the reſt of the World, as if they had thereby ſome peculiar Right to the Favour of God above other Men. This the Jewiſh Nation, thinking themſelves alone to have a Title to be the People of God, expreſſed in their judging the Gentiles whom they deſpiſed, and looked on as unworthy and uncapable to be received into the Kingdom of the Meſſias, and admitted into Fellowſhip with their Nation under the Goſpel. This Conceit of theirs St. *Paul* oppoſes here, and makes it his Buſineſs to ſhew the Falſhood and Groundleſſneſs of it all through the eleven firſt Chapters of this Epiſtle. I ask whether it would not help the Engliſh Reader the better to find and purſue the Senſe of St. *Paul*, if the Greek Term were every where render'd by the ſame Engliſh Word? Whether *Boaſting* or *Glorying*, I think of no great Conſequence, ſo one of them be kept to.

and

TEXT.

3 For what ſaith the ſcripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteouſneſs.
4 Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.
5 But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that juſtifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteouſneſs.
6 Even as David alſo deſcribeth the bleſſedneſs of the man unto whom God imputeth righteouſneſs without works,
7 Saying, Bleſſed are they whoſe iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe ſins are covered.
8 Bleſſed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute ſin
9 Cometh this bleſſedneſs then upon the circumciſion only, or upon the uncircumciſion alſo? For we ſay that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteouſneſs.
10 How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumciſion, or in uncircumciſion? not in circumciſion, but in uncircumciſion.
11 And he received the ſign of circumciſion, a ſeal of the righteouſneſs of the faith, which he had yet being uncircumciſed: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumciſed; that righteouſneſs might be imputed unto them alſo.
12 And the father of circumciſion to them who are not of the circumciſion only, but alſo walk in the ſteps of that faith of

PARAPHRASE.

and his Family being God's People, but he had no Subject of glorying before God, as it is evident from Sacred Scripture, which telleth us that *Abraham* believed God, and it was counted to him for Righteouſneſs. Now there has been no need of any ſuch Counting, any ſuch Allowance, if he had attained Righteouſneſs by Works of Obedience exactly conformable and coming up to the Rule of Righteouſneſs. For what Reward a Man has made himſelf a Title to by his Performances, that he receives as a Debt that is due, and not as a Gift of Favour. But to him that by his Works attains not Righteouſneſs, but only believeth on God who juſtifieth him, being ungodly (*u*), to him Juſtification is a Favour of Grace: Becauſe his Believing is accounted to him for Righteouſneſs, or perfect Obedience. Even as *David* ſpeaks of the Bleſſedneſs of the Man to whom God reckoneth Righteouſneſs without Works, ſaying, Bleſſed are they whoſe Iniquities are forgiven, and whoſe Sins are covered. Bleſſed is the Man to whom the Lord will not reckon (*w*) Sin. Is this Bleſſedneſs then upon the Circumciſed only, or upon the Uncircumciſed alſo? For we ſay that Faith was reckon'd to *Abraham* for Righteouſneſs. When therefore was it reckon'd to him? When he was in Circumciſion or in Uncircumciſion? Not in Circumciſion, but in Uncircumciſion. For he received the Sign of Circumciſion, a Seal of the Righteouſneſs of the Faith, which he had being yet uncircumciſed (*x*), that he might be the Father of all thoſe who believe, being uncircumciſed, that Righteouſneſs might be reckon'd to them alſo; And the Father of the Circumciſed, that Righteouſneſs might be reckon'd not to thoſe who were barely of the Circumciſion, but to ſuch of the Circumciſion as did alſo walk in the Steps of the Faith

3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

NOTES.

5 (*u*) Τὸν ἀσεβῆ, *him being ungodly.* By theſe words St. *Paul* plainly points out *Abraham*, who was ἀσεβὴς, *ungodly*, *i. e.* a Gentile, not a Worſhipper of the true God when God called him. *Vid.* Note, *ch.* 1. 18.

8 (*w*) Λογίσηται, *reckoneth.* What this *imputing* or *reckoning* of Righteouſneſs is, may be ſeen in *ver.* 8. *viz.* the not reckoning of Sin to any one, the not putting Sin to his account: The Apoſtle in theſe two Verſes uſing theſe two Expreſſions as equivalent. From hence the Expreſſion of blotting out of Iniquity, ſo frequently uſed in Sacred Scripture, may be underſtood, *i. e.* the ſtriking it out of the account. Λογίσεσθαι ſignifies to reckon or account, and with a Dative Caſe, to put to any one's Account; and accordingly, *ver.* 3, 4, 5. it is tranſlated *counted* or *reckoned*; which word for the ſake of Engliſh Readers I have kept to in this, and *ver.* 8, and 11.

11 (*x*) See *Gen.* 17. 11.

PARAPHRASE.

of our Father *Abraham*, which he had being uncircumciſed (*y*). For the Promiſe (*z*) that he ſhould be Poſſeſſor of the World, was not that *Abraham*, and thoſe of his Seed, who were under the Law, ſhould by virtue of their having and owning the Law, be poſſeſſed of it; but by the Righteouſneſs of Faith, whereby thoſe who were without the Law ſcatter'd all over the World, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*, became his Poſterity, and had him for their Father (*a*), and inherited the Bleſſing of Juſtification by Faith. For if they only who had the Law of *Moſes* given them, were Heirs of *Abraham*, Faith is made void and uſeleſs (*b*), it receiving no Benefit of the Promiſe which was made to the Heirs of *Abraham*'s Faith, and ſo the Promiſe becomes of no effect. Becauſe the Law procures them not Juſtification (*c*), but renders them liable to the Wrath and Puniſhment of God (*d*), who by the Law has made known to them what is Sin, and what Puniſhment he has annexed to it. For there is no incurring Wrath or Puniſhment where there is no Law that

TEXT.

our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumciſed.

For the promiſe that he ſhould be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his ſeed through the law, but through the righteouſneſs of faith.

For if they which are of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promiſe made of none effect.

Becauſe the law worketh wrath: for where no law is, there is no tranſgreſſion.

NOTES.

11, 12 (*y*) What Righteouſneſs reckon'd to any one, or as it is uſually call'd Imputed Righteouſneſs, is, St. *Paul* explains, *ver.* 6——8. Whom this Bleſſing belongs to, he enquires, *ver.* 9. and here, *ver.* 11, and 12. he declares who are the Children of *Abraham*, that from him inherit this Bleſſing, *ver.* 11. he ſpeaks of the Gentiles, and there ſhews that *Abraham*, who was juſtified by Faith before he was circumciſed (the want whereof the Jews look'd on as a diſtinguiſhing Mark of a Gentile) was the Father of all thoſe among the Gentiles, who ſhould believe without being circumciſed. And here, *ver.* 12. he ſpeaks of the Jews, and ſays, that *Abraham* was their Father; but not that all ſhould be juſtified who were only circumciſed; but thoſe who to their Circumciſion added the Faith of *Abraham*, which he had before he was circumciſed. That which miſled thoſe who miſtook the Senſe of St. *Paul* here, ſeems to be their not obſerving that τοῖς ἐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς, is referred to, and governed by εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι, which muſt be ſuppoſed repeated here after πατέρα περιτομῆς. Or elſe the Apoſtle's Senſe and Argument will not ſtand in its full Force, but the Antitheſis will be loſt, by preſerving of which the Senſe runs thus; *And the Father of the Circumciſed, that Righteouſneſs might be imputed to thoſe who*, &c. Another thing very apt to miſlead them, was the joyning of μόνον *only*, to ἐκ *not*, as if it were ἐ μόνον τοῖς, *not only thoſe who are of the Circumciſion*, whereas it ſhould be underſtood as it ſtands joyn'd to περιτομῆς, and ſo περιτομῆς μόνον are beſt tranſlated *barely Circumciſion*, and the Apoſtle's Senſe runs thus; *That he might be the Father of the Gentiles that believe, though they be not circumciſed, that Righteouſneſs might be imputed to them alſo*; *And the Father of the Jews, that Righteouſneſs might be imputed not to them who have Circumciſion only, but to them who alſo walk in the Steps of the Faith of our Father* Abraham, *which he had being uncircumciſed.* In which way of underſtanding this Paſſage, not only the Apoſtle's meaning is very plain, eaſie and coherent; but the Conſtruction of the Greek exactly correſponds to that of *ver.* 11. and is genuine, eaſie, and natural, which any other way will be very perplexed.

13 (*z*) *The Promiſe* here meant is that which he ſpeaks of, *ver.* 11. whereby *Abraham* was made the Father of all that ſhould believe all the World over, and for that Reaſon he is called κληρονόμον κόσμου, *Heir or Lord of the World.* For the Believers of all Nations of the World being given to him for a Poſterity, he becomes thereby Lord and Poſſeſſor (for ſo *Heir* amongſt the Hebrews ſignified) of the World. For 'tis plain the Apoſtle in this Verſe purſues the Argument he was upon in the two former. And 'tis alſo plain that St. *Paul* makes Circumciſion to be the Seal of the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, Gen. 12. as well as of that made to him, *Gen.* 17. and ſo both theſe to be but one Covenant, and that of *ch.* 17. to be but a Repetition and farther Explication of the former, as is evident from this Chapter, compared with *Gal.* 3. In both which the Apoſtle argues, that the Gentiles were intended to be juſtified as well as the Jews, and that both Jews and Gentiles, who are juſtified, are juſtified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law.

(*a*) *Gal.* 3. 7.

14 (*b*) See *Gal.* 3. 18.

15 (*c*) *Ch.* 8. 3. *Gal.* 3. 21.

(*d*) See *ch.* 3. 19, 20. and 5. 10, 13, 20. and 7, 7, 8, 10. 1 *Cor.* 15. 56. *Gal.* 3. 19. *John* 9. 41. and 15. 22.

ſays

TEXT.

16 Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promiſe might be ſure to all the ſeed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that alſo which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the Father of us all,

17 (As it is written, I have made thee a father of many Nations) before him whom he believed, even God who quickneth the dead, and calleth thoſe things which be not, as though they were.

18 Who againſt hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was ſpoken, So ſhall thy ſeed be.

19 And being not weak in faith, he conſidered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred year old, neither yet the deadneſs of Sara's womb.

20 He ſtaggered not at the promiſe of God through unbelief; but was ſtrong in faith, giving glory to God:

21 And being fully perſwaded, that what he had promiſed, he was able alſo to perform.

22 And therefore it was imputed to him for righteouſneſs.

23 Now it was not written for his ſake alone, that it was imputed to him;

24 But for us alſo, to whom it ſhall be imputed, if we believe on him that raiſed up Jeſus our Lord from the dead,

PARAPHRASE.

ſays any thing of it (*e*): Therefore the Inheritance (*f*) is of Faith, that it might be merely of Favour, to the end that the Promiſe might be ſure to all the Seed of *Abraham*; not to that part of it only which has Faith, being under the Law; but to that part alſo who without the Law inherit the Faith of *Abraham*, who is the Father of us all who believe, whether Jews or Gentiles, (As it is written (*g*), I have made thee a Father of many Nations) I ſay the Father of us all (in the account of God, whom he believed, and who accordingly quicken'd the dead, *i. e. Abraham* and *Sarah*, whoſe Bodies were dead; and calleth things that are not as if they were (*h*):) Who without any Hope, which the natural Courſe of things could afford, did in Hope believe, that he ſhould become the Father of many Nations, according to what God had ſpoken, by God's ſhewing him the Stars of Heaven, ſaying, *So ſhall thy Seed be.* And being firm and unſhaken in his Faith, he regarded not his own Body now dead, he being about an hundred Years old; nor the Deadneſs of *Sarah*'s Womb; He ſtagger'd not at the Promiſe of God thro' Unbelief, but was ſtrong in Faith, thereby giving Glory to God; By the full Perſuaſion he had, that God was able to perform what he had promiſed: And therefore it was accounted to him for Righteouſneſs. Now this of its being reckon'd to him, was not written for his ſake alone, But for our's alſo, to whom Faith alſo will be reckon'd for Righteouſneſs, *viz.* to as many as believe in him who raiſed Jeſus our Lord from

16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.

NOTES.

(*e*) ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, ἐκεῖ οὐδὲ παράβασις, of *that, concerning which there is no Law with the Sanction of a Puniſhment annexed, there can be no Tranſgreſſion incurring Wrath or Puniſhment.* Thus it may be render'd if we read ἐφ' with an Aſpiration, as ſome do. But whether it be taken to ſignifie *where* or *whereof*, the Senſe will be the ſame. For παράβασις here to make St. *Paul*'s Argument of Force, muſt ſignifie ſuch a *Tranſgreſſion* as draws on the Tranſgreſſor Wrath and Puniſhment by the Force and Sanction of a Law. And ſo the Apoſtle's Propoſition is made good, that 'tis the Law alone that expoſes us to Wrath, and that is all that the Law can do, for it gives us no Power to perform.

16 (*f*) The Grammatical Conſtruction does not ſeem much to favour *Inheritance*, as the Word to be ſupplied here, becauſe it does not occur in the preceding Verſes. But he that obſerves St. *Paul*'s way of Writing, who more regards Things than Forms of Speaking, will be ſatisfied, that 'tis enough that he mention'd Heirs, *ver.* 13, and 14. and that he does mean *Inheritance* here, *Gal.* 3. 18. puts it paſt Doubt.

17 (*g*) See *Gen.* 17. 16.

(*h*) *Gen.* 16. 5.

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

25. the dead (*i*), Who was deliver'd to Death for our Offences (*k*), and was raiſed again for our (*l*) Juſtification.

Who was delivered for 25 our offences, and was raiſed again for our Juſtification.

NOTES.

24 (*i*) St. *Paul* ſeems to mention this here in particular, to ſhew the Analogy between *Abraham*'s Faith, and that of Believers under the Goſpel; ſee *ver.* 17.

25 (*k*) See *Rom.* 3. 25. and 5. 6, 10. *Eph.* 1. 7, 11, 16. and 5. 2. *Col.* 1. 14, 20——22. 1 *Tim.* 2. 6. *Tit.* 2. 14.

(*l*) 1 *Cor.* 15. 17. I have ſet down all theſe Texts out of St. *Paul*, that in them might be ſeen his own Explication of what he ſays here, *viz.* That our Saviour by his Death atoned for our Sins, and ſo we were innocent, and thereby freed from the Puniſhment due to Sin. But he roſe again to aſcertain to us eternal Life, the Conſequence of Juſtification; for the Reward of Righteouſneſs is eternal Life, which Inheritance we have a Title to by Adoption in Jeſus Chriſt. But if he himſelf had not that Inheritance, if he had not roſe into the Poſſeſſion of eternal Life, we who hold by and under him, could not have riſen from the dead, and ſo could never have come to be pronounced righteous, and to have receiv'd the Reward of it, everlaſting Life. Hence St. *Paul* tells us, 1 *Cor.* 15. 17. that *if Chriſt be not raiſed, our Faith is vain, we are yet in our Sins, i. e.* as to the Attainment of eternal Life 'tis all one as if our Sins were not forgiven. And thus he roſe for our Juſtification, *i. e.* to aſſure to us eternal Life, the Conſequence of Juſtification. And this I think is confirmed by our Saviour in theſe Words, *Becauſe I live ye ſhall live alſo*, John 14.

SECT. V.

CHAP. V. 1——11.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* in the foregoing Chapters has examined the Glorying of the Jews, and their valuing themſelves ſo highly above the Gentiles, and ſhewn the Vanity of their boaſting in Circumciſion and the Law, ſince neither they nor their Father *Abraham* were juſtified, or found Acceptance with God by Circumciſion, or the Deeds of the Law: And therefore they had no Reaſon ſo, as they did, to preſs Circumciſion and the Law on the Gentiles, or exclude thoſe who had them not from being the People of God, and unfit for their Communion in and under the Goſpel. In this Section he comes to ſhew what the Convert Gentiles, by Faith without Circumciſion or the Law, had to glory in, *viz.* The Hope of Glory, *ver.* 2. Their Sufferings for the Goſpel, *ver.* 3. And God as their God, *ver.* 11. In theſe three it is eaſy to obſerve the Thread and Coherence of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here, the intermediate Verſes (according to that Abounding with Matter, and Overflowing of Thought he was fill'd with) being taken up with an incidental Train of Conſiderations, to ſhew the Reaſon they had to glory in Tribulations.

PARAPHRASE. TEXT.

1. THerefore being juſtified by Faith, we (*m*) have Peace with God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

THerefore being juſti- 1 fied by Faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

NOTES.

1 (*m*) *We i. e.* we Gentiles that are not under the Law. 'Tis in their Names that St. *Paul* ſpeaks in the three laſt Verſes of the foregoing Chapter, and all through this Section, as is evident from the Illation here, *Therefore being juſtified by Faith, We.* It being an Inference drawn from his having proved in the former Chapter, that the Promiſe was not to the Jews alone, but to the Gentiles alſo: And that Juſtification was not by the Law, but by Faith, and conſequently deſigned for the Gentiles as well as the Jews.

By

TEXT.

2 By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

3 And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience;

4 And patience, experience; and experience, hope;

5 And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the holy Ghost which is given unto us.

6 For when we were yet without strength, in due time, Christ died for the ungodly.

7 For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.

8 But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.

9 Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.

PARAPHRASE.

By whom we have had Admittance through Faith into that Favour in which we have stood, and glory (*n*) in the Hope of the Glory which God has in store for us. 2.
And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also, 3.
knowing that Tribulation worketh Patience, And Patience giveth us a Proof of our selves, which furnishes us with Hope; 4.
And our Hope maketh not ashamed, 5.
will not deceive us, because (*o*) the Sense of the Love of God is poured out into our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us *. For when we Gentiles 6.
were yet without Strength †, void of all Help or Ability to deliver ourselves, Christ in the time that God had appointed and foretold, died for us, who lived without the Acknowledgment and Worship of the true God †. Scarce is it to be found, that any one will 7.
die for a just Man, if peradventure one should dare to die for a good Man; But God recommends, and herein 8.
shews the Greatness of his Love (*p*) towards us, in that whilst we Gentiles were a Mass of profligate Sinners (*q*), Christ died for us. Much more therefore now being justified by his Death, shall we through him be 9.
delivered

NOTES.

2 (*n*) Καυχώμεθα, *we glory*. The same word here for the Convert Gentiles that he had used before for the Boasting of the Jews, and the same word he used where he examin'd what *Abraham* had found. The taking notice whereof, as we have already observed, may help to lead us into the Apostle's Sense: And plainly shews us here, that St. *Paul* in this Section opposes the Advantages the Gentile Converts to Christianity have by Faith, to those the Jews gloried in with so much Haughtiness and Contempt of the Gentiles.

5 (*o*) *Because*. * The Force of this Inference seems to stand thus. The Hope of eternal Happiness, which we glory in, cannot deceive us, because the Gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon us, assure us of the Love of God towards us, the Jews themselves acknowledging that the Holy Ghost is given to none but those who are God's own People.

8 (*p*) Another Evidence St. *Paul* gives them here of the Love of God towards them, and the ground they had to glory in the Hopes of eternal Salvation, is the Death of Christ for them, whilst they were yet in their Gentile Estate, which he describes by calling them,

6, 8. (*q*) † Ἀσθενῆς, *without strength*; Ἀσεβῆς, *ungodly*; Ἁμαρτωλοὶ, *Sinners*; Ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*: These four Epithetes are given to them as Gentiles, they being used by St. *Paul* as the proper Attributes of the Heathen World, as consider'd in Contra-distinction to the Jewish Nation. What St. *Paul* says of the Gentiles in other places, will clear this. The helpless Condition of the Gentile World in the State of Gentilism, signified here by ἀσθενῆς, *without Strength*, he terms, *Col.* 2. 13. *dead in Sin*, a State, if any, of Weakness. And hence he says to the Romans converted to Jesus Christ; *Yield your selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your selves as Instruments of Righteousness unto God*, *ch.* 6. 13. How he describes ἀσεβείαν, *Ungodliness*, mentioned *ch.* 1. 18. as the proper State of the Gentiles, we may see *ver.* 21. 23. That he thought the Title ἁμαρτωλοὶ, *Sinners*, belong'd peculiarly to the Gentiles, in Contra-distinction to the Jews, he puts it past doubt in these words, *We who are Jews by Nature, and not Sinners of the Gentiles*, Gal. 2. 15. See also *ch.* 6. 17—22. And as for ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*, you have the Gentiles before their Conversion to Christianity so called, *Col.* 1. 21. St. *Paul*, Eph. 2. 1 ——13. describes the Heathens a little more at large, but yet the Parts of the Character he there gives them, we may find comprised in these four Epithetes; the ἀσθενῆς, *weak*, ver. 1. 5. the ἀσεβῆς *ungodly*, and ἁμαρτωλοὶ *Sinners*, ver. 23. and the ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*, ver. 11. 12.

NOTES.

If it were remember'd that St. *Paul* all along through the eleven firſt Chapters of this Epiſtle, ſpeaks nationally of the Jews and Gentiles, as 'tis viſible he does, and not perſonally of ſingle Men, there would be leſs Difficulty and fewer Miſtakes in underſtanding this Epiſtle. This one place we are upon is a ſufficient Inſtance of it. For if by theſe Terms here, we ſhall underſtand him to denote all Men perſonally, Jews as well as Gentiles, before they are ſavingly ingrafted into Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhall make his Diſcourſe here disjointed, and his Senſe mightily perplex'd, if at all conſiſtent.

That there were ſome among the Heathen as innocent in their Lives, and as far from Enmity to God as ſome among the Jews, cannot be queſtion'd. Nay, that many of them were not ἀσεβῆς, but σεβόμενοι, Worſhipers of the true God, if we could doubt of it, is manifeſt out of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; but yet St. *Paul* in the Places above quoted, pronounces them all together, ἀσεβῆς and ἄθεοι, (for that, by theſe two Terms applied to the ſame Perſons, he means the ſame, *i. e.* ſuch as did not acknowledge and worſhip the true God, ſeems plain) *ungodly*, and *Sinners of the Gentiles*, as nationally belonging to them in Contra-diſtinction to the People of the Jews, who were the People of God, whilſt the other were the Provinces of the Kingdom of Satan: Not but that there were Sinners, heinous Sinners, among the Jews; but the Nation, conſider'd as one Body and Society of Men, diſown'd and declared againſt, and oppoſed it ſelf to thoſe Crimes and Impurities which are mention'd by St. *Paul*, ch. 1. 24, &c. as woven into the religious and politick Conſtitutions of the Gentiles. There they had their full Scope and Swing, had Allowance, Countenance and Protection. The Idolatrous Nations had by their Religions, Laws and Forms of Government, made themſelves the open Votaries, and were the profeſſed Subjects of Devils. So St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. 10. 20, 21. truly calls the Gods they worſhiped and paid their Homage to. And ſuitably hereunto, their religious Obſervances 'tis well known were not without great Impurities, which were of right charg'd upon them, when they had a place in their Sacred Offices, and had the Recommendation of Religion to give them credit. The reſt of the Vices in St. *Paul*'s black Liſt, which were not warm'd at their Altars, and foſter'd in their Temples, were yet by the Connivance of the Law cheriſh'd in their private Houſes, and made a part of the uncondemn'd Actions of common Life, and had the Countenance of Cuſtom to authorize them, even in the beſt regulated and moſt civilized Governments of the Heathens. On the contrary, the Frame of the Jewiſh Commonwealth was founded on the Acknowledgment and Worſhip of the only true and inviſible God, and their Laws requir'd an extraordinary Purity of Life, and Strictneſs of Manners.

That the Gentiles were ſtiled ἐχθροὶ *Enemies*, in a political or national Senſe, is plain from *Eph.* 2. where they are called, *Aliens from the Common-wealth of* Iſrael, *and Strangers from the Covenant. Abraham* on the other ſide was called *the Friend of God*, i. e. one in Covenant with him, and his profeſſed Subject, that owned God to the World: And ſo were his Poſterity, the People of the Jews, whilſt the reſt of the World were under Revolt, and lived in open Rebellion againſt him, *Vid.* Iſa. 41. 8. And here in this Epiſtle St. *Paul* expreſly teaches, that when the Nation of the Jews, by rejecting of the Meſſias, put themſelves out of the Kingdom of God, and were caſt off from being any longer the People of God, they became *Enemies*, and the Gentile World were reconciled. See *Ch.* 11. 15, 28. Hence St. *Paul* who was the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, calls his performing that Office, *the Miniſtry of Reconciliation*, 2 Cor. 5. 15. And here in this Chapter, *ver.* 1. the Privilege which they receive by the accepting of the Covenant of Grace in Jeſus Chriſt, the tells them is this, that *they have Peace with God*, i. e. are no longer incorporated with his Enemies, and of the Party of the open Rebels againſt him in the Kingdom of Satan, being return'd to their Natural Allegiance in their owning the one true ſupreme God, in ſubmitting to the Kingdom he had ſet up in his Son, and being received by him as his Subjects. Suitably hereunto St. *James*, ſpeaking of the Converſion of the Gentiles to the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, ſays of it, that *God did viſit the Gentiles, to take out of them a People for his Name*, Acts 15. 14. and *ver.* 19. he calls the Converts, *thoſe who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.*

Beſides what is to be found in other Parts of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles to juſtify the taking of theſe Words here, as apply'd nationally to the Gentiles, in Contra-diſtinction to the Children of *Iſrael*, that which St. *Paul* ſays, *ver.* 10, 11. makes it neceſſary to underſtand them ſo. *We*, ſays he, *when we were Enemies were reconciled to God*, and ſo *we* now *glory in him*, as our God. *We* here muſt unavoidably be ſpoken in the Name of the Gentiles, as is plain not only by the whole Tenor of this Section; but from this Paſſage of *glorying in God*, which he mentions as a Privilege now of the believing Gentiles, ſurpaſſing that of the Jews, whom he had taken notice of before, *Ch.* 2. 17. as being forward to glory in God as their peculiar Right, though with no great Advantage to themſelves. But the Gentiles who were reconciled now to God by Chriſt's Death, and taken into Covenant with God, as many as received the Goſpel, had a new and better Title to this Glorying than the Jews. Thoſe that now are reconciled, and glory in God as their God, he ſays were Enemies. The Jews who had the ſame corrupt Nature common to them with the reſt of Mankind, are no where that I know called ἐχθροὶ *Enemies*, or ἀσεβῆς *ungodly*, whilſt they publickly owned him for their God, and profeſſed to be his People. But the Heathens were deemed Enemies, for being Aliens to the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, and Strangers from the Covenants of Promiſe. There were never but two Kingdoms in the World, that of God, and that of the Devil; theſe were oppoſite, and therefore the Subjects of the latter could not but be in the State of *Enemies*, and fall under that Denomination. The Revolt from God was univerſal, and the Nations of the Earth had given themſelves up to Idolatry, when God called *Abraham*, and took him into Covenant with

TEXT.

10 For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his ſon: much more being reconciled, we ſhall be ſaved by his life.

11 And not only ſo, but we alſo joy in God, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom we have now received the atonement.

PARAPHRASE.

deliver'd from Condemnation (*r*) at the day of Judgment. For if when we were Enemies †, we were reconciled to God by the Death of his Son, much more being reconciled ſhall we be ſaved by his Life. And not only (*s*) do we glory in Tribulation, but alſo in God through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom now (*t*) we have received Reconciliation. 10. 11.

NOTES.

with himſelf as he did afterwards the whole Nation of the Iſraelites, whereby they were re-admitted into his Kingdom, came under his Protection, and were his People and Subjects, and no longer Enemies, whilſt all the reſt of the Nations remain'd in the State of Rebellion the profeſſed Subjects of other Gods, who were Uſurpers upon God's Right, and Enemies of this Kingdom. And indeed if the four Epithetes be not taken to be ſpoken here of the Gentile World in this Political and truly Evangelical Senſe, but in the ordinary Syſtematical Notion applied to all Mankind, as belonging univerſally to every Man perſonally, whether by Profeſſion Gentile, Jew or Chriſtian, before he be actually regenerated by a ſaving Faith, and an effectual thorough Converſion; the illative Particle *Wherefore* in the beginning of *ver.* 12. will hardly connect it and what follows to the foregoing part of this Chapter. But the eleven firſt Verſes muſt be taken for a Parentheſis, and then the *Therefore* in the beginning of this *5th* Chapter, which joyns it to the *4th* with a very clear Connexion, will be wholly inſignificant, and after all the Senſe of the *12th* Verſe, will but ill ſodder with the end of the *4th* Chapter, notwithſtanding the *Wherefore* which is taken to bring them in as an Inference. Whereas theſe eleven firſt Verſes being ſuppoſed to be ſpoken of the Gentiles, makes them not only of a-piece with St. *Paul's* Deſign in the foregoing and following Chapters, but the Thread of the whole Diſcourſe goes very ſmooth, and the Inferences (uſher'd in with *Therefore* in the *1ſt* Verſe, and with *Wherefore* in the *12th* Verſe) are very eaſie, clear and natural from the immediately preceding Verſes. That of the *1ſt* Verſe may be ſeen in what we have already ſaid, and that of the *12th* Verſe in ſhort ſtands thus; *We Gentiles have by Chriſt received the Reconciliation, which we cannot doubt to be intended for us as well as for the Jews, ſince Sin and Death enter'd into the World by* Adam, *the common Father of us all. And as by the Diſobedience of that one, Condemnation of Death came on all; ſo by the Obedience of one, Juſtification to Life came upon all.*

9 (*r*) What St. *Paul* here calls *Wrath*, he calls the *Wrath to come*, 1 Theſſ. 1. 10. and generally in the New Teſtament *Wrath* is put for the Puniſhment of the Wicked at the laſt Day.

11 (*s*) Οὐ μόνον δὲ, *And not only ſo*, I think no body can with the leaſt Attention read this Section without perceiving that theſe Words joyn on this Verſe to the *3d*. The Apoſtle in the *2d* Verſe ſays, *We the Gentiles who believe, glory in the hopes of an eternal ſplendid State of Bliſs.* In the *3d* Verſe he adds, ἀ μόνον δὲ, *And not only ſo*, but our Afflictions are to us Matter of Glorying, which he proves in the ſeven following Verſes, and then *ver.* 11. adds ἀ μόνον δὲ, *And not only ſo*; but we glory in God alſo as our God, being reconciled to him in Jeſus Chriſt. And thus he ſhews that the Convert Gentiles had whereof to glory as well as the Jews, and were not inferior to them, though they had not Circumciſion and the Law, wherein the Jews gloried ſo much, but with no ground in compariſon of what the Gentiles had to glory in, by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, now under the Goſpel.

(*t*) 'Tis true we Gentiles could not formerly glory in God as our God, that was the Privilege of the Jews, who alone of all the Nations owned him for their King and God, and were his People in Covenant with him. All the reſt of the Kingdoms of the Earth had taken other Lords, and given themſelves up to falſe Gods, to ſerve and worſhip them, and ſo were in a State of War with the true God, the God of *Iſrael*. But now we, being reconciled by Jeſus Chriſt, whom we have received, and own for our Lord, and thereby being return'd into his Kingdom, and to our ancient Allegiance, we can truly glory in God as our God, which the Jews cannot do, who have refuſed to receive Jeſus for their Lord, whom God hath appointed Lord over all things.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. V. 12——VII. 25.

CONTENTS.

THE Apoſtle here goes on with his Deſign of ſhewing that the Gentiles under the Goſpel have as good a Title to the Favour of God as the Jews, there being no other way for either Jew or Gentile to find Acceptance with God, but by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, in the foregoing Section he reckon'd up ſeveral Subjects of glorying which the Convert Gentiles had without the Law, and concludes them with this chief and principal matter of glorying, even God himſelf, whom, now that they were by Jeſus Chriſt their Lord reconciled to him, they could glory in as their God.

To give them a more full and ſatisfactory Comprehenſion of this, he leads them back to the Times before the giving of the Law, and the very Being of the Jewiſh Nation; and lays before them in ſhort the whole Scene of God's Oeconomy, and his Dealing with Mankind from the beginning, in reference to Life and Death.

1. He teaches them, that by *Adam*'s Lapſe all Men were brought into a State of Death, and by Chriſt's Death all are reſtor'd to Life. By Chriſt alſo as many as believe are inſtated in Eternal Life.

2. That the Law when it came laid the *Iſraelites* faſter under Death, by enlarging the Offence which had Death annexed to it. For by the Law every Tranſgreſſion that any one under the Law committed, had Death for its Puniſhment, notwithſtanding which by Chriſt thoſe under the Law who believe, receive Life.

3. That though the Gentiles who believe come not under the Rigor of the Law, yet the Covenant of Grace which they are under, requires that they ſhould not be Servants and Vaſſals to Sin, to obey it in the Luſts of it, but ſincerely endeavour after Righteouſneſs, the End whereof would be Everlaſting Life.

4. That the Jews alſo who receive the Goſpel, are deliver'd from the Law, not that the Law is Sin; but becauſe though the Law forbid the obeying of Sin as well as the Goſpel; yet not enabling them to reſiſt their ſinful Luſts, but making each Compliance with any ſinful Luſt deadly, it ſettles upon them the Dominion of Sin by Death, from which they are deliver'd by the Grace of God alone, which frees them from the Condemnation of the Law for every actual Tranſgreſſion, and requires no more but that they ſhould with the whole Bent of their Mind ſerve the Law of God, and not their carnal Luſts. In all which Caſes the Salvation of the Gentiles is wholly by Grace, without their being at all under the Law. And the Salvation of the Jews is wholly by Grace alſo, without any Aid or Help from the Law: From which alſo by Chriſt they are deliver'd.

Thus lies the Thread of St. *Paul*'s Argument, wherein we may ſee how he purſues his Deſign of ſatisfying the Gentile Converts at *Rome*, that they were not required to ſubmit to the Law of *Moſes*: and of fortifying them againſt the Jews, who troubled them about it.

For the more diſtinct and eaſie Apprehenſion of St. *Paul*'s diſcourſing on theſe Four Heads, I ſhall divide this Section into the Four following Numbers, taking them up as they lie in the Order of the Text.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. VI. N. 1.

CHAP. V. 12——19.

CONTENTS.

HERE he inſtructs them in the State of Mankind in general, before the Law, and before the Separation that was made thereby of the *Iſraelites* from all the other Nations of the Earth. And here he ſhews, that *Adam*, tranſgreſſing the Law which forbid him the eating of the Tree of Knowledge upon pain of Death, forfeited Immortality, and becoming thereby Mortal, all his Poſterity, deſcending from the Loins of a mortal Man, were mortal too, and all died, though none of them broke that Law but *Adam* himſelf: But by Chriſt they are all reſtored to Life again. And God juſtifying thoſe who believe in Chriſt, they are reſtored to their Primitive State of Righteouſneſs and Immortality; ſo that the Gentiles, being the Deſcendants of *Adam* as well as the Jews, ſtand as fair for all the Advantages that accrue to the Poſterity of *Adam* by Chriſt, as the Jews themſelves, it being all wholly and ſolely from Grace.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*
12 WHerefore as by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin; and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned.	WHerefore to give you a State of the whole Matter, from the beginning, you muſt know, that as by the Act of one Man *Adam*, the Father of us all, Sin entered into the World, and Death, which was the Puniſhment annexed to the Offence of eating the forbidden Fruit, enter'd by that Sin, for that all *Adam*'s Poſterity thereby became mortal (*u*). 'Tis true indeed, Sin was univerſally committed in the World by all Men, all the time before the poſitive Law of God delivered by *Moſes:* but 'tis as true (*w*) that there is no certain determined Puniſhment affixed to Sin without a poſitive
13 For until the law ſin was in the world, but ſin is not imputed when there is no law.	

NOTES.

12 (*u*) *Have ſinned*, I have render'd *became mortal*, following the Rule I think very neceſſary for the underſtanding St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, (*viz.*) the making him as much as is poſſible his own Interpreter, 1 *Cor.* 15. 22. cannot be denied to be parallel to this place. This and the following Verſes here being, as one may ſay, a Comment on that Verſe in the *Corinthians*, St. *Paul* treating here of the ſame Matter, but more at large. There he ſays, *As in* Adam *all die*, which Words cannot be taken literally, but thus, That in *Adam* all became mortal. The ſame he ſays here, but in other Words, putting, by a no very unuſual Metonymie, the Cauſe for the Effect, (*viz.*) the Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit for the Effect of it on *Adam*, *viz.* Mortality, and in him on all his Poſterity: A mortal Father infected now with Death, being able to produce no better than a mortal Race. Why St. *Paul* differs in his Phraſe here from that which we find he uſed to the *Corinthians*, and prefers here that which is harder and more figurative, may perhaps be eaſily accounted for, if we conſider his Stile and uſual way of Writing, wherein is ſhewn a great liking of the Beauty and Force of Antitheſis, as ſerving much to Illuſtration and Impreſſion. In the 15*th* of *Corinthians*, he is ſpeaking of Life reſtored by Jeſus Chriſt, and to illuſtrate and fix that in their Minds, the *Death* of Mankind beſt ſerved: Here to the *Romans* he is diſcourſing of *Righteouſneſs* reſtored to Men by Chriſt, and therefore here the term Sin is the moſt natural and propereſt to ſet that off. But that neither actual or imputed Sin is meant here, or *ver.* 19. where the ſame way of Expreſſion is uſed, he that has need of it may ſee proved in Dr. *Whitby* upon the place. If there can be any need of any other Proof, when it is evidently contrary to St. *Paul*'s Deſign here, which is to ſhew, that all Men from *Adam* to *Moſes*, died ſolely in conſequence of *Adams*'s Tranſgreſſion, ſee *ver.* 17.

13 (*w*) Οὐκ ἐλογεῖτο, *is not imputed*, ſo our Tranſlation, but poſſibly not exactly to the Senſe of the Apoſtle; Ἐλογᾶν ſignifies to *reckon*, but cannot be interpreted *reckon to*, which is the meaning of *impute*, without a Perſon aſſigned to whom it is imputed. And ſo we ſee

PARAPHRASE.

14. positive (x) Law declaring it. Nevertheleſs we ſee that in all that ſpace of time, which was before the poſitive Law of God by *Moſes*, Men from the beginning of the World died all as well as their Father *Adam*, though none of them but he alone had eaten of the forbidden Fruit (y), and thereby, as he had committed that Sin, to which Sin alone the Puniſhment of Death was annexed by the poſitive Sanction of God denounced to *Adam*, who was the Figure and Type of Chriſt who
15. was to come. But yet though he were the Type of Chriſt, yet the Gift or Benefit received by Chriſt, is not exactly conformed and confined to the Dimenſions of the Damage received by *Adam*'s Fall. For if by the Lapſe of one Man the multitude (z), *i. e.* all Men died (z) much more did the Favour of God, and the Free Gift by the Bounty or Good-will which is in Jeſus Chriſt, exceed to the multitude (z), *i. e.* to all Men. Further-

TEXT.

Nevertheleſs, death reigned from Adam to Moſes, even over them that had not ſinned after the ſimilitude of Adam's tranſgreſſion, who is the figure of him that was to come: 14

But not as the offence, ſo alſo is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jeſus Chriſt, hath abounded unto many. 15

NOTES.

when the word is uſed in that Senſe, the Dative Caſe of the Perſon is ſubjoyn'd. And therefore it is well tranſlated, *Philem.* 18. If he owes thee any thing, ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγει, *put it to my account*, reckon or impute it to me. Beſides St. *Paul* here tells us, the Sin here ſpoken of as not reckon'd, was in the World, and had actual Exiſtence during the time between *Adam* and *Moſes*, but the Sin which is ſuppoſed to be imputed, is *Adam*'s Sin, which he committed in Paradice, and was not in the World during the time from *Adam* till *Moſes*, and therefore ἐλλογεῖται cannot here ſignifie *imputed*. Sins in Sacred Scripture are called Debts, but nothing can be brought to accounts, as a Debt, till a Value be ſet upon it. Now Sins can no way be taxed, or a rate ſet upon them, but by the poſitive Declaration and Sanction of the Law-maker. Mankind, without the poſitive Law of God, knew by the Light of Nature, that they tranſgreſſed the Rule of their Nature, Reaſon, which dictated to them what they ought to do. But without a poſitive Declaration of God their Sovereign, they could not tell at what rate God tax'd their Treſpaſſes againſt this Rule; till he pronounced that Life ſhould be the Price of Sin, that could not be aſcertained, and conſequently Sin could not be brought to account: And therefore we ſee that where there was no poſitive Law affixing Death to Sin, Men did not look on Death as the Wages or Retribution for their Sin; they did not account that they paid their Lives as a Debt and Forfeit for their Tranſgreſſion. This is the more to be conſider'd, becauſe St. *Paul* in this Epiſtle treats of Sin, Puniſhment, and Forgiveneſs, by way of an Account, as it were, of Debtor and Creditor.

He will be farther confirmed in this Senſe of theſe words, who will be at the pains to compare *ch.* 4. 15. and 5. 13, 20. and 7. 8, 9, together. St. *Paul*, ch. 4. 15. ſays, *The Law worketh Wrath, i. e.* carrieth Puniſhment with it. *For where there is no Law, there is no Tranſgreſſion.* Whereby is not meant, that there is no Sin where there is no poſitive Law, (the contrary whereof he ſays in this Verſe, *viz. that Sin was in the World* all the time before *the Law*) but that there is no Tranſgreſſion with a Penalty annexed to it without a poſitive Law. And hence he tells the Romans, *ch.* 1. 32. that they knew not that thoſe things deſerved Death, [*vid.* Note, *ch.* 1. 32.] but it was by the poſitive Law of God only, that Men knew that Death was certainly annexed to Sin as its certain and unavoidable Puniſhment; and ſo St. *Paul* argues, *ch.* 7. 8, 9.

(x) Νόμε, *Law.* Whether St. *Paul* by νόμος here means *Law* in general, as for the moſt part he does where he omits the Article, or whether he means *the Law* of *Moſes* in particular, in which Senſe he commonly joyns the Article to νόμος, this is plain that St. *Paul*'s Notion of a Law, was conformable to that given by *Moſes*, and ſo he uſes the word νόμος, in Engliſh Law, for the poſitive Command of God, with a Sanction of a Penalty annexed to it, of which kind there never having been any one given to any People, but that by *Moſes* to the Children of *Iſrael*, till the Revelation of the Will of God by Jeſus Chriſt to all Mankind, which for ſeveral Reaſons is always called the Goſpel, in Contra-diſtinction to the Law of *Moſes*; when St. *Paul* ſpeaks of Law in general, it reduces it ſelf in Matter of Fact to the Law of *Moſes*.

14 (y) In this Verſe St. *Paul* proves that all Men became mortal by *Adam*'s eating the forbidden Fruit, and by that alone, becauſe no Man can incur a Penalty without the Sanction of a poſitive Law, declaring and eſtabliſhing that Penalty; but Death was annexed by no poſitive Law to any Sin, but the eating the forbidden Fruit; and therefore Mens dying before the Law of *Moſes*, was purely in Conſequence of *Adam*'s Sin, in eating the forbidden Fruit, and the poſitive Sanction of Death annexed to it, an evident Proof of Man's Mortality coming from thence.

15 (z) Οἱ πολλοὶ, and τῶν πολλῶν, I ſuppoſe may be underſtood to ſtand here for the *Multitude* or collective Body of Mankind. For the Apoſtle in expreſs words aſſures us, 1 *Cor.* 15. 22.

TEXT.

16 And not as it was by one that ſinned, ſo is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation; but the free gift is of many offences unto juſtification.

17 For if by one man's offence, death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteouſneſs, ſhall reign in life by one, Jeſus Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

Furthermore, neither is the Gift as was the Lapſe, by one Sin (*a*). For the Judgment or Sentence was for one (*a*) Offence to Condemnation: But the Gift of Favour reaches notwithſtanding many (*a*) Sins, to Juſtification of Life (*b*). For if by one Lapſe Death reigned by reaſon of one Offence, much more ſhall they who receiving the (*c*) Surpluſage of Favour, and of the Gift of Righteouſneſs, reign in Life by one, even Jeſus 16. 17.

NOTES.

15. 22. *That in* Adam *all died*, and *in Chriſt all are made alive:* And ſo here, *ver.* 18. *All Men* fell under the Condemnation of Death, and *all Men* were reſtored unto Juſtification of Life, which *all Men* in the very next words, *ver.* 19. are called οἱ πολλοὶ, the many. So that *the many*, in the former part of this Verſe, and *the many* at the end of it, comprehending all Mankind, muſt be equal. The Compariſon therefore, and the Inequality of the things compared, lies not here between the Numbers of thoſe that died, and the Numbers of thoſe that ſhall be reſtored to Life: But the Compariſon lies between the Perſons by whom this general Death, and this general Reſtoration to Life came, *Adam* the Type, and Jeſus Chriſt the Antitype; And it ſeems to lie in this, that *Adam*'s Lapſe came barely for the Satisfaction of his own Appetite and Deſire of Good to himſelf, but the Reſtoration was from the exuberant Bounty and Good-will of Chriſt towards Men, who at the Coſt of his own painful Death, purchaſed Life for them. The want of taking the Compariſon here right, and the placing it amiſs in a greater Number reſtored to Life by Jeſus Chriſt, than thoſe brought into Death by *Adam*'s Sin, hath led ſome Men ſo far out of the way, as to alledge, that Men in the Deluge died for their own Sins. 'Tis true they did ſo, and ſo did the Men of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the Philiſtines cut off by the Iſraelites, and multitudes of others: But 'tis as true, that by their own Sins they were not made mortal: They were ſo before by their Father *Adam*'s eating the forbidden Fruit; ſo that what they paid for their own Sins was not Immortality, which they had not, but a few Years of their own finite Lives, which having been let alone, would every one of them, in a ſhort time have come to an end. It cannot be denied therefore but that it is as true of theſe as any of the reſt of Mankind before *Moſes*, that they died ſolely in *Adam*, as St. *Paul* has proved in the three preceding Verſes. And 'tis as true of them, as of any of the reſt of Mankind in general, that they died in *Adam*. For this St. *Paul* expreſly aſſerts of *all*, that in *Adam all* died, 1 *Cor.* 15. 22. and in this very Chapter, *ver.* 18. in other words. It is then a flat Contradiction to St. *Paul* to ſay, that thoſe whom the Flood ſwept away did not die in *Adam*.

16 (*a*) Δι' ἑνὸς ἁμαρτήματος, by *one* Sin, ſo the Alexandrine Copy reads it more conformable to the Apoſtle's Senſe. For if ἑνὸς *one* in this Verſe be to be taken for the Perſon of *Adam*, and not for his *one* Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit, there will be nothing to anſwer πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων, *many Offences* here, and ſo the Compariſon St. *Paul* is upon will be loſt, whereas it is plain that in this Verſe he ſhews another Diſproportion in the caſe, wherein *Adam* the Type comes ſhort of Chriſt the Antitype; and that is, that 'twas but for one only Tranſgreſſion that Death came upon all Men: But Chriſt reſtores Life unto all notwithſtanding multitudes of Sins. Theſe two Exceſſes both of the good Will of the Donor, and of the Greatneſs of the Gift, are both reckon'd up together in the following Verſe, and are there plainly expreſſed in περισσεία τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς; The Exceſs of the Favour in the greater Good-will and Coſt of the Donor. And the Inequality of the Gift it ſelf which exceeds, as *many* exceeds *one*; or the Deliverance from the Guilt of *many* Sins, does exceed the Deliverance from the Guilt of *one*.

(*b*) Ζωῆς, *Of Life*, is found in the Alexandrine Copy. And he that will read *ver.* 18. will ſcarce incline to the leaving of it out here.

17 (*c*) *Surpluſage*, ſo περισσεία ſignifies. The Surpluſage of χάριτος *Favour*, was the painful Death of Chriſt, whereas the Fall coſt *Adam* no more pains but eating the Fruit. The Surpluſage of δωρεᾶς, the Gift or Benefit received, was Juſtification to Life from a multitude of Sin, whereas the loſs of Life came upon all Men only for one Sin; but all Men, how guilty ſoever of many Sins, are reſtored to Life.

PARAPHRASE.

18. Chriſt. Therefore (*d*) as by one (*e*) Offence (*viz.*) *Adam*'s eating the forbidden Fruit, all Men fell under the Condemnation of Death; ſo by one Act of Righteouſneſs, *viz.* Chriſt's Obedience to Death upon the
19. Croſs (*f*), all Men are reſtored to Life (*g*). For as by one Man's Diſobedience many were brought into a State of Mortality, which is the State of Sinners (*h*); ſo by the Obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous, *i. e.* be reſtored to Life again, as if they were not Sinners.

TEXT.

Therefore as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even ſo by the righteouſneſs of one, the free gift came upon all men unto juſtification of life. 18

For as by one man's diſobedience many were made ſinners: ſo by the obedience of one ſhall many be made righteous. 19

NOTES.

18 (*d*) *Therefore* here is not uſed as an Illative, introducing an Inference from the immediately preceding Verſes, but is the ſame *therefore* which began, *ver.* 12. repeated here again with part of the Inference that was there begun and left incompleat, the Continuation of it being interrupted by the Intervention of the Proofs of the firſt part of it. The Particle *As* immediately following *therefore*, ver. 12. is a convincing Proof of this, having there or in the following Verſes nothing to anſwer it, and ſo leaves the Senſe imperfect and ſuſpended, till you come to this Verſe where the ſame Reaſoning is taken again, and the ſame *Protaſis* or firſt Part of the Compariſon repeated: and then the *Apodeſis* or latter part is added to it, and the whole Sentence made complete: Which to take right, one muſt read thus, *ver.* 12. *Therefore as by one Man Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and ſo Death paſſed upon all Men*, &c. *ver.* 18. I ſay, *Therefore as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation, even ſo by the Righteouſneſs of one, the free Gift came upon all Men to Juſtification of Life.* A like Interruption of what he began to ſay, may be ſeen, 2 *Cor.* 12. 14. and the ſame Diſcourſe after the Interpoſition of eight Verſes, began again, *ch.* 13. 1. not to mention others that I think may be found in St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles.

(*e*) That ἑνὸς παραπτώματος ought to be render'd *one Offence*; and not *the Offence of one, Man*; and ſo ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, *one Act of Righteouſneſs*, and not *the Righteouſneſs of one*, is reaſonable to think: Becauſe in the next Verſe St. *Paul* compares one Man to one Man, and therefore 'tis fit to underſtand him here (the Conſtruction alſo favouring it) of one Fact compared with one Fact, unleſs we will make him here (where he ſeems to ſtudy Conciſeneſs) guilty of a Tautology. But taken as I think they ſhould be underſtood, one may ſee a Harmony, Beauty and Fulneſs in this Diſcourſe, which at firſt Sight ſeems ſomewhat obſcure and perplexed. For thus in theſe two Verſes, 18, 19. he ſhews the Correſpondence of *Adam* the Type with Chriſt the Antitype, as we may ſee, *ver.* 14. he deſigned, as he had ſhewn the Diſparity between them, *ver.* 15, 16, 17.

(*f*) That this is the meaning of δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, is plain by the following Verſe. St. *Paul* every one may obſerve to be a Lover of Antitheſis. In this Verſe it is ἑνὸς παραπτώματος, *one perverſe Act of Tranſgreſſion*, and ἑνὸς δικαιώματος, *one right Act of Submiſſion*: In the next Verſe it is παρακοὴ *Diſobedience*, and ὑπακοὴ *Obedience*, the ſame thing being meant in both Verſes. And that this δικαίωμα, this Act of *Obedience*, whereby he procured Life to all Mankind, was his Death upon the Croſs, I think no body queſtions, ſee *v.* 7—9. *Heb.* 2. 10, 14. *Phil.* 2. 8. And that δικαιώματα, when apply'd to Men, ſignifies Actions conformable to the Will of God, ſee *Rev.* 19. 8.

(*g*) By δικαίωσις ζωῆς, *Juſtification of Life*, which are the words of the Text, is not meant that Righteouſneſs by Faith which is to eternal Life. For eternal Life is no where in Sacred Scripture mentioned as the Portion of all Men, but only of the Saints. But the *Juſtification of Life* here ſpoken of, is what all Men partake in by the Benefit of Chriſt's Death, by which they are juſtified from all that was brought upon them by *Adam*'s Sin, *i. e.* they are diſcharged from Death, the Conſequence of *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion; and reſtored to Life, to ſtand or fall by that Plea of Righteouſneſs, which they can make, either of their own by Works, or of the Righteouſneſs of God by Faith.

19 (*h*) *Sinners.* Here St. *Paul* uſes the ſame Metonymie as above, *ver.* 12. putting *Sinners* for *mortal*, whereby the Antitheſis to Righteous is the more lively.

SECT.

SECT. VI. N. 2.

CHAP. V. 20, 21.

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ST. *Paul*, purſuing his Deſign in this Epiſtle of ſatisfying the Gentiles that there was no need of their ſubmitting to the Law in order to their partaking of the Benefits of the Goſpel, having in the foregoing eight Verſes taught them, that *Adam*'s one Sin had brought Death upon them all, from which they were all reſtored by Chriſt's Death, with Addition of eternal Bliſs and Glory to all thoſe who believe in him; all which being the Effect of God's Free Grace and Favour to thoſe who were never under the Law, excludes the Law from having any part in it, and ſo fully makes out the Title of the Gentiles to God's Favour through Jeſus Chriſt, under the Goſpel, without the Intervention of the Law. Here, for the farther Satisfaction of the Gentile Converts, he ſhews them in theſe two Verſes, That the Nation of the Hebrews who had the Law, were not deliver'd from the State of Death by it, but rather plunged deeper under it by the Law, and ſo ſtood more in need of Favour, and indeed had a greater abundance of Grace afforded them for their Recovery to Life by Jeſus Chriſt, than the Gentiles themſelves. Thus the Jews themſelves not being ſaved by the Law, but by an Exceſs of Grace, this is a farther Proof of the Point St. *Paul* was upon, (*viz.*) that the Gentiles had no need of the Law for the obtaining of Life under the Goſpel.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*
20 MOreover, the law enter'd, that the offence might abound: but where ſin abounded,	THIS was the State of all (*i*) Mankind, before the Law they all died for the one παραπτωμα, *Lapſe* or *Offence* of one Man, which was the only Irregularity that had Death annexed to it: But the Law enter'd and took place over a ſmall part of Mankind, (*k*), that this παραπτωμα, *Lapſe* or *Offence*, to which Death was annexed, might abound, *i. e.* the multiplied Tranſgreſſions 20.

NOTES.

20 (*i*) There can be nothing plainer than that St. *Paul* here in theſe two Verſes makes a Compariſon between the State of the Jews, and the State of the Gentiles, as it ſtands deſcribed in the eight preceding Verſes, to ſhew wherein they differ'd or agreed, ſo far as was neceſſary to his preſent purpoſe of ſatisfying the Convert Romans, that in reference to their Intereſt in the Goſpel, the Jews had no Advantage over them by the Law. With what reference to thoſe eight Verſes St. *Paul* writ theſe two, appears by the very Choice of his Words. He tells them, *ver.* 12. that Death by Sin εἰσῆλθε *enter'd* into the World, and here he tells them that the Law (for Sin and Death were enter'd already) παρεισῆλθε, *enter'd a little*, a word that, ſet in Oppoſition to εἰσῆλθε, gives a diſtinguiſhing Idea of the Extent of the Law, ſuch as really it was, little and narrow, as was the People of *Iſrael* (whom alone it reached) in reſpect of all the other Nations of the Earth, with whom it had nothing to do. For the Law of *Moſes* was given to *Iſrael* alone, and not to all Mankind. The Vulgate therefore tranſlates this word right, *ſubintravit*, it *enter'd, but not far*, i. e. the Death which followed upon the account of the Moſaical Law reigned over but a ſmall part of Mankind, *viz.* the Children of *Iſrael*, who alone were under that Law, whereas by *Adam*'s Tranſgreſſion of the poſitive Law given in Paradice, Death paſſed upon all Men.

(*k*) Ἵνα *that*. Some would have this ſignify barely the Event, and not the Intention of the Law-giver, and ſo underſtand by theſe words, *that the Offence might abound*, the Increaſe of Sin, or the Aggravations of it, as a Conſequence of the Law. But it is to be remember'd, that St. *Paul* here ſets forth the Difference which God intended to put, by the Law which he gave them, between the Children of *Iſrael* and the Gentile World, in reſpect of Life and Death, Life and Death being the Subject St. *Paul* was upon. And therefore to mention barely accidental Conſequences of the Law that made the Difference, had come ſhort of St. *Paul*'s Purpoſe.

All Mankind was in an irrecoverable State of Death by *Adam*'s Lapſe. 'Twas plainly the Intention

PARAPHRASE.

greſſions of many Men, *viz.* all that were under the Law of *Moſes*, might have Death annexed to them by the poſitive Sanction of that Law, whereby the *Offence* (*l*) to which Death was annexed did abound, *i. e.* Sins that had Death for their Puniſhment were increaſed. But by the Goodneſs of God where *Sin* (*m*) with Death annexed to it did abound, Grace did much more abound (*n*). That as Sin had reigned or ſhew'd its 21. Maſtery in the Death of the *Iſraelites*, who were under the Law; ſo Grace in its turn might reign, or ſhew its Maſtery, by juſtifying them from all thoſe many Sins which they had committed, each whereof by the Law brought Death with it, and ſo beſtowing on them the Righteouſneſs of Faith, inſtate them in eternal Life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

TEXT.

grace did much more abound:

That as ſin hath reigned unto death, even ſo might grace reign through righteouſneſs unto eternal life by Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. 21

NOTES.

Intention of God to remove the *Iſraelites* out of this State by the Law: and ſo he ſays himſelf, that he *gave them Statutes and Judgments, which if a Man do, he ſhall live in them*, *Lev.* 18. 5. And ſo St. *Paul* tells us here, *ch.* 7. 10. that *the Law was ordained for Life.* Whence it neceſſarily follows, that if Life were intended them for their Obedience, Death was intended them for their Diſobedience: And accordingly *Moſes* tells them, *Deut.* 30. 19. that he *had ſet before them Life and Death.* Thus by the Law the Children of *Iſrael* were put into a new State: And by the Covenant God made with them, their remaining under Death, or their Recovery of Life, was to be the Conſequence not of what another had done, but of what they themſelves did. They were thenceforth put to ſtand or fall by their own Actions, and the Death they ſuffer'd was for their Tranſgreſſions. Every Offence they committed againſt the Law, did by this Covenant bind Death upon them. 'Tis not eaſie to conceive that God ſhould give them a Law, to the end Sin and Guilt ſhould abound amongſt them, but yet he might and did give them a Law that the Offence which had Death annexed ſhould abound, *i. e.* that Death, which before was the declared Penalty of but one Offence, ſhould to the Jews be made the Penalty of every Breach by the Sanction of this new Law, which was not a Hardſhip, but a Privilege to them. For in their former State, common to them with the reſt of Mankind, Death was unavoidable to them. But by the Law they had a Trial for Life: Accordingly our Saviour to the young Man, who asked what he ſhould do to obtain eternal Life, anſwers, *Keep the Commandments.* The Law increaſing *the Offence* in this Senſe had alſo another Benefit, *viz.* That the Jews perceiving they incurr'd Death by the Law, which was ordained for Life, might thereby, as by a School-maſter, be led to Chriſt, to ſeek Life by him. This St. *Paul* takes notice of, *Gal.* 3. 24.

(*l*) Παράπτωμα is another word, ſhewing St. *Paul*'s having an eye in what he ſays here, to what he ſaid in the foregoing Verſes. Our Bibles tranſlate it *Offence*, it properly ſignifies *Fall*, and is uſed in the foregoing Verſes, for that Tranſgreſſion which by the poſitive Law of God had Death annexed to it, and in that Senſe the Apoſtle continues to uſe it here alſo. There was but one ſuch Sin before the Law given by *Moſes*, *viz. Adam*'s eating the forbidden Fruit. But the poſitive Law of God given to the *Iſraelites*, made all their Sins ſuch, by annexing the Penalty of Death to each Tranſgreſſion, and thus *the Offence abounded*, or was increaſed by the Law.

(*m*) *Sin.* That by *Sin* St. *Paul* means here ſuch Failure, as by the Sanction of a poſitive Law had Death annexed to it, the beginning of the next Verſe ſhews, where it is declared to be ſuch Sin as *reigned* in or *by Death*, which all Sin doth not, all Sin is not taxed at that rate, as appears by *ver.* 13. ſee the Note. The Article joyn'd here both to παράπτωμα and ἁμαρτία, for it is τὸ παράπτωμα, and ἡ ἁμαρτία, *the Offence* and *the Sin*, limiting the general Signification of thoſe Words to ſome particular ſort, ſeems to point out this Senſe. And that this is not a meer groundleſs Criticiſm, may appear from *ver.* 12. and 13. where St. *Paul* uſes ἁμαρτία in theſe two different Senſes, with the Diſtinction of the Article and no Article.

(*n*) *Grace might much more abound.* The reſt of Mankind were in a State of Death only for one Sin of one Man. This the Apoſtle is expreſs in, not only in the foregoing Verſes, but elſewhere. But thoſe who were under the Law (which made each Tranſgreſſion they were guilty of mortal) were under the Condemnation of Death, not only for that one Sin of another; but alſo for every one of their own Sins. Now to make any one righteous to Life from many, and thoſe his own Sins, beſides that one that lay on him before, is greater Grace, than to beſtow on him Juſtification to Life only from one Sin, and that of another Man. To forgive the Penalty of many Sins, is a greater Grace than to remit the Penalty of one.

SECT.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

SECT. VI. N. 3.

CHAP. VI. 1——23.

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ST. *Paul* having in the foregoing Chapter very much magnified Free Grace, by ſhewing that all Men, having loſt their Lives by *Adam*'s Sin, were by Grace through Chriſt reſtored to Life again; and alſo as many of them as believed in Chriſt, were re-eſtabliſhed in Immortality by Grace; and that even the Jews, who by their own Treſpaſſes againſt the Law had forfeited their Lives over and over again, were alſo by Grace reſtored to Life, Grace ſuperabounding where Sin abounded, he here obviates a wrong Inference, which might be apt to miſlead the Convert Gentiles, *viz. Therefore let us continue in Sin, that Grace may abound.* The contrary whereof he ſhews, their very taking upon them the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity, required of them by the very initiating Ceremony of Baptiſm, wherein they were typically buried with Chriſt, to teach them that they, as he did, ought to die to Sin; and as he roſe to live to God, they ſhould riſe to a new Life of Obedience to God, and be no more Slaves to Sin in an Obedience and Reſignation of themſelves to its Commands. For if their Obedience were to Sin, they were Vaſſals of Sin, and would certainly receive the Wages of that Maſter, which was nothing but Death: But if they obeyed Righteouſneſs, *i. e.* ſincerely endeavoured after Righteouſneſs, though they did not attain it, Sin ſhould not have Dominion over them by Death, *i. e.* ſhould not bring Death upon them. Becauſe they were not under the Law, which condemn'd them to Death for every Tranſgreſſion; but under Grace, which by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt juſtified them to eternal Life from their many Tranſgreſſions. And thus he ſhews the Gentiles not only the no Neceſſity, but the Advantage of their not being under the Law.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*	
1 WHat ſhall we ſay then? ſhall we continue in ſin, that grace may be abound? 2 God forbid: how ſhall we that are dead to ſin, live any longer therein?	WHAT ſhall we ſay then? Shall we continue in Sin that Grace may abound? God forbid: How can it be that we (*o*), who by our imbracing Chriſtianity have renounced our former ſinful Courſes, and have profeſſed a Death to Sin, ſhould live any longer	1. 2.

NOTES.

2 (*o*) *We, i. e.* I and all Converts to Chriſtianity. St. *Paul* in this Chapter ſhews it to be the Profeſſion and Obligation of all Chriſtians, even by their Baptiſm, and the typical Signification of it, to be dead to Sin, and alive to God, *i. e.* as he explains it, not to be any longer Vaſſals to Sin in obeying our Luſts, but to be Servants to God in a ſincere Purpoſe and Endeavour of obeying him. For whether under the Law or under Grace, whoever is a Vaſſal to Sin, *i. e.* indulges himſelf in a Compliance with his ſinful Luſts, will receive the Wages which Sin pays, *i. e.* Death. This he ſtrongly repreſents here to the Gentile Converts of *Rome* (for 'tis to them he ſpeaks in this Chapter) that they might not miſtake the State they were in, by being not under the Law, but under Grace, of which, and the Freedom and Largeneſs of it, he had ſpoken ſo much, and ſo highly in the foregoing Chapter, to let them ſee, that to be under Grace, was not a State of Licence, but of exact Obedience in the Intention and Endeavour of every one under Grace, though in the Performance they came ſhort of it. This ſtrict Obedience, to the utmoſt reach of every one's Aim and Endeavours, he urges as neceſſary, becauſe Obedience to Sin unavoidably produces Death, and he urges as reaſonable for this very Reaſon, that they were not under the Law, but under Grace. For as much as all the Endeavours after Righteouſneſs of thoſe who were under the Law were loſt Labour, ſince any one Slip forfeited Life: But the ſincere Endeavours after Righteouſneſs of thoſe who were under Grace, were ſure to ſucceed to the attaining the Gift of eternal Life.

in

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

3. in it? For this I hope you are not ignorant of, that we Chriſtians, who by Baptiſm were admitted into the Kingdom and Church of Chriſt, were baptized(*p*)into
4. a Similitude of his Death; We did own ſome kind of Death by being buried underWater,which being buried with him, *i. e.* in Conformity to his Burial,as a Confeſſion of our being dead, was to ſignifie, that as Chriſt was raiſed up from the Dead into a glorious Life with his Father, even ſo we, being raiſed from our typical Death and Burial in Baptiſm, ſhould lead a new ſort of Life wholly different from our former in ſome Approaches towards that heavenly Life that Chriſt is riſen
5. to. For if we have been ingrafted into him in the Similitude of his Death, we ſhall be alſo in a Conformity to the Life which he is enter'd into by his Reſurre-
6. ction. Knowing this, that we are to live ſo, as if our Old Man, our wicked and corrupt fleſhly ſelf (*q*) which we were before, were crucified with him, that the Prevalency of our carnal ſinful Propenſities, which are from our Bodies, might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve Sin (*r*) as Vaſſals to it. For he
7. that is dead is ſet free from the Vaſſalage (*s*) of Sin,
8. as a Slave is from the Vaſſalage of his Maſter. Now if we underſtand by our being buried in Baptiſm, that we died with Chriſt, we cannot but think and believe, that we ſhould live a Life conformable to his;
9. knowing that Chriſt,being raiſed from the dead,returns no more to a mortal Life, Death hath no more Domi-

TEXT.

Know ye not that ſo 3
many of us as were baptized into Jeſus Chriſt, were baptized into his death?

Therefore we are buri- 4
ed with him by baptiſm into death; that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we alſo ſhould walk in newneſs of Life.

For if we have been 5
planted together in the likeneſs of his death: we ſhall be alſo in the likeneſs of his reſurrection:

Knowing this, that our 6
old man is crucified with him, that the body of ſin might be deſtroyed, that henceforth we ſhould not ſerve ſin.

For he that is dead, is 7
freed from ſin.

Now if we be dead 8
with Chriſt, we believe that we ſhall alſo live with him:

Knowing that Chriſt 9
being raiſed from thedead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.

NOTES.

3 (*p*) Εἰς in the Helleniſtick Greek ſometimes ſignifies *into*, and ſo our Tranſlation renders it, 2 *Pet.* 2. 3. And if it be not ſo taken here, the Force of St. *Paul*'s Argument is loſt, which is to ſhew *into* what State of Life we ought to be raiſed out of Baptiſm, in Similitude and Conformity to that State of Life Chriſt was raiſed into from the Grave.

6 (*q*) See *Gal.* 5. 24. *Eph.* 4. 22. *Col.* 2. 11. 1 *Pet.* 4. 1.

(*r*) It will conduce much to the underſtanding of St. *Paul* in this and the two following Chapters, if it be minded that theſe Phraſes, to *ſerve Sin*, to be *Servants of Sin*, *Sin reign in our mortal Bodies*, to *obey Sin in the Luſts of our Bodies*, to *yield our Members Inſtruments of Unrighteouſneſs unto Sin*, or *Servants of Uncleanneſs, and to Iniquity unto Iniquity*, to *be free from Righteouſneſs*, to *walk*, *live*, *or to be after the Fleſh*, to be *carnally minded*, all ſignifie one and the ſame thing, *viz.* the giving our ſelves up to the Conduct of our ſinful, carnal Appetites, to allow any of them the Command over us, and the Conduct and Prevalency in determining us. On the contrary, that *walking after the Spirit*, or *in newneſs of Life*, *the Crucifixion of the Old Man*, *the Deſtruction of the Body of Sin*, *the Deliverance from the Body of Death*, to be *freed from Sin*, to be *dead to Sin*, *alive unto God*, to *yield your ſelves unto God*, *as thoſe who are alive from the dead*, *yield your Members Servants of Righteouſneſs unto Holineſs*, or *Inſtruments of Righteouſneſs unto God*, to be *Servants of Obedience unto Righteouſneſs*, *made free from Sin*, *Servants of Righteouſneſs*, to be *after the Spirit*, to be *ſpiritually minded*, to *mortifie the Deeds of the Body*, do all ſignifie a conſtant and ſteady Purpoſe, and ſincere Endeavour to obey the Law and Will of God in every thing, theſe ſeveral Expreſſions, being uſed in ſeveral places, as beſt ſerves the Occaſion, and illuſtrates the Senſe.

7 (*s*) The Tenor of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here ſhews this to be the Senſe of this Verſe; and to be aſſured that it is ſo, we need go no farther than *ver.* 11, 12, 13. He makes it his Buſineſs in this Chapter, not to tell them what they certainly and unchangeably are, but to exhort them to be what they ought and are engaged to be by becoming Chriſtians, *viz.* that they ought to emancipate themſelves from the Vaſſalage of Sin, not that they were ſo emancipated without any danger of Return, for then he could not have ſaid what he does, *ver.* 1. 12, 13. which ſuppoſes it in their Power to continue in their Obedience to Sin, or return to that Vaſſalage if they would.

nion

TEXT.

10 For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.

11 Likewise reckon ye also your selves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

12 Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.

13 Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield your selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead; and your Members as instruments of righteousness unto God.

14 For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under Grace.

PARAPHRASE.

nion over him, he is no more subject to Death. For in that he died, he died unto Sin, *i. e.* upon the account of Sin once (*t*) for all: But his Life now after his Resurrection, is a Life wholly appropriated to God, with which Sin or Death shall never have any more to do, or come in reach of. In like manner do you also make your Reckoning, account your selves dead to Sin (*u*), freed from that Master; so as not to suffer your selves any more to be commanded or imployed by it, as if it were still your Master; but alive to God, *i. e.* that it is your Business now to live wholly for his Service, and to his Glory (*w*), through Jesus Christ our Lord. Permit not therefore Sin to reign over you, by (*x*) your mortal Bodies, which you will do if you obey your carnal Lusts: Neither deliver up your Members (*y*) to Sin to be imploy'd by Sin, as Instruments of Iniquity, but deliver up your selves unto God, as those who have got to a new Life from among the Dead (*z*), and choosing him for your Lord and Master, yield your Members to him, as Instruments of Righteousness. For if you do so, Sin shall not have Dominion over you (*a*), you shall not be as its Slaves in its Power, to be by it deliver'd over to Death. (*b*) For you are not under the Law in the Legal State,

10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

NOTES.

10 (*t*) See *Heb.* 9. 26 ——— 28. 1 *Pet.* 4. 1, 2.

11 (*u*) *Sin* is here spoken of as a Person, a Prosopopœia made use of all through this and the following Chapter, which must be minded if we will understand them right. The like Exhortation upon the same ground, see 1 *Pet.* 4. 1 ——— 3.

(*w*) See *Gal.* 2. 19. 2 *Cor.* 5. 15. *Rom.* 7. 4. The Force of St. *Paul*'s Argument here seems to be this; In your Baptism you are ingaged into a Likeness of Christ's Death and Resurrection. He once died to Sin, so do you count your selves dead to Sin. He rose to Life, wherein he lives wholly to God, so must your new Life, after your Resurrection from your typical Burial in the Water, be under the Vassalage of Sin no more, but you must live entirely to the Service of God, to whom you are devoted in Obedience to his Will in all things.

12 (*x*) *In your mortal Bodies*, ἐν in the Apostle's Writings often signifies *by*. And here, as also in the following Chapters, *ver.* 18, and 24. and elsewhere, placing the Root of Sin in the Body, his Sense seems to be, *Let not Sin reign over you by the Lusts of your mortal Bodies.*

13 (*y*) Sinful Lusts, at least those to which the Gentiles were most eminently enslaved, seem so much placed in the Body and the Members, that they are called the Members, *Col.* 3. 5.

(*z*) Ἐκ νεκρῶν, *From among the dead.* The Gentile World were dead in Sins, *Eph.* 2. 1. 5. *Col.* 2. 13. those who were converted to the Gospel were raised to Life from among those dead.

14 (*a*) *Sin shall not have Dominion over you*, i. e. Sin shall not be your absolute Master to dispose of your Members and Faculties in its Drudgery and Service as it pleases, you shall not be under its Controul in absolute Subjection to it, but your own Men that are alive, and at your own Disposal, unless by your own Free Choice you inthral your selves to it, and by a voluntary Obedience give it the Command over you, and are willing to have it your Master. It must be remember'd, that St. *Paul* here, and in the following Chapter, personates Sin as striving with Men for Mastery to destroy them.

(*b*) *For.* The Force of St. *Paul*'s Reasoning here stands thus: You are obliged by your taking on you the Profession of the Gospel, not to be any longer Slaves and Vassals to Sin, nor to be under the Sway of your carnal Lust, but to yield your selves up to God to be his Servants in a constant and sincere Purpose and Endeavour of obeying him in all things; this if you do, Sin shall not be able to procure you Death, for you Gentiles are not under the Law which condemns to Death for every the least Transgression, though it be but a Slip of Infirmity; but by your Baptism are enter'd into the Covenant of Grace, and being under Grace, God will accept of your sincere Endeavours, in the place of exact Obedience; and give you eternal Life through Jesus Christ; but if you by a willing Obedience to your Lusts make your selves Vassals to Sin, Sin, as the Lord and Master to whom you belong, will pay you with Death, the only Wages that Sin pays.

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PARAPHRASE.

but you are under Grace, in the Goſpel-State of the
15. Covenant of Grace. What then, ſhall we ſin becauſe
we are not under the Law, but under the Covenant of
16. Grace (*c*)? God forbid. Know ye not that to whom
you ſubject your ſelves (*d*) as Vaſſals, to be at his Beck,
his Vaſſals you are whom you thus obey, whether it
be of Sin, which Vaſſalage ends in Death; or of Chriſt
in obeying the Goſpel, to the obtaining of Righteouſ-
17. neſs and Life. But God be thanked, that you who
were the Vaſſals of Sin have ſincerely, and from your
Heart, obeyed ſo as to receive the Form, or be caſt
into the Mould of that Doctrine under whoſe Direction
or Regulation (*e*) you were put, that you might con-
18. form your ſelves to it. Being therefore ſet free from
the Vaſſalage of Sin, you became the Servants or Vaſſals
19. of Righteouſneſs (*f*). (I make uſe of this Metaphor

TEXT.

What then? ſhall we 15
ſin, becauſe we are not
under the law, but under
grace? God forbid.

Know ye not, that to 16
whom ye yield your ſelves
ſervants to obey, his ſer-
vants ye are to whom ye
obey; whether of ſin unto
death, or of obedience unto
righteouſneſs?

But God be thanked, 17
that ye were the ſervants
of ſin; but ye have obey-
ed from the heart that
form of Doctrine which
was delivered you.

Being then made free 18
from ſin, ye became the ſer-
vants of Righteouſneſs.

I ſpeak after the man- 19
ner of men, becauſe of the
infirmity of your fleſh,

NOTES.

15 (*c*) What is meant by being *under Grace*, is eaſily underſtood by the undoubted and obvious meaning of the Parallel Phraſe *under the Law*. They, 'tis unqueſtion'd, were *under the Law*, who, having by Circumciſion the Ceremony of Admittance been received into the Commonwealth of the Jews, owned the God of the Jews for their God and King, profeſſing Subjection to the Law he gave by *Moſes*. And ſo in like manner, he is *under Grace*, who, having by Baptiſm the Ceremony of Admittance been received into the Kingdom of Chriſt, or the Society of Chriſtians, called by a peculiar Name the Chriſtian Church, owns Jeſus of *Nazareth* to be the Meſſias his King, profeſſing Subjection to his Law deliver'd in the Goſpel. By which it is plain, that being under Grace is ſpoken here, as being under the Law is, in a political and national Senſe. For whoever was circumciſed, and owned God for his King, and the Authority of his Law, ceaſed not to be a Jew or Member of that Society by every or any Tranſgreſſion of the Precepts of that Law, ſo long as he own'd God for his Lord, and his Subjection to that Law; ſo likewiſe he who by Baptiſm is incorporated into the Kingdom of Chriſt, and owns him for his Sovereign, and himſelf under the Law and Rule of the Goſpel, ceaſes not to be a Chriſtian, though he offend againſt the Precepts of the Goſpel, till he denies Chriſt to be his King and Lord, and renounces his Subjection to his Law in the Goſpel. But God, in taking a People to himſelf to be his, not doing it barely as a temporal Prince, or Head of a Politique Society in this World, but in order to his having as many, as in obeying him perform the Conditions neceſſary, his Subjects for ever in the State of Immortality reſtored to them in another World, has ſince the Fall erected two Kingdoms in this World, the one of the Jews immediately under himſelf, another of Chriſtians under his Son Jeſus Chriſt, for that farther and more glorious End of attaining eternal Life, which Prerogative and Privilege of eternal Life does not belong to the Society in general, nor is the Benefit granted nationally to the whole Body of the People of either of theſe Kingdoms of God, but perſonally to ſuch of them who perform the Conditions required in the Terms of each Covenant. To thoſe who are Jews, or under the Law, the Terms are perfect and complete Obedience to every Tittle of the Law, *Do this and live*: To thoſe who are Chriſtians, or under Grace, the Terms are ſincere Endeavours after perfect Obedience, though not attaining it, as is manifeſt in the remaining part of this Chapter, where St. *Paul* acquaints thoſe who ask whether *they ſhall ſin, becauſe they are not under the Law, but under Grace*; that though they are *under Grace*, yet they who obey Sin, are the Vaſſals of Sin; and thoſe who are the Vaſſals of Sin ſhall receive Death, the Wages of Sin.

16 (*d*) Ὑπακοὴν *Obedience.* That which he calls here ſimply ὑπακοὴ *Obedience*, he in other places calls ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, *Obedience of Faith*, and ὑπακοὴ τῦ Χριστῦ, *Obedience of Chriſt*, meaning a Reception of the Goſpel of Chriſt.

17 (*e*) Εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε, *unto which you were delivered*; No harſh, but an elegant Expreſſion, if we obſerve that St. *Paul* here ſpeaks of Sin and the Goſpel, as of two Maſters, and that thoſe he writes to were taken out of the hands of the one, and delivered over to the other, which they having from their Hearts obeyed, were no longer the Slaves of Sin, he whom they obeyed being by the Rule of the foregoing Verſe truly their Maſter.

18 (*f*) Ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, *Ye became the Slaves of Righteouſneſs.* This will ſeem an harſh Expreſſion, unleſs we remember that St. *Paul*, going on ſtill with the Metaphor of Maſter and Servant, makes *Sin* and *Righteouſneſs* here two Perſons, two diſtinct Maſters, and Men paſſing from the Dominion of the one into the Dominion of the other.

of

TEXT.

for as ye have yielded your members ſervants to uncleanneſs, and to iniquity, unto iniquity; even ſo now yield your members ſervants to righteouſneſs, unto holineſs.

20 For when ye were the ſervants of ſin, ye were free from righteouſneſs.

21 What fruit had ye then in thoſe things whereof ye are now aſhamed? for the end of thoſe things is death.

22 But now being made free from ſin, and become ſervants to God, ye have your Fruit unto holineſs, and the end everlaſting life.

23 For the wages of ſin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

PARAPHRASE.

of the paſſing of Slaves from one Maſter to another (*g*) well known to you Romans, the better to let my Meaning into your Underſtandings that are yet weak in theſe Matters, being more accuſtomed to fleſhly than ſpiritual things). For as you yielded your natural (*h*) Faculties obedient ſlaviſh Inſtruments to Uncleanneſs, to be wholly imployed in all manner of Iniquity (*i*); ſo now ye ought to yield up your natural Faculties to a perfect and ready Obedience to Righteouſneſs. For when you were the Vaſſals of Sin, you were not at all ſubject to, nor paid any Obedience to Righteouſneſs: Therefore by a Parity of Reaſon now Righteouſneſs is your Maſter, you ought to pay no Obedience to Sin. What Fruit or Benefit had you then in thoſe things, in that Courſe of Things whereof you are now aſhamed? For the end of thoſe things, which are done in Obedience to Sin is Death. But now being ſet free from Sin, being no longer Vaſſals to that Maſter, but having God now for your Lord and Maſter, to whom you are become Subjects or Vaſſals, your Courſe of Life tends to Holineſs, and will end in everlaſting Life. For the Wages (*k*) that Sin pays is Death: But that which God's Servants receive from his Bounty, is the Gift (*l*) of eternal Life through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

20. 21. 22. 23.

NOTES.

19 (*g*) Ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, *I ſpeak after the manner of Men.* He had ſome reaſon to make ſome little kind of Apology, for a Figure of Speech which he dwells upon quite down to the end of this Chapter.

(*h*) *Members*, ſee *ch.* 7. 5. Note.

(*i*) *To Iniquity unto Iniquity*, ſee Note, *ch.* 1. 17.

23 (*k*) *The Wages of Sin*, does not ſignifie here the Wages that are paid for Sinning, but the Wages that Sin pays. This is evident not only by the Oppoſition that is put here in this Verſe between *the Wages of Sin* and *the Gift of God, viz.* That Sin rewards Men with Death for their Obedience; but that which God gives to thoſe, who believing in Jeſus Chriſt, labour ſincerely after Righteouſneſs, is Life eternal. But it farther appears by the whole Tenor of St. *Paul's* Diſcourſe, wherein he ſpeaks of Sin as a Perſon and a Maſter, who hath Servants, and is ſerved and obeyed, and ſo the Wages of Sin being the Wages of a Perſon here, muſt be what it pays.

(*l*) *The Gift of God.* Sin pays Death to thoſe who are its obedient Vaſſals: But God rewards the Obedience of thoſe to whom he is Lord and Maſter by the Gift of eternal Life. Their utmoſt Endeavours and higheſt Performances can never entitle them to it of Right; and ſo it is to them not Wages, but a free Gift. See *ch.* 4. 4.

SECT. VI. *N.* 4.

CHAP. VII. 1—25.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* in the foregoing Chapter, addreſſing himſelf to the Convert Gentiles, ſhews them, that not being under the Law, they were obliged only to keep themſelves free from a Vaſſalage of Sin, by a ſincere Endeavour after

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3. Righteouſneſs, foraſmuch as God gave eternal Life to all thoſe who being under Grace, *i. e.* being converted to Chriſtianity, did ſo.

In this Chapter addreſſing himſelf to thoſe of his own Nation in the Roman Church, he tells them, that the Death of Chriſt having put an end to the Obligation of the Law, they were at their Liberty to quit the Obſervances of the Law, and were guilty of no Diſloyalty in putting themſelves under the Goſpel. And here St. *Paul* ſhews the Deficiency of the Law, which render'd it neceſſary to be laid aſide by the Coming and Reception of the Goſpel. Not that it allowed any Sin, but on the contrary forbad even Concupiſcence, which was not known to be Sin without the Law. Nor was it the Law that brought Death upon thoſe who were under it, but Sin, that herein it might ſhew the extreme malignant Influence it had upon our weak fleſhly Natures, in that it could prevail on us to tranſgreſs the Law (which we could not but acknowledge to be holy, juſt and good) though Death was the declared Penalty of every Tranſgreſſion: But herein lay the Deficiency of the Law as ſpiritual, and oppoſite to Sin as it was, that it could not maſter and root it out, but Sin remained and dwelt in Men as before, and by the Strength of their carnal Appetites, which were not ſubdued by the Law, carried them to Tranſgreſſions that they approved not. Nor did it avail them to diſapprove or ſtruggle, ſince though the Bent of their Minds were the other way, yet their Endeavours after Obedience deliver'd them not from that Death which their Bodies or carnal Appetites, running them into Tranſgreſſions, brought upon them. That Deliverance was to be had from Grace, by which thoſe, who putting themſelves from under the Law into the Goſpel-State, were accepted, if with the Bent of their Minds, they ſincerely endeavour'd to ſerve and obey the Law of God, though ſometimes through the Frailty of their Fleſh they fell into Sin.

This is a farther Demonſtration to the converted Gentiles of *Rome*, that they are under no Obligation of ſubmitting themſelves to the Law, in order to be the People of God, or partake of the Advantages of the Goſpel, ſince it was neceſſary even to the Jews themſelves to quit the Terms of the Law, that they might be deliver'd from Death by the Goſpel. And thus we ſee how ſteadily and skilfully he purſues his Deſign, and with what Evidence and Strength he fortifies the Gentile Converts againſt all Attempts of the Jews, who went about to bring them under the Obſervances of the Law of *Moſes*.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Have let thoſe of you who were formerly Gentiles ſee that they are not under the Law, but under Grace (*m*): I now apply my ſelf to you, my Brethren of my own Nation (*n*), who know the Law. You cannot be ignorant that the Authority of the Law reaches or concerns a Man (*o*) ſo long as he liveth and no longer. For (*p*) a Woman who hath an Husband,

2.

TEXT.

KNow ye not, brethren, (for I ſpeak to them that know the law) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? 1

For the woman which hath an husband, is bound 2

NOTES.

1 (*m*) See *ch.* 6. 14.

(*n*) That his Diſcourſe here is addreſſed to thoſe Converts of this Church, who were of the Jewiſh Nation, is ſo evident from the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that there needs no more but to read it with a little Attention to be convinced of it, eſpecially *ver.* 1. 4, 6.

(*o*) Κυριεύει τῦ ἀνθρώπε, *Hath Dominion over a Man.* So we render it rightly: But I imagine we underſtand it in too narrow a Senſe, taking it to mean only that Dominion or Force which the Law has to compel or reſtrain us in things which we have otherwiſe no mind to, whereas it ſeems to me to be uſed in the Conjugation *Hiphil*, and to comprehend here that Right and Privilege alſo of doing or enjoying, which a Man has by Virtue and Authority of the Law, which all ceaſes as ſoon as he is dead. To this large Senſe of theſe words St. *Paul*'s Expreſſions in the two next Verſes ſeem ſuited; and ſo underſtood, have a clear and eaſie Meaning, as may be ſeen in the Paraphraſe.

2 (*p*) *For.* That which follows in the 2*d* Verſe, is no Proof of what is ſaid in the 1*ſt* Verſe, either as a Reaſon or an Inſtance of it, unleſs κυριεύει be taken in the Senſe I propoſe, and then the whole Diſcourſe is eaſie and uniform.

is

TEXT.

by the law to her husband, ſo long as he liveth: but if the husband be dead, ſhe is looſed from the law of her husband.

3 So then if while her husband liveth, ſhe be married to another man, ſhe ſhall be called an adultereſs: but if her husband be dead, ſhe is free from that law; ſo that ſhe is no adultereſs, though ſhe be married to another man.

4 Wherefore, my brethren, ye alſo are become dead to the law by the body of Chriſt; that ye ſhould be married to another, even to him who is raiſed from the dead, that we ſhould bring forth fruit unto God.

PARAPHRASE.

is bound by the Law (*q*) to her living Husband; but if her Husband dieth, ſhe is looſed from the Law which made her her Husband's, becauſe the Authority of the Law, whereby he had a Right to her, ceaſed in reſpect of him as ſoon as he died. Wherefore ſhe ſhall be called 3. an Adultereſs, if while her Husband liveth ſhe become another Man's. But if her Husband dies, the Right he had to her by the Law ceaſing, ſhe is freed from the Law, ſo that ſhe is not an Adultereſs, though ſhe become another Man's. So that even ye, my Brethren 4. (*r*), by the Body of Chriſt (*s*), are become dead (*t*) to the Law, whereby the Dominion of the Law over you has ceaſed, that you ſhould ſubject your ſelves to the Dominion of Chriſt in the Goſpel, which you may do with as much Freedom from Blame, or the Imputation of Diſloyalty (*u*), as a Woman, whoſe Husband is dead, may without the Imputation of Adultery marry another Man. And this making your ſelves another's, even

NOTES.

(*q*) Ἀπὸ τῷ νόμε τῷ ἀνδρός, *From the Law of her Husband.* This Expreſſion confirms the Senſe above-mentioned. For it can in no Senſe be termed *the Law of her Husband*, but as it is the Law whereby he has the Right to his Wife. But this Law, as far as it is her Husband's Law, as far as he has any Concern in it, or Privilege by it, dies with him, and ſo ſhe is looſed from it.

4 (*r*) Καὶ ὑμεῖς, *Ye alſo*, ἢ *alſo*, is not added here by Chance, and without any Meaning, but ſhews plainly that the Apoſtle had in his Mind ſome Perſon or Perſons before mentioned, who were free from the Law, and that muſt be either the Woman mentioned in the two foregoing Verſes, as free from the Law of her Husband, becauſe he was dead; or elſe the Gentile Converts mentioned, *ch.* 6. 14 as free from the Law, becauſe they were never under it. If we think ἢ refers to the Woman, then St. *Paul*'s Senſe in this, *Ye alſo are free from the* 15 *Law, as well as ſuch a Woman, and may without any Imputation ſubject your ſelves to the Goſpel.* If we take ἢ to refer to the Gentile Converts, then his Senſe is this; *Even ye alſo my Brethren are free from the Law as well as the Gentile Converts, and as much at Liberty to ſubject your ſelves to the Goſpel as they.* I confeſs my ſelf moſt inclin'd to this latter, both becauſe St. *Paul*'s main Drift is to ſhew, that both Jews and Gentiles are wholly free from the Law: and becauſe ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ, *Ye have been made dead to the Law*, the Phraſe here us'd to expreſs that Freedom, ſeems to refer rather to the 1ſt Verſe, where he ſays, *The Law hath Dominion over a Man as long as he liveth*, implying *and no longer*, rather than to the two intervening Verſes where he ſays, not the Death of the Woman, but the Death of the Husband ſets the Woman free, of which more by and by.

(*s*) *By the Body of Chriſt*, in which you as his Members died with him; ſee *Col.* 2. 20. and ſo by a like Figure Believers are ſaid to be circumciſed with him, *Col.* 2. 11.

(*t*) *Are become dead to the Law.* There is a great deal of needleſs Pains taken by ſome to reconcile this Saying of St. *Paul* to the two immediately preceding Verſes, which they ſuppoſe do require he ſhould have ſaid here what he does, *ver.* 6. *viz.* that *the Law was dead*, that ſo the Perſons here ſpoken of might rightly anſwer to the Wife, who there repreſents them. But he that will take this Paſſage together, will find that the firſt part of this 4*th* Verſe refers to *ver.* 1. and the latter part of it to *ver.* 2, and 3. and conſequently that St. *Paul* had ſpoken improperly, if he had ſaid what they would make him ſay here. To clear this, let us look into St. *Paul*'s Reaſoning, which plainly ſtands thus; *The Dominion of the Law over a Man ceaſes when he is dead*, ver. 1. *You are become dead to the Law by the Body of Chriſt*, ver. 4. *And ſo the Dominion of the Law over you is ceaſed, then you are free to put your ſelves under the Dominion of another, which can bring on you no charge of Diſloyalty to him who had before the Dominion over you, any more than a Woman can be charged with Adultery when the Dominion of her former Husband being ceaſed by his Death, ſhe marrieth her ſelf to another Man.* For the uſe of what he ſays, *ver.* 2, and 3. is to ſatisfie the Jews that the Dominion of the Law over them being ceaſed by their Death to the Law in Chriſt, they were no more guilty of Diſloyalty by putting themſelves wholly under the Law of Chriſt in the Goſpel, than a Woman was guilty of Adultery, when, the Dominion of her Husband ceaſing, ſhe gave her ſelf up wholly to another Man in marriage.

(*u*) *Diſloyalty.* One thing that made the Jews ſo tenacious of the Law, was, that they looked upon it as a Revolt from God, and a Diſloyalty to him their King, if they retain'd not the Law that he had given them. So that even thoſe of them who imbraced the Goſpel,

PARAPHRASE.

even Christ's, who is risen from the dead, is, that *We* (*w*) should bring forth Fruit unto God (*x*). For when we were after so fleshly (*y*) a manner under the Law, as not to comprehend the spiritual Meaning of it, that directed us to Christ the spiritual end of the Law, our sinful Lust (*z*) that remained in us under the Law (*a*), or in the State under the Law, wrought in our Members, *i. e.* set our Members and Faculties (*b*) on work in doing that whose end was Death (*c*). But now the Law under which we were heretofore held in Subjecti-

TEXT.

5. For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.

6. But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were

NOTES.

spel, thought it necessary to observe those Parts of the Law which were not continued, and as it were re-enacted by Christ in the Gospel. Their Mistake herein is what St. *Paul*, by the instance of a Woman marrying a second Husband, the former being dead, endeavours to convince them of.

(*w*) *We.* It may be worth our taking notice of, that St. *Paul* having all along from the beginning of the Chapter, and even in this very Sentence said *Ye*, here with Neglect of Grammar on a suddain changes it into *We*, and says, *that we should*, &c. I suppose to press the Argument the stronger, by shewing himself to be in the same Circumstances and Concern with them, he being a Jew as well as those he spoke to.

(*x*) *Fruit unto God.* In these words St. *Paul* visibly refers to *ch.* 6. 10. where he saith, that *Christ in that he liveth he liveth unto God*, and therefore he mentions here his *being raised from the dead*, as a Reason for their *bringing forth fruit unto God*, i. e. living to the Service of God, obeying his Will to the utmost of their Power, which is the same that he says, *ch.* 8. 11.

5 (*y*) *When we were in the Flesh.* The Understanding and Observance of the Law in a bare literal Sense, without looking any farther for a more spiritual Intention in it, St. *Paul* calls *being in the Flesh.* That the Law had, besides a literal and carnal Sense, a spiritual and evangelical Meaning, see 2 *Cor.* 3. 6, and 17. compared. Read also *ver.* 14, 15, 16. where the Jews in the Flesh are described; and what he says of the ritual part of the Law, see *Heb.* 9. 9, 10. which whilst they lived in the Observance of, they were in the Flesh. That part of the Mosaical Law was wholly about fleshly things, *Col.* 2. 14——23. was sealed in the Flesh, and proposed no other but temporal fleshly Rewards.

(*z*) Παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, literally *Passions of Sin*, in the Scripture Greek (wherein the Genitive Case of the Substantive is often put for the Adjective) *sinful Passions* or *Lusts.*

(*a*) Τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου, *which were by the Law*, is a very true literal Translation of the Words, but leads the Reader quite away from the Apostle's Sense, and is fain to be supported (by Interpreters that so understand it) by saying that the Law excited Men to sin by forbidding it. A strange Imputation on the Law of God, such, as if it be true, must make the Jews more defiled with the Pollutions set down in St. *Paul*'s Black List, *ch.* 1. than the Heathens themselves. But herein they will not find St. *Paul* of their Mind, who besides the visible Distinction wherewith he speaks of the Gentiles all through his Epistles, in this respect doth here, *ver.* 7. declare quite the contrary; see also 1 *Pet.* 4. 3, 4. If St. *Paul*'s Use of the Preposition διὰ a little backwards in this very Epistle were remember'd, this and a like Passage or two more in this Chapter would not have so harsh and hard a Sense put on them as they have. Τῶν πιστευόντων δι' ἀκροβυστίας, our Translation renders, *ch.* 4. 11. *that believe though they be not circumcised*, where they make δι' ἀκροβυστίας, to signifie during the State, or during their being under Uncircumcision. If they had given the same Sense to διὰ νόμου here, which plainly signifies their being in the contrary State, *i. e.* under the Law, and render'd it, *sinful Affections which they had, though they were under the Law*, the Apostle's Sense here would have been easie, clear, and conformable to the Design he was upon. This Use of the word διὰ I think we may find in other Epistles of St. *Paul*, τὰ διὰ τοῦ σώματος, 2 *Cor.* 5. 10. may possibly with better Sense be understood of things done *during the Body*, or *during the bodily State*, than *by the Body*; and so 1 *Tim.* 2. 15. διὰ τεκνογονίας, *during the State of Child-bearing.* Nor is this barely an Hellenistical Use of διὰ, for the Greeks themselves say δι' ἡμέρας, *during* the Day; and διὰ νυκτὸς, *during* the Night. And so I think διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, *Eph.* 3. 6. should be understood to signifie in the time of the Gospel, or under the Gospel-Dispensation.

(*b*) *Members* here doth not signifie barely the fleshly Parts of the Body in a restrain'd Sense, but the animal Faculties and Powers, all in us that is imploy'd as an Instrument in the Works of the Flesh, which are reckon'd up, *Gal.* 5. 19——21. some of which do not require the *Members* of our Body, taken in a strict Sense for the outward gross Parts, but only the Faculties of our Minds for their Performance.

(*c*) Καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ, *Bringing forth Fruit unto Death*, here, is opposed to *bringing forth Fruit unto God*, in the end of the foregoing Verse. Death here being consider'd as a Master whom Men serve by Sin, as God in the other place is consider'd as a Master, who gives Life to them who serve him in performing Obedience to his Law.

on

TEXT.

held; that we ſhould ſerve in newneſs of ſpirit, and not in the oldneſs of the letter.

7 What ſhall we ſay then? is the law ſin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known ſin, but by the law: for I had not known luſt, except the law had ſaid, Thou ſhalt not covet.

8 But ſin taking occaſion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiſcence. For without the law ſin was dead.

PARAPHRASE.

on being dead, we are ſet free from the Dominion of the Law, that we ſhould perform our Obedience as under the new (*d*) and ſpiritual Covenant of the Goſpel, wherein there is Remiſſion of Frailties, and not as ſtill under the old Rigour of the Letter of the Law, which condemns every one who does not perform exact Obedience to every tittle (*e*). What ſhall we then think 7. that the Law, becauſe it is ſet aſide, was unrighteous, or gave any Allowance, or contributed any thing to Sin (*f*)? By no means; For the Law on the contrary tied Men ſtricter up from Sin, forbidding Concupiſcence, which they did not know to be Sin but by the Law. For I (*g*) had not known Concupiſcence to be Sin, unleſs the Law had ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not covet*. Ne- 8. vertheleſs Sin taking Opportunity (*h*) during the Law (*i*), or whilſt I was under the Commandment, wrought in me all manner of Concupiſcence: For without the Law Sin is dead, (*k*) not able to hurt me; And there was

NOTES.

6 (*d*) *In Newneſs of Spirit, i. e.* Spirit of the Law, as appears by the Antitheſis, *Oldneſs of the Letter*, i. e. Letter of the Law. He ſpeaks in the former part of the Verſe of the Law as being dead, here he ſpeaks of it being revived again with a new Spirit. Chriſt by his Death aboliſhed the Moſaical Law, but revived as much of it again, as was ſerviceable to the Uſe of his ſpiritual Kingdom under the Goſpel, but left all the Ceremonial and purely Typical Part dead, *Col.* 2. 14——18. The Jews were held before Chriſt in an Obedience to the whole Letter of the Law, without minding the ſpiritual Meaning which pointed at Chriſt. This the Apoſtle calls here *ſerving in the Oldneſs of the Letter*, and this he tells them they ſhould now leave, as being freed from it by the Death of Chriſt, who was the End of the Law for the attaining of Righteouſneſs, *ch.* 10. 4. *i. e.* in the ſpiritual Senſe of it, which 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. he 1-7 calls Spirit, which Spirit, *ver.* 16. he explains to be Chriſt. That Chapter and this Verſe here give light to one another. *Serving in the Spirit* then is obeying the Law, as far as it is revived, and as it is explained by our Saviour in the Goſpel, for the attaining of Evangelical Righteouſneſs.

(*e*) That this Senſe alſo is comprehended in *not ſerving in the Oldneſs of the Letter*, is plain from what St. *Paul* ſays, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. *The Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life*. From this killing Letter of the Law, whereby it pronounced Death for every the leaſt Tranſgreſſion, they were alſo delivered, and therefore St. *Paul* tells them here, *ch.* 8. 15. that they *have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear, i. e.* to live in perpetual Bondage and Dread under the inflexible Rigour of the Law, under which it was impoſſible for them to expect ought but Death.

7 (*f*) *Sin.* That *Sin* here comprehends both theſe Meanings expreſſed in the Paraphraſe, appears from this Verſe, where the Strictneſs of the Law againſt Sin is aſſerted in its prohibiting of Deſires, and from *ver.* 12. where its Rectitude is aſſerted.

(*g*) *I.* The Skill St. *Paul* uſes in dextrouſly avoiding as much as poſſible the giving Offence to the Jews, is very viſible in the word *I* in this place. In the beginning of this Chapter, where he mentions their Knowledge in the Law, he ſays *Ye*. In the 4*th* Verſe he joyns himſelf with them, and ſays *We*. But here, and ſo to the end of this Chapter, where he repreſents the Power of Sin, and the Inability of the Law to ſubdue it wholly, he leaves them out, and ſpeaks altogether in the firſt Perſon, tho' it be plain he means all thoſe who were under the Law.

8 (*h*) St. *Paul* here, and all along this Chapter, ſpeaks of Sin as a Perſon endeavouring to compaſs his Death, and the Senſe of this Verſe amounts to no more but this, that in matter of Fact that Concupiſcence, which the Law declared to be Sin, remain'd and exerted it ſelf in him, notwithſtanding the Law. For if Sin from St. *Paul*'s Proſopopœia, or making it a Perſon, ſhall be taken to be a real Agent, the carrying this Figure too far will give a very odd Senſe to St. *Paul*'s Words, and contrary to his Meaning make Sin to be the Cauſe of it ſelf, and of Concupiſcence, from which it has its Riſe.

(*i*) See Note, *ver.* 5.

(*k*) *Dead.* It is to be remember'd not only that St. *Paul* all along this Chapter makes Sin a Perſon, but ſpeaks of that Perſon and himſelf as two incompatible Enemies, the Being and Safety of the one conſiſting in the Death or Inability of the other to hurt. Without carrying this

An.Ch.57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

9. was a time once (*l*) when I being without the Law, was in a State of Life; but the Commandment coming, Sin got Life and Strength again, and I found my self
10. a dead Man; And that very Law which was given me for the attaining of Life (*m*), was found to produce
11. Death (*n*) to me. For my mortal Enemy Sin taking the Opportunity of my being under (*o*) the Law, slew me by the Law, which it inveigled (*p*) me to disobey *i. e.* The Frailty and vicious Inclinations of Nature remaining in me under the Law, as they were before, able still to bring me into Transgressions, each whereof was mortal, Sin had by my being under the Law, a sure Opportunity of bringing Death upon me. So

TEXT.

For I was alive without the law once: but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died. 9

And the commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death. 10

For sin taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me. 11

NOTES.

this in mind, it will be very hard to understand this Chapter. For instance, in this place St. *Paul* has declared, *ver.* 7. that the Law was not abolished, because it at all favour'd or promoted Sin, for it lays Restraints upon our very Desires, which Men without the Law did not take notice to be sinful; Nevertheless Sin persisting in its Design to destroy me, took the Opportunity of my being under the Law, to stir up Concupiscence in me; for without the Law which annexes Death to Transgression, Sin is as good as dead, is not able to have its Will on me, and bring Death upon me. Conformable hereunto St. *Paul* says, 1 *Cor.* 15. 56. *The Strength of Sin is the Law*, i. e. it is the Law that gives Sin the Strength and Power to kill Men. Laying aside the Figure which gives a lively Representation of the hard State of a well-minded Jew under the Law, the plain Meaning of St. *Paul* here is this; "Tho' the "Law lays a stricter Restraint upon Sin than Men have without it, yet it betters not my "Condition thereby, because it inables me not wholly to extirpate Sin, and subdue Concu-"piscence, though it hath made every Transgression a mortal Crime. So that being no more "totally secured from offending under the Law, than I was before, I am under the Law ex-"posed to certain Death. This deplorable Estate could not be more feelingly expressed than it is here, by making Sin (which still remain'd in Man under the Law) a Person who, implacably aiming at his Ruin, cunningly took the Opportunity of exciting Concupiscence in those to whom the Law had made it mortal.

9 (*l*) Ποτὲ *once.* St. *Paul* declares there was a time *once* when he was in a State of Life. When this was, he himself tells us, *viz.* when he was without the Law, which could only be before the Law was given. For he speaks here in the Person of one of the Children of *Israel*, who never ceased to be under the Law, since it was given. This ποτὲ therefore must design the Time between the Covenant made with *Abraham* and the Law. By that Covenant *Abraham* was made *Blessed*, i. e. delivered from Death. That this is so, *vid. Gal.* 3. 9, &c. And under him the Israelites claim'd the Blessing, as his Posterity, comprehended in that Covenant, and as many of them as were of the Faith of their Father, faithful *Abraham*, were blessed with him. But when the Law came, and they put themselves wholly into the Covenant of Works, wherein each Transgression of the Law became mortal, then Sin recovered Life again, and a Power to kill, and an Israelite now under the Law, found himself in a State of Death, a dead Man. Thus we see it corresponds with the Design of the Apostle's Discourse here. In the six first Verses of this Chapter, he shews the Jews that they were at Liberty from the Law, and might put themselves solely under the Terms of the Gospel. In the following part of this Chapter he shews them, that it is necessary for them so to do; since the Law was not able to deliver them from the Power Sin had to destroy them, but subjected them to it. This part of the Chapter shewing at large what he says, *ch.* 8. 3. and so may be looked on as an Explication and Proof of it.

10 (*m*) That the Commandments of the Law were given to the Israelites, that they might have Life by them; see *Lev.* 18. 5. *Mat.* 19. 7.

(*n*) The Law which was just, and such as it ought to be, in having the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression of it, *Gal.* 3. 10. came to produce Death, by not being able so to remove the Frailty of humane Nature, and subdue carnal Appetites, as to keep Men entirely free from all Trespasses against it, the least whereof by the Law brought Death. See *ch.* 8. 3. *Gal.* 3. 21.

11 (*o*) The Sense wherein I understand Ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, *by the Law*, *ver.* 5. is very much confirmed by Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐντολῆς, in this and *ver.* 8. by which Interpretation the whole Discourse is made plain, easie and consonant to the Apostle's Purpose.

(*p*) *Inveigled.* St. *Paul* seems here to allude to what *Eve* said in a like case, *Gen.* 3. 13. and uses the word *deceived* in the same Sense she did, *i. e.* drew me in.

that

TEXT.

12 Wherefore the law is holy; and the commandment holy and juſt, and good.

13 Was then that which is good, made death unto me? God forbid: But ſin that it might appear ſin, working death in me by that which is good; that ſin by the commandment might become exceeding ſinful.

14 For we know that the law is ſpiritual: but I am carnal, ſold under ſin.

15 For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.

16 If then I do that which I would not, I conſent unto the law, that it is good.

17 Now then, it is no more I that do it, but ſin that dwelleth in me.

PARAPHRASE.

that (*q*) the Law is holy, juſt and good, ſuch as the eternal, immutable Rule of Right and Good required it to be. Was then the Law, that in it ſelf was good, made Death to me? No (*r*), by no means: But it was Sin that by the Law was made Death unto me, to the end that the Power (*s*) of Sin might appear, by its being able to bring Death upon me, by that very Law that was intended for my Good, that ſo by the Commandment the Power (*t*) of Sin and Corruption in me might be ſhewn to be exceeding great; For we know that the Law is ſpiritual, requiring Actions quite oppoſite (*u*) to our carnal Affections. But I am ſo carnal as to be enſlaved to them, and forced againſt my Will to do the Drudgery of Sin, as if I were a Slave that had been ſold into the hands of that my domineering Enemy. For what I do is not of my own Contrivance. (*w*) For that which I have a mind to I do not; and what I have an Averſion to, that I do. If then my tranſgreſſing the Law be what I in my Mind am againſt, it is plain the Conſent of my Mind goes with the Law, that it is good. If ſo, then it is not I a willing Agent of my own free Purpoſe that do what is contrary to the Law, but as a poor Slave in Captivity, not able to follow my own Underſtanding and Choice, forced by the Prevalency of my own

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17.

NOTES.

12 (*q*) Ὥστε, *ſo that*, ver. 7. he laid down this Poſition, that *the Law was not Sin*, ver. 8, 9, 10, 11. he proves it by ſhewing, that the Law was very ſtrict in forbidding of Sin, ſo far as to reach the very Mind and the internal Acts of Concupiſcence, and that it was Sin that remaining under the Law (which annexed Death to every Tranſgreſſion) brought Death on the Iſraelites, he here infers, that the Law was not ſinful, but *righteous*, *juſt*, *and good*, juſt ſuch as by the eternal Rule of Right it ought to be.

13 (*r*) *No.* In the five foregoing Verſes the Apoſtle had proved, that the Law was not Sin. In this and the ten following Verſes he proves the Law not to be made Death; but that it was given to ſhew the Power of Sin which remained in thoſe under the Law, ſo ſtrong, notwithſtanding the Law, that it could prevail on them to tranſgreſs the Law, notwithſtanding all its Prohibition, with the Penalty of Death annexed to every Tranſgreſſion. Of what uſe this, ſhewing the Power of Sin by the Law, was, we may ſee, *Gal.* 3. 24.

(*s*) That ἁμαρτία καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς, *Sin exceeding ſinful*, is put here to ſignifie the great Power of Sin or Luſt, is evident from the following Diſcourſe, which wholly tends to ſhew, that let a Man under the Law be right in his Mind and Purpoſe; yet the Law in his Members, *i. e.* his carnal Appetites, would carry him to the committing of Sin, though his Judgment and Endeavours were averſe to it. He that remembers that Sin in this Chapter is all along repreſented as a Perſon whoſe very Nature it was to ſeek and endeavour his Ruin, will not find it hard to underſtand, that the Apoſtle here by *Sin exceeding ſinful*, means Sin ſtrenuouſly exerting its ſinful, *i. e.* deſtructive Nature with mighty Force.

(*t*) Ἵνα γένηται, *that Sin might become*, i. e. *might appear to be.* 'Tis of Appearance he ſpeaks in the former part of this Verſe, and ſo it muſt be underſtood here to conform the Senſe of the Words, not only to what immediately precedes in this Verſe, but to the Apoſtle's Deſign in this Chapter, where he takes Pains to prove that the Law was not intended any way to promote Sin, and to underſtand by theſe Words that it was, is an Interpretation that neither Holy Scripture nor good Senſe will allow: Tho' the Sacred Scripture ſhould not, as it does, give many Inſtances of putting *Being* for *Appearing*. Vid. *ch.* 3. 20.

14 (*u*) Πνευματικὸς, *ſpiritual*, is uſed here to ſignifie the Oppoſition of the Law to our carnal Appetites. The Antitheſis in the following Words makes it clear.

15 (*w*) Οὐ γινώσκω, *I do not know*, i. e. it is not from my own Underſtanding or Forecaſt of Mind. The following Words, which are a Reaſon brought to prove this ſaying, give it this Senſe. But if οὐ γινώσκω be interpreted, *I do not approve*, what in the next Words is brought for a Reaſon, will be but a Tautologie.

An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

sinful Affections, and Sin that remains still in me, notwithstanding the Law. For I know by woful Experience, that in me (*viz.*) in my Flesh, (*x*) that part which is the Seat of carnal Appetites, there inhabits no Good. For in the Judgment and Purpose of my Mind, I am really carried into a Conformity and Obedience to the Law: but the Strength of my carnal Affections not being abated by the Law, I am not able to execute what I judge to be right, and intend to perform. For the Good that is my Purpose and Aim, that I do not: But the Evil that is contrary to my Intention, that in my Practice takes place, *i. e.* I purpose and aim at universal Obedience, but cannot in fact attain it. Now if I do that which is against the full Bent and Intention of me (*y*) my self, it is as I said before, not I my true self who do it, but the true Author of it is my old Enemy Sin, which still remains and dwells in me, and I would fain get rid of. I find it therefore as by a Law setled in me that, when my Intentions aim at Good, Evil is ready at hand, to make my Actions wrong and faulty. For that which my inward Man is delighted with, that which with Satisfaction my Mind would make its Rule, is the Law of God. But I see in my Members (*z*) another Principle of Action equivalent to a Law (*a*) directly waging War against that Law which my Mind would follow, leading me captive into an unwilling Subjection to the constant Inclination and Impulse of my carnal Appetite, which as steadily as if it were a Law, carries me to Sin. O miserable Man that I am, who shall deliver me (*b*) from this

18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.

TEXT.

For I know that in me (that is, in my flesh) dwelleth no good thing: for to will is present with me, but how to perform that which is good, I find not. 18

For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do. 19

Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. 20

I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me. 21

For I delight in the law of God, after the inward man. 22

But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members. 23

O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me 24

NOTES.

18 (*x*) St. *Paul* considers himself, and in himself other Men, as consisting of two Parts, which he calls *Flesh* and *Mind*, see *ver.* 25. meaning by the one the Judgment and Purpose of his Mind, guided by the Law, or right Reason; by the other, his natural Inclination pushing him to the Satisfaction of his irregular sinful Desires. These he also calls, the one *the Law of his Members*, and the other *the Law of his Mind*, ver. 23. and *Gal.* 5. 16, 17. a place parallel to the ten last Verses of this Chapter, he calls the one *Flesh*, and the other *Spirit*. These two are the Subject of his Discourse in all this part of the Chapter, explaining particularly how by the Power and Prevalency of the fleshly Inclinations, not abated by the Law, it comes to pass, which he says, *ch.* 8. 2, 3. that *the Law being weak by reason of the Flesh, could not set a Man free from the Power and Dominion of Sin and Death.*

20 (*y*) Ὀυ θέλω ἐγω, *I would not. I* in the Greek is very emphatical, as is obvious, and denotes the Man in that part which is chiefly to be counted himself, and therefore with the like Emphasis, *ver.* 25. is called αὐτὸς ἐγω, *I my own self.*

23 (*z*) St. *Paul* here in the former Chapter, uses the word *Members* for the lower Faculties and Affections of the animal Man, which are as it were the Instruments of Actions.

(*a*) He having in the foregoing Verse spoken of the Law of God as a Principle of Action, but yet such as had not a Power to rule and influence the whole Man, so as to keep him quite clear from Sin, he here speaks of *natural Inclination* as of a *Law*, also a *Law in the Members*, and *a Law of Sin in the Members*, to shew that it is a Principle of Operation in Men even under the Law, as steady and constant in its Direction and Impulse to Sin, as the Law is to Obedience, and failed not through the Frailty of the Flesh often to prevail.

24 (*b*) What is it that St. *Paul* so pathetically desires to be delivered from? The State he had been describing was that of humane Weakness, wherein notwithstanding the Law, even those who were under it, and sincerely endeavoured to obey it, were frequently carried by their carnal Appetites into the Breach of it. The State of Frailty he knew Men in this World could not be deliver'd from. And therefore if we mind him, it is not that, but the Consequence of it, Death, or so much of it as brings Death, that he inquires after a Deliverer from. *Who shall deliver me*, says he, *from this Body?* He does not say of Frailty, but *of Death: What shall hinder that my carnal Appetites, that so often make me fall into Sin, shall not bring Death*

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TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.
from the body of this death?	this Body of Death? The Grace of Grace (*c*) through Jesus Christ our Lord. To comfort my self therefore as that State requires for my Deliverance from Death,
25 I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I my self serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.	I my self (*d*) with full Purpose and sincere Endeavours of Mind, give up my self to obey the Law of God, though my carnal Inclinations are enslaved, and have a constant Tendency to Sin. This is all I (*e*) can do, and this is all I being under Grace, that is required of me, and through Christ will be accepted.

25. God

NOTES.

Death upon me, which is awarded me by the Law? And to this he answers, *The Grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.* 'Tis the Favour of God alone through Jesus Christ that delivers frail Man from Death. Those under Grace obtain Life upon sincere Intentions and Endeavours after Obedience, and those Endeavours a Man may attain to in this State of Frailty. But good Intention and sincere Endeavours are of no behoof against Death to those under the Law, which requires compleat and punctual Obedience, but gives no Ability to attain it. And so it is Grace alone through Jesus Christ, that accepting of what a frail Man can do, delivers from the Body of Death. And thereupon he concludes with Joy, *So then I being now a Christian, not any longer under the Law, but under Grace, this is the State I am in, whereby I shall be delivered from Death, I with my whole Bent and Intention devote my self to the Law of God in sincere Endeavours after Obedience, though my carnal Appetites are enslaved to, and have their natural Propensity towards Sin.*

25 (*c*) Our Translators read εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, *I thank God:* The Author of the Vulgate χάρις τῷ θεῷ, *The Grace* or *Favour of God*, which is the reading of the Clermont and other Greek Manuscripts. Nor can it be doubted which of these two Readings should be followed by one who considers, not only that the Apostle makes it his business to shew that the Jews stood in Need of Grace for Salvation as much as the Gentiles: But also that *the Grace of God* is a direct and apposite Answer to *who shall deliver me?* which, if we read it *I thank God*, has no Answer at all, an Omission the like whereof I do not remember any where in St. *Paul*'s way of Writing. This I am sure, it renders the Passage obscure and imperfect in it self. But much more disturbs the Sense, if we observe the Illative *Therefore*, which begins the next Verse, and introduces a Conclusion easie and natural, if the Question, *who shall deliver me?* has for answer, *The Grace of God.* Otherwise it will be hard to find Premises from whence it can be drawn. For thus stands the Argument plain and easie. The Law cannot deliver from the Body of Death, *i. e.* from those carnal Appetites which produce Sin, and so bring Death: But the Grace of God through Jesus Christ, which pardons Lapses where there is sincere Endeavour after Righteousness, delivers us from this Body that it doth not destroy us. From whence naturally results this Conclusion, *There is therefore now no Condemnation*, &c. But what it is grounded on in the other Reading, I confess I do not see.

(*d*) Αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, *I my self*, *i. e.* I the Man, with all my full Resolution of Mind. Αὐτὸς *and* ἐγὼ, might have both of them been spared, if nothing more had been meant here than the Nominative Case to δουλεύω. See Note, *ver.* 20.

(*e*) Δουλεύω, *I serve*, or *I make my self a Vassal*, *i. e.* I intend and devote my whole Obedience. The terms of Life to those under Grace St. *Paul* tells us at large, *ch.* 6. are δουλωθῆναι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, and τῷ θεῷ, to become Vassals to Righteousness and to God; consonantly he says here, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, *I my self*, *I the Man*, being now a Christian, and so no longer under the Law, but under Grace, do what is required of me in that State; δουλεύω, I become a Vassal to the Law of God, *i. e.* dedicate my self to the Service of it, in sincere Endeavours of Obedience; and so αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, *I the Man*, shall be delivered from Death; for he that being under Grace makes himself a Vassal to God in a steady purpose of sincere Obedience, shall from him receive the Gift of eternal Life, though his carnal Appetite, which he cannot get rid of, having its Bent towards Sin, makes him sometimes transgress, which would be certain Death to him if we were still under the Law. See *ch.* 6. 18, and 22.

And thus St. *Paul* having shewn here in this Chapter, that the being under Grace alone, without being under the Law, is necessary even to the Jews, as in the foregoing Chapter he had shewn it to be to the Gentiles, he hereby demonstratively confirms the Gentile Converts in their Freedom from the Law, which is the Scope of this Epistle thus far.

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SECT. VII.

CHAP. VIII. 1——39.

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ST. *Paul* having, *ch.* 6. ſhewn that the Gentiles who were not under the Law, were ſaved only by Grace, which required that they ſhould not indulge themſelves in Sin, but ſteadily and ſincerely endeavour after perfect Obedience: Having alſo, *ch.* 7. ſhewn that the Jews, who were under the Law, were alſo ſaved by Grace only, becauſe the Law could not inable them wholly to avoid Sin, which by the Law was in every the leaſt ſlip made Death; he in this Chapter ſhews, that both Jews and Gentiles who are under Grace, *i. e.* Converts to Chriſtianity, are free from Condemnation, if they perform what is required of them; and thereupon he ſets forth the Terms of the Covenant of Grace, and preſſes their Obſervance, *viz.* not to live after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit, mortifying the Deeds of the Body; foraſmuch as thoſe that do ſo are the Sons of God. This being laid down, he makes uſe of it to arm them with Patience againſt Afflictions, aſſuring them, that whilſt they remain in this State, nothing can ſeparate them from the Love of God, nor ſhut them out from the Inheritance of eternal Life with Chriſt in Glory, to which all the Sufferings of this Life bear not any the leaſt Proportion.

PARAPHRASE.

1. THere is therefore (*f*) now (*g*) no Condemnation (*h*) to, *i. e.* no Sentence of Death ſhall paſs upon, thoſe who are Chriſtians (*i*), if ſo be they obey (*k*) not the ſinful Luſts of the Fleſh, but follow with Sincerity of Heart the Dictates of the (*l*) Spirit

TEXT.

1 THere is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit.

NOTES.

1 (*f*) *Therefore.* This is an Inference drawn from the laſt Verſe of the foregoing Chapter, where he ſaith, that it is Grace that delivers from Death, as we have already obſerved.

(*g*) *Now.* Now that under the Goſpel the Law is aboliſh'd to thoſe who entertain the Goſpel.

(*h*) The Condemnation here ſpoken of refers to the Penalty of Death annexed to every Tranſgreſſion by the Law, whereof he had diſcourſed in the foregoing Chapter.

(*i*) *In Chriſt Jeſus*, expreſſed *ch.* 6. 14. by *under Grace*, and *Gal.* 3. 27. by *having put on Chriſt*, all which Expreſſions plainly ſignifie, to any one that reads and conſiders the Places, the profeſſing the Religion, and owning a Subjection to the Law of Chriſt, contain'd in the Goſpel, which is in ſhort the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity.

(*k*) Περιπατοῦσι, *Walking*, or *who walk*, does not mean that all who are in Chriſt Jeſus do walk not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit; but all who being in Chriſt Jeſus, omit not to walk ſo. This, if the Tenor of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here can ſuffer any one to doubt of, he may be ſatisfied is ſo from *ver.* 13. If *ye* live after the Fleſh. The *ye* he there ſpeaks to, are no leſs than thoſe that, *ch.* 1. 6, 7. he calls *the Called of Jeſus Chriſt*, and *the Beloved of God*, Terms equivalent to *being in Jeſus Chriſt*, ſee *ch.* 6. 12——14. *Gal.* 5. 16——18. which Places compared together, ſhew that by Chriſt we are delivered from the Dominion of Sin and Luſt; ſo that it ſhall not reign over us unto Death, if we will ſet our ſelves againſt it, and ſincerely endeavour to be free; a voluntary Slave, who inthrals himſelf by a willing Obedience, who can ſet free?

(*l*) *Fleſh* and *Spirit*, ſeem here plainly to refer to *Fleſh*, wherewith he ſays he ſerves Sin, and *Mind* wherewith he ſerves the Law of God, in the immediately preceding words.

(*m*) in

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

2 For the law of the Spirit of life in Chriſt Jeſus, hath made me free from the law of ſin and death.

3 For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the fleſh, God ſending his own Son in the likeneſs of ſinful fleſh, and for ſin condemned ſin in the fleſh:

(*m*) in the Goſpel. For the (*n*) Grace of God which is effectual to Life has ſet me free from that Law in my Members which cannot now produce Sin in me unto Death (*o*). For this (*viz.* the delivering us from Sin) being beyond the Power of the Law, which was too weak (*p*) to maſter the Propenſities of the Fleſh, God ſending his Son in Fleſh, that in all things except Sin, was like unto our frail ſinful Fleſh (*q*), and ſending (*r*) him alſo to be an Offering (*s*) for Sin, he put to Death, or extinguiſhed or ſuppreſſed Sin (*t*) in the Fleſh, *i.e.* ſending his Son into the World with the Body wherein the Fleſh could never prevail to the producing of any one Sin; to the end That 2. 3.

NOTES.

(*m*) *Walking after the Spirit*, is, *ver.* 13. explain'd by *mortifying the Deeds of the Body through the Spirit.*

2 (*n*) That it is *Grace* that delivers from the Law in the Members, which is the Law of Death, is evident from *ch.* 7. 23——25. why it is called *a Law*, may be found in the Antitheſis to *the Law of Sin and Death*, Grace being as certain a Law to give Life to Chriſtians that live not after the Fleſh, as the Influence of ſinful Appetites is to bring Death on thoſe who are not under Grace. In the next place, why it is called the Law *of the Spirit of Life*, has a Reaſon, in that the Goſpel which contains this Doctrine of Grace, is dictated by the ſame Spirit that raiſed Chriſt from the dead, and that quickens us to Newneſs of Life, and has for its end the conferring of eternal Life.

(*o*) *The Law of Sin and Death.* Hereby is meant that which he calls the Law in his Members, *ch.* 7. 23. where it is called the Law of Sin; and *ver.* 24. it is called the Body of Death, from which Grace delivers. This is certain, that no body who conſiders what St. *Paul* has ſaid, *ver.* 7, and 13. of the foregoing Chapter, can think that he can call the Law of *Moſes the Law of Sin*, or the *Law of Death.* And that the Law of *Moſes* is not meant, is plain from his Reaſoning in the very next Words. For the Law of *Moſes* could not be complain'd of as being weak, for not delivering thoſe under it from its ſelf; yet its Weakneſs might, and is all along, *ch.* 7. as well as *ver.* 3. complain'd of, as not being able to deliver thoſe under it from their carnal ſinful Appetites, and the Prevalence of them.

3 (*p*) *Weak*, *the Weakneſs*, and as he there alſo calls it *the Unprofitableneſs* of the Law, is again taken notice of by the Apoſtle, *Heb.* 7. 18, 19. There were two Defects in the Law whereby it became unprofitable, as the Author to the *Hebrews* ſays, ſo as to *make nothing perfect.* The one was its inflexible Rigour againſt which it provided no Allay or Mitigation, it left no place for Atonement: The leaſt Slip was mortal: Death was the inevitable Puniſhment of Tranſgreſſion, by the Sentence of the Law, which had no Temperament: Death the Offender muſt ſuffer, there was no Remedy. This St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles are full of, and how we are delivered from it by the Body of Chriſt, he ſhews, *Heb.* 10. 5——10. The other Weakneſs or Defect of the Law was, that it could not inable thoſe who were under it, to get a Maſtery over their Fleſh or fleſhly Propenſities, ſo as to perform the Obedience required. The Law exacted complete Obedience, but afforded Men no Help againſt their Frailty or vitious Inclinations. And this reigning of Sin in their mortal Bodies, St. *Paul* ſhews here how they are delivered from by the Spirit of Chriſt inabling them, upon their ſincere Endeavours after Righteouſneſs, to keep Sin under in their mortal Bodies in Conformity to Chriſt, in whoſe Fleſh it was condemned, executed and perfectly extinct, having never had there any Life or Being, as we ſhall ſee in the following Note. The Proviſion that is made in the New Covenant againſt both theſe Defects of the Law, is in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* expreſſed thus: God will make a new Covenant with the Houſe of *Iſrael*, wherein he will do theſe two things; *He will write his Law in their Hearts, and he will be merciful to their Iniquities.* See *Heb.* 8. 7——12.

(*q*) See *Heb.* 4. 15.

(*r*) Καὶ *and*, joins here *in the Likeneſs*, &c. with *to be an Offering*, whereas if *and* be made to copulate *ſending* and *condemned*, neither Grammar nor Senſe would permit it: nor can it be imagined the Apoſtle ſhould ſpeak thus: *God ſending his Son, and condemned Sin:* But *God ſending his own Son in the Likeneſs of ſinful Fleſh*, and ſending him *to be an Offering for Sin*, with very good Senſe joyns the Manner and End of his ſending.

(*s*) Περὶ ἁμαρτίας, which in the Text is tranſlated *for Sin*, ſignifies *an Offering for Sin*, as the Margent of our Bibles takes notice: See 2 *Cor.* 5. 21. *Heb.* 10. 5.——10. So that the plain Senſe is, *God ſent his Son in the likeneſs of ſinful Fleſh, and ſent him an Offering for Sin.*

(*t*) Κατέκρινε, *condemned.* The *Proſopopœia*, whereby Sin was conſidered as a Perſon all the foregoing Chapter, being continued on here, *the condemning of Sin* here cannot mean, as ſome would

PARAPHRASE.

4. That under this Example of Fleſh (*u*) wherein Sin was perfectly maſter'd and excluded from any Life, the moral Rectitude of the Law might be conformed to (*w*) by us, who, abandoning the Luſts of the Fleſh, follow the Guidance of the Spirit in the Law of our Minds, and make it our Buſineſs to live not after the
5. Fleſh, but after the Spirit. For, as for thoſe who (*x*) are ſtill under the Direction of the Fleſh and its ſinful Appetites, who are under Obedience to the Law in their Members, they have the Thoughts and Bent of their Minds ſet upon the Things of the Fleſh, to obey it in the Luſts of it: But they who are under the ſpiritual Law of their Minds, the Thoughts and Bent of their Hearts is to follow the Dictates of the Spirit in
6. that Law. For (*y*) to have our Minds ſet upon the Satisfaction of the Luſts of the Fleſh, in a ſlaviſh Obedience to them, does certainly produce and bring Death upon us, but our ſetting our ſelves ſeriouſly and ſincerely to obey the Dictates and Direction of the Spirit, produces Life (*z*) and Peace, which are not to be had
7. in the contrary carnal State: Becauſe to be carnally minded (*a*) is direct Enmity and Oppoſition againſt God, for ſuch a Temper of Mind, given up to the Luſts of the Fleſh, is in no Subjection to the Law of God, nor indeed can be (*b*), it having a quite contrary Tendency.

TEXT.

4 That the righteouſneſs of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the fleſh, but after the Spirit.

5 For they that are after the fleſh, do mind the things of the fleſh: but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit.

6 For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be ſpiritually minded, is life and peace:

7 Becauſe the carnal mind is enmity againſt God: for it is not ſubject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.

NOTES.

would have it, that Chriſt was condemned for Sin, or in the place of Sin, for that would be to ſave *Sin*, and leave that Perſon alive which Chriſt came to deſtroy. But the plain meaning is, that Sin it ſelf was condemned or put to Death in his Fleſh, *i. e.* was ſuffer'd to have no Life nor Being in the Fleſh of our Saviour: He was in all Points tempted as we are, yet without Sin, *Heb.* 4. 15. By the Spirit of God the Motions of the Fleſh were ſuppreſſed in him, Sin was cruſhed in the Egg, and could never faſten in the leaſt upon him. This farther appears to be the Senſe by the following words. The *Antitheſis* between κατάκριμα, *ver.* 1. and κατέκρινε, here, will alſo ſhew why that word is uſed here to expreſs the Death or No-being of Sin in our Saviour, 2 *Cor.* 5. 2. 1 *Pet.* 2. 22. That St. *Paul* ſometimes uſes *Condemnation* for putting to Death, ſee *ch.* 5. 16, and 18.

4 (*u*) Τὸ δικαίωμα τῦ νόμε, *The Righteouſneſs of the Law.* See Note, *ch.* 2. 26.

(*w*) *Fulfilled* does not here ſignifie a complete exact Obedience, but ſuch an unblameable Life, by ſincere Endeavours after Righteouſneſs, as ſhews us to be the faithful Subjects of Chriſt, exempt from the Dominion of Sin, ſee *ch.* 13. 8. *Gal.* 6. 2. A Deſcription of ſuch, who thus fulfilled the Righteouſneſs of the Law, we have *Luke* 1. 6. As Chriſt in the Fleſh was wholly exempt from all Taint of Sin; ſo we by that Spirit which was in him ſhall be exempt from the Dominion of our carnal Luſts, if we make it our Choice and Endeavour to live after the Spirit, *ver.* 9, 10, 11. For that which we are to perform by that Spirit, is the Mortification of the Deeds of the Body, *ver.* 17.

5 (*x*) Οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες, *Thoſe that are after the Fleſh*, and *thoſe that are after the Spirit*, are the ſame with *thoſe that walk after the Fleſh*, and *after the Spirit*. A Deſcription of theſe two different ſorts of Chriſtians, ſee *Gal.* 5. 16——26.

6 (*y*) *For* joyns what follows here to *ver.* 1. as the Reaſon of what is here laid down, *(viz.)* Deliverance from Condemnation is to ſuch Chriſtian Converts only who walk not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit. For, &c.

(*z*) See *Gal.* 6. 8.

7 (*a*) φρόνημα τ σαρκὸς, ſhould have been tranſlated here *to be carnally minded*, as it is in the foregoing Verſe, which is juſtified by φρονῦσι τὰ τ σαρκὸς, *do mind the things of the Fleſh*, *ver.* 5. which ſignifies the imploying the Bent of their Minds, or ſubjecting the Mind entirely to the fulfilling the Luſts of the Fleſh.

(*b*) Here the Apoſtle gives the Reaſon why even thoſe, that in Chriſt Jeſus have received the Goſpel, and are Chriſtians (for to ſuch he is here ſpeaking) are not ſaved unleſs they ceaſe to walk after the Fleſh, becauſe that runs directly counter to the Law of God, and can never

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8 So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.

9 But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.

10 And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life, because of righteousness.

11 But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you; he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.

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Tendency. So then (*c*) they that are in the Flesh, *i. e.* under the fleshly Dispensation of the Law (*d*), without regarding Christ the Spirit of it, in it cannot please God. But ye are not in that State of having all your Expectation from the Law, and the Benefits that are to be obtained barely by that, but are in the spiritual State of the Law, *i. e.* the (*e*) Gospel, which is the End of the Law, and to which the Law leads you. And so having received the Gospel, you have therewith received the Spirit of God: For as many as receive Christ, he gives Power to become the (*f*) Sons of God: And to those that are his Sons God gives his Spirit (*g*). And if Christ be in you by his Spirit, the Body is dead as to all Activity to Sin (*h*), Sin no longer reigns in it, but your sinful carnal Lusts are mortified. But the Spirit (*i*) of your Mind liveth, *i. e.* is enliven'd in order to Righteousness, or living righteously. But if the Spirit of God who had Power able to raise Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, as certainly it does, he that raised Christ from the Dead, is certainly able, and will by his Spirit that dwells in you, enliven even (*k*) your

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never be brought into Conformity and Subjection to his Commands. Such a settled Contravention to his Precepts cannot be suffer'd by the supreme Lord and Governour of the World in any of his Creatures, without foregoing his Sovereignty, and giving up the eternal immutable Rule of Right, to the overturning the very Foundations of all Order and moral Rectitude in the intellectual World. This even in the Judgment of Men themselves will be always thought a necessary piece of Justice for the keeping out of Anarchy, Disorder and Confusion, that those refractory Subjects, who set up their own Inclinations for their Rule against the Law, which was made to restrain those very Inclinations, should feel the Severity of the Law, without which the Authority of the Law, and Law-maker, cannot be preserved.

8 (*c*) This is a Conclusion drawn from what went before. The whole Argumentation stands thus: They that are under the Dominion of their carnal Lusts cannot please God; therefore they who are under the carnal or literal Dispensation of the Law, cannot please God, because they have not the Spirit of God: Now 'tis the Spirit of God alone that enlivens Men so as to enable them to cast off the Dominion of their Lusts. See *Gal.* 4. 3——6.

(*d*) Οἱ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες, *They that in the Flesh.*, He that shall consider that this Phrase is applied, *ch.* 7. 5. to the Jews, as resting in the bare literal or carnal Sense and Observance of the Law, will not be averse to the understanding the same Phrase in the same Sense here, which I think is the only place besides in the New Testament, where ἐν σαρκὶ εἶναι is used in a moral Sense. This I dare say, it is hard to produce any one Text, wherein εἶναι ἐν σαρκὶ is used to signifie a Man's being under the Power of his Lusts, which is the Sense wherein it is, and must be, taken here, if what I propose be rejected. Let it be also remember'd that St. *Paul* makes it the chief Business of this Epistle (and he seldom forgets the Design he is upon) to persuade both Jew and Gentile from a Subjection to the Law, and that the Argument he is upon here, is the Weakness and Insufficiency of the Law, to deliver Men from the Power of Sin, and then perhaps it will not be judg'd that the Interpretation I have given of these words is altogether remote from the Apostle's Sense.

9 (*e*) See 2 *Cor.* 3. 6——18. particularly *ver.* 6. 13, 16.

(*f*) See *John* 1. 12.

(*g*) See *Gal.* 4. 6.

10 (*h*) See *ch.* 6. 1——14. which explains this place, particularly *ver.* 2, 6, 11, 12. *Gal.* 2. 20. *Eph.* 4. 22, 23. *Col.* 2. 11. and 3. 8——10.

(*i*) See *Eph.* 4. 23.

11 (*k*) To lead us into the true Sense of this Verse, we need only observe that St. *Paul* having in the four first Chapters of this Epistle shewn that neither Jew nor Gentile could be justified by the Law: and in the 5*th* Chapter how Sin enter'd into the World by *Adam*, and reigned by Death, from which 'twas Grace and not the Law that deliver'd Men: In the 6*th* Chapter he sheweth the Convert Gentiles, that though they were not under the Law, but under Grace; yet they could not be saved, unless they cast off the Dominion of Sin, and became the devoted Servants of Righteousness, which was what their very Baptism taught and required

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red of them: And in *Chap.* 7. he declares to the Jews the Weakneſs of the Law, which they ſo much ſtood upon; and ſhews that the Law could not deliver them from the Dominion of Sin; that Deliverance was only by the Grace of God, through Jeſus Chriſt; from whence he draws the Conſequence, which begins this 8*th* Chapter, and ſo goes on with it here in two Branches relating to his Diſcourſe in the foregoing Chapter, that compleat it in this. The one is to ſhew, that the Law of the Spirit of Life, *i. e.* the New Covenant in the Goſpel, required that thoſe that are in Chriſt Jeſus ſhould not live after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit. The other is to ſhew how, and by whom, ſince the Law was weak, and could not enable thoſe under the Law to do it, they are enabled to keep Sin from reigning in their mortal Bodies, which is the Sanctification required. And here he ſhews, that Chriſtians are delivered from the Dominion of their carnal ſinful Luſts by the Spirit of God that is given to them, and dwells in them, as a new quickening Principle and Power, by which they are put into the State of a ſpiritual Life, wherein their Members are made capable of being made the Inſtruments of Righteouſneſs, if they pleaſe, as living Men alive now to Righteouſneſs, ſo to imploy them. If this be not the Senſe of this Chapter to *ver.* 14. I deſire to know how ἄρα ἐν in the 1*ſt* Verſe comes in, and what Coherence there is in what is here ſaid? Beſides the Connection of this to the former Chapter contain'd in the Illative *Therefore*, the very Antitheſis of the Expreſſions in one and the other, ſhew that St. *Paul* in writing this very Verſe, had an eye to the foregoing Chapter. There it was *Sin that dwelleth in me*, that was the active and overruling Principle: Here it is *the Spirit of God that dwelleth in you*, that is the Principle of your ſpiritual Life. There it was, *who ſhall deliver me from this Body of Death?* Here it is, *God by his Spirit ſhall quicken your mortal Bodies, i. e.* Bodies which, as the Seat and Harbour of ſinful Luſts that poſſeſs it, are indiſpos'd and dead to the Actions of a ſpiritual Life, and have a natural Tendency to Death. In the ſame Senſe, and upon the ſame account he calls the Bodies of the Gentiles their *mortal Bodies*, ch. 6. 12. where his Subject is, as here, Freedom from the Reign of Sin, upon which account they are there ſtiled, *ver.* 13. *Alive from the Dead.* To make it yet clearer, that it is Deliverance from the Reign of Sin in our Bodies, that St. *Paul* ſpeaks of here, I deſire any one to read what he ſays, *ch.* 6. 1————14. to the Gentiles on the ſame Subject, and compare it with the 13 firſt Verſes of this Chapter; and then tell me whether they have not a mutual Correſpondence, and do not give a great light to one another? If this be too much pains, let him at leaſt read the two next Verſes, and ſee how they could poſſibly be as they are an Inference from this 11*th* Verſe, if the *quickening of your mortal Bodies* in it mean any thing but a quickening to Newneſs of Life, or to a ſpiritual Life of Righteouſneſs. This being ſo, I cannot but wonder to ſee a late learned Commentator and Paraphraſt poſitive, that ζωοποιήσει τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, *ſhall quicken your mortal Bodies*, does here ſignifie, *ſhall raiſe your dead Bodies out of the Grave*, as he contends in his Preface to his Paraphraſe on the Epiſtles to the *Corinthians*, ζωοποιεῖν *quicken*, he ſays imports the ſame with ἐγείρειν *raiſe*. His way of proving it is very remarkable, his words are, ζωοποιεῖν and ἐγείρειν, *are as to this matter* [*viz.* the Reſurrection] *words of the ſame Import, i. e.* where, in diſcourſing of the Reſurrection, ζωοποιεῖν *quicken*, is uſed, it is of the ſame Import with ἐγείρειν *raiſe*. But what if St. *Paul*, which is the Queſtion, be not here ſpeaking of the Reſurrection? Why then according to our Author's own Confeſſion, ζωοποιεῖν *quicken*, does not neceſſarily import the ſame with ἐγείρειν *raiſe*. So that this Argument to prove that St. *Paul* here by the words in queſtion means the raiſing of their dead Bodies out of the Grave, is but a fair begging of the Queſtion, which is enough, I think, for a Commentator that hunts out of his way for Controverſie. He might therefore have ſpared the ζωοποιεῖν *quicken*, which he produces out of St. *John* 5. 21. as of no Force to his Porpoſe, till he had proved that St. *Paul* here in *Romans* 8. 11. was ſpeaking of the Reſurrection of Men's Bodies out of the Grave, which he will never do till he can prove that θνητὰ *mortal*, here ſignifies the ſame with νεκρὰ *dead*. And I demand of him to ſhow θνητὸν *mortal* any where in the new Teſtament attributed to any thing void of Life, θνητὸν *mortal* always ſignifies the thing it is joyn'd to, to be living; ſo that ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, *ſhall quicken even your mortal Bodies*, in that learned Author's Interpretation of theſe Words of St. *Paul*, here ſignifie, *God ſhall raiſe to life your living dead Bodies*, which no one can think, in the ſofteſt Terms can be given to it, a very proper way of ſpeaking; though it be very good Senſe and very emphatical to ſay, *God ſhall by his Spirit put into even your mortal Bodies a Principle of Immortality* or *ſpiritual Life*, which is the Senſe of the Apoſtle here; ſee *Gal.* 6. 8. And ſo he may find ζωοποιῆσαι uſed, *Gal.* 3. 21. to the ſame purpoſe it is here. I next deſire to know of this learned Writer, how he will bring in the Reſurrection of the Dead into this place, and to ſhew what Coherence it has with St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe here, and how he can joyn this Verſe with the immediately preceding and following, when the words under Conſideration are render'd, *Shall raiſe your dead Bodies out of their Graves at the laſt day?* It ſeems as if he himſelf found this would make but an awkward Senſe, ſtanding in this place with the reſt of St. *Paul*'s words here, and ſo never attempted it by any ſort of Paraphraſe, but has barely given us the Engliſh Tranſlation to help us, as it can, to ſo uncouth a Meaning as he would put upon this Paſſage, which muſt make St. *Paul*, in the midſt of a very ſerious, ſtrong, and coherent Diſcourſe concerning walking not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit, skip on a ſuddain into the Mention of the Reſurrection of the Dead; and having juſt mention'd it, skip back again into its former Argument. But I take the liberty to aſſure him, that St. *Paul* has no ſuch Starts from the matter he has in hand, to what gives no Light or Strength to his preſent Argument. I think there is not any where to be found a more pertinent cloſe Arguer, who

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12 Therefore brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh.
13 For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.
14 For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.
15 For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.
16 The spirit it self beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.
17 And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joynt heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer

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your mortal Bodies, (*l*) that Sin shall not have the sole Power and Rule there) but your Members may be made living Instruments of Righteousness. Therefore Brethren, we are not under any Obligation to the Flesh to obey the Lusts of it. For if ye live after the Flesh, that mortal part shall lead you to Death irrecoverable; but if by the Spirit, whereby Christ totally suppressed and hinder'd Sin from having any Life in his Flesh, you mortify the Deeds of the Body (*m*), ye shall have Eternal Life. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, of an immortal Race, and consequently like their Father immortal (*n*). For ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage (*o*) again, (*p*) to fear; but ye have received the (*q*) Spirit of God, (which is given to those who having receiv'd Adoption are Sons) whereby we are all enabled to call God our Father (*r*). The Spirit of God himself beareth witness (*s*) with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God. And if Children, then Heirs of God, Joynt-heirs with Christ, if so be we suffer (*t*) with him, that

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has his eye always on the Mark he drives at. This Men would find if they would study him as they ought, with more regard to Divine Authority than to Hypotheses of their own, or to Opinions of the Season. I do not say that he is every where clear in his Expressions to us now: But I do say he is every where a coherent pertinent Writer; and where ever in his Commentators and Interpreters any Sense is given to his words, that dis-joynts his Discourse, or deviates from his Argument, and looks like a wandering Thought, it is easie to know whose it is, and whose the Impertinence, his or theirs that father it on him. One Thing more the Text suggests concerning this matter, and that is, If by *quickning your mortal Bodies*, &c. be meant here the raising them into Life after Death, how can this be mentioned as a peculiar Favour to those who have the Spirit of God? For God will also raise the Bodies of the Wicked, and as certainly as those of Believers. But that which is promised here, is promised to those only who have the Spirit of God: And therefore it must be something peculiar to them (*viz.*) that God shall so enliven their mortal Bodies by his Spirit, which is the Principle and Pledge of immortal Life, that they may be able to yield up themselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead, and their Members Servants to Righteousness unto Holiness, as he expresses himself, *ch.* 6. 13. and 19. If any one can yet doubt whether this be the Meaning of St. *Paul* here, I refer him for farther Satisfaction to St. *Paul* himself, in *Eph.* 11. 4——6. where he will find the same Notion of St. *Paul* expressed in the same Terms, but so, that it is impossible to understand by ζωοποιεῖν or ἐγείρειν (which are both used there as well as here) the Resurrection of the dead out of their Graves. The full Explication of this Verse may be seen, *Eph.* 1. 19. and 2. 10. See also *Col.* 2. 12, 13. to the same purpose; and *Rom.* 7. 4.

(*l*) Ζωοποιήσει καὶ, *shall quicken even your mortal Bodies*, seems more agreeable to the Original, than *shall also quicken your mortal Bodies*; for the καὶ doth not copulate ζωοποιήσει with ὁ ἐγείρας, for then it must have been καὶ ζωοποιήσει; for the place of the Copulative is between the two words that it joyns, and so must necessarily go before the latter of them.

13 (*m*) *Deeds of the Body:* what they are may be seen, *Gal.* 5. 19, &c. as we have already remarked.

14 (*n*) In that lies the Force of his Proof, that they shall live. The Sons of mortal Men are mortal, the Sons of God are like their Father, Partakers of the Divine Nature, and are immortal. See 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. *Heb.* 2. 13——15.

15 (*o*) *What the Spirit of Bondage* is, the Apostle hath plainly declared, *Heb.* 2. 15. See Note, *ver.* 21.

(*p*) *Again*, i. e. Now again under Christ, as the Jews did from *Moses* under the Law.

(*q*) See *Gal.* 4. 5, 6.

(*r*) *Abba, Father.* The Apostle here expresses this filial Assurance in the same words that our Saviour applies himself to God, *Mark* 14. 36.

16 (*s*) See the same thing taught, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. and 5. 6. *Eph.* 1. 11—— 14. and *Gal.* 4. 6.

17 (*t*) The full Sense of this you may take in St. *Paul*'s own words, 2 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12.

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18. we may also be glorified with him. For I count that the Sufferings of this transitory Life, bear no Proportion to that glorious State that shall be hereafter (*u*) revealed, and set before the Eyes of the whole World,
19. at our Admittance into it. For the whole Race of (*w*) Mankind, in an earnest Expectation of this unconceivable glorious (*x*) Immortality that shall be bestowed
20. on the (*y*) Sons of God (For Mankind created in a better State, was made subject to the (*z*) Vanity of this calamitous fleeting Life, not of its own Choice, but by the Guile of the Devil (*a*), who brought Mankind into
21. this mortal State) Waiteth in hope (*b*), that even they also shall be delivered from this Subjection to Corruption (*c*), and shall be brought into that glorious Freedom from Death which is the proper Inheritance of the
22. Children of God. For we know that Mankind, all (*d*) of them, groan together, and unto this day are in pain, as a Woman in Labour, to be delivered out of the Uneasiness of this mortal State. And not only they, but even
23. those who have the first Fruits of the Spirit, and therein the Earnest (*e*) of Eternal Life, we our selves groan (*f*) within our selves, waiting for the Fruit of our Adoption, which is, that as we are by Adoption made Sons, and Co-heirs with Jesus Christ, so we may have Bodies like unto his most glorious Body, Spiritual and

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with him, that we may be also glorified together.

18 For I reckon, that the sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.

19 For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God.

20 For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope:

21 Because the creature it self also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

22 For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travelleth in pain together until now:

23 And not only they, but our selves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we our selves groan within our selves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.

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18 (*u*) *Revealed.* St. *Paul* speaks of this Glory here, as what needs to be revealed to give us a right Conception of it. It is impossible to have a clear and full Comprehension of it till we taste it. See how he labours for Words to express it, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. *&c.* a place to the same purpose with this here.

19 (*w*) Κτίσις *Creature*, in the Language of St. *Paul* and of the New Testament, signifies Mankind; especially the Gentile World, as the far greater part of the Creation. See *Col.* 1. 23. *Mark* 16. 15. compared with *Mat.* 28. 19.

(*x*) *Immortality.* That the thing here expected was immortal Life, is plain from the Context, and from that parallel place, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. and 5. 5. the Glory whereof was so great, that it could not be comprehended, till it was by an actual exhibiting of it revealed. When this Revelation is to be, St. *Peter* tells us, 1 *Pet.* 14————7.

(*y*) Ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν, *Revelation of the Sons*, i. e. *Revelation to the Sons.* The Genitive Case often in the New Testament denotes the Object. So *Rom.* 1. 5. ὑπακοὴ πίστεως signifies Obedience to Faith: *Ch.* 3. 22. δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, *The Righteousness that God accepts by Faith in Christ:* Ch. 4. 11. δικαιοσύνη πίστεως, *Righteousness by Faith.* If ἀποκάλυψις here be render'd *Revelation*, as ἀποκαλυφθῆναι in the foregoing Verse is render'd *revealed*, (and 'twill be hard to find a Reason why it should not) the Sense in the Paraphrase will be very natural and easie. For the Revelation in the foregoing Verse is not *of*, but *to* the Sons of God. The words are ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

20 (*z*) The State of Man in this frail short Life, subject to Inconveniencies, Sufferings, and Death, may very well be called *Vanity*, compared to the impassible Estate of eternal Life, the Inheritance of the Sons of God.

(*a*) *Devil.* That by *he that subjected it*, is meant the Devil, is probable from the History, *Gen.* 3. and from *Heb.* 2. 14, 15. *Col.* 2. 15.

21 (*b*) Ἀπεκδέχεται ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ὅτι, *Waiteth in hope*, that the not joyning *in hope* to *waiteth*, by placing it in the beginning of the 21*st* Verse, as it stands in the Greek, but joyning it to *subjected the same*, by placing it at the end of the 20*th* Verse, has mightily obscured the Meaning of this Passage, which taking all the words between *of God* and *in hope* for a Parenthesis, is as easie and clear as any thing can be, and then the next word ὅτι will have its proper Signification *that*, and not *because*.

(*c*) Δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς, *Bondage of Corruption*, i. e. the Fear of Death, see *ver.* 15. and *Heb.* 2. 15. *Corruption* signifies Death or Destruction, in opposition to Life everlasting. See *Gal.* 6. 8.

21 (*d*) How *David* groaned under the Vanity and Shortness of this Life, may be seen, *Psal.* 89. 47, 48. which Complaint may be met with in every Man's Mouth; so that even those, who have not the first Fruits of the Spirit, whereby they are assured of a future happy Life in Glory, do also desire to be freed from a Subjection to Corruption, and have uneasie Longings after Immortality.

23 (*e*) See 2 *Cor.* 5. 2, 5. *Eph.* 1. 13, 14.

(*f*) Read the parallel place, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. and 5. 5.

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24 For we are ſaved by hope: but hope that is ſeen, is not hope: for what a man ſeeth, why doth he yet hope for?
25 But if we hope for that we ſee not, then do we with patience wait for it.
26 Likewiſe the Spirit alſo helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we ſhould pray for as we ought: but the Spirit it ſelf maketh Interceſſion for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.
27 And he that ſearcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, becauſe he maketh interceſſion for the ſaints, according to the will of God.
28 And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpoſe.
29 For whom he did foreknow, he alſo did predeſtinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firſtborn among many brethren.
30 Moreover, whom he did predeſtinate, them he alſo called: and whom he called, them he alſo juſtified; and whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified.
31 What ſhall we then ſay to theſe things? if God be for us, who can be againſt us?
32 He that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how ſhall he

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immortal. But we muſt wait with Patience, for we have hitherto been ſaved but in Hope and Expectation: But Hope is of things not in preſent Poſſeſſion or Enjoyment. For what a Man hath, and ſeeth in his own hands, he no longer hopes for. But if we hope for what is out of ſight, and yet to come, then do we with Patience wait for it (*g*). Such therefore are our Groans, which the Spirit in aid to our Infirmity makes uſe of. For we know not what Prayers to make as we ought, but the Spirit it ſelf layeth for us our Requeſts before God in Groans that cannot be expreſſed in Words. And God the Searcher of Hearts, who underſtandeth this Language of the Spirit, knoweth what the Spirit would have, becauſe the Spirit is wont to make Interceſſion for the Saints (*h*) acceptably to God. Bear therefore your Sufferings with Patience and Conſtancy, for we certainly know that all things work together for good to thoſe that love God, who are the Called according to his Purpoſe of calling the Gentiles (*i*). In which Purpoſe the Gentiles, whom he fore-knew as he did the Jews (*k*), with an Intention of Kindneſs, and of making them his People, he pre-ordained to be conformable to the Image of his Son, that he might be the firſt-born, the chief amongſt many Brethren (*l*). Moreover, whom he did thus pre-ordain to be his People, them he alſo called, by ſending Preachers of the Goſpel to them: And whom he called if they obey'd the Truth (*m*), thoſe he alſo juſtified, by counting their Faith for Righteouſneſs: And whom he juſtified, them he alſo glorified, *viz.* in his Purpoſe. What ſhall we ſay then to theſe things? If God be for us, as by what he has already done for us it appears he is, who can be againſt us? He that ſpared not his own Son, but delivered him up to Death for us all, Gentiles as

24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.

NOTES.

25 (*g*) What he ſays here of Hope, is to ſhew them, that the Groaning in the Children of God before ſpoken of, was not the Groaning of Impatience, but ſuch wherewith the Spirit of God makes Interceſſion for us, better than if we expreſſed our ſelves in Words, *ver.* 19——23.

27 (*h*) The Spirit promiſed in the time of the Goſpel, is called the Spirit of Supplications, *Zach.* 12. 10.

28 (*i*) Which purpoſe was declared to *Abraham*, Gen. 18. 18. And is largely inſiſted on by St. *Paul*, Eph. 3. 1——11. This and the Remainder of this Chapter, ſeems ſaid to confirm the Gentile Converts in the Aſſurance of the Favour and Love of God to them through Chriſt, though they were not under the Law.

29 (*k*) See *ch.* 11. 2. *Amos* 3. 2.

(*l*) See *Eph.* 1. 3——7.

30 (*m*) *Many are called, and few are choſen*, ſays our Saviour, *Mat.* 20. 16. Many, both Jews and Gentiles, were called, that did not obey the Call. And therefore, *ver.* 32. 'Tis thoſe who are choſen, who he ſaith are juſtified, *i. e.* ſuch as were called, and obeyed, and conſequently were choſen.

PARAPHRASE.

well as Jews, how ſhall he not with him alſo give us
33. all things? Who ſhall be the Proſecutor of thoſe whom
God hath choſen? Shall God who juſtifieth them (*n*)?
34. Who as Judge ſhall condemn them? Chriſt that died
for us, yea rather that is riſen again for our Juſtifica-
tion, and is at the right Hand of God, making Inter-
35. ceſſion for us? Who ſhall ſeparate us from the Love
of Chriſt? Shall Tribulation, or Diſtreſs, or Perſe-
cution, or Famine, or Nakedneſs, or Peril, or Sword?
36. For this is our Lot, as it is written, *For thy ſake we are*
kill'd all the day long, we are accounted as Sheep for the
37. *Slaughter.* Nay in all theſe things we are already more
than Conquerors by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of him
38. that loved us. For I am ſtedfaſtly perſuaded, that nei-
ther the Terrors of Death, nor the Allurements of
Life, nor Angels, nor the Princes and Powers of this
World; nor things preſent; nor any thing future;
39. Nor the Height of Proſperity; nor the Depth of Mi-
ſery; nor any thing elſe whatſoever, ſhall be able to
ſeparate us from the Love of God, which is in Chriſt
Jeſus our Lord.

TEXT.

not with him alſo freely give us all things?

Who ſhall lay any thing 33
to the charge of God's
elect? It is God that ju-
ſtifieth:

Who is he that con- 34
demneth? It is Chriſt that
died, yea rather that is
riſen again, who is even
at the right hand of God,
who alſo maketh inter-
ceſſion for us.

Who ſhall ſeparate us 35
from the love of Chriſt?
ſhall tribulation, or diſtreſs,
or perſecution, or famine,
or nakedneſs, or peril, or
ſword?

(As it is written, For 36
thy ſake we are killed all
the day long; we are ac-
counted as ſheep for the
ſlaughter)

Nay in all theſe things 37
we are more than conque-
rors, through him that
loved us.

For I am perſwaded, 38
that neither death, nor
life, nor angels, nor prin-
cipalities, nor powers, nor
things preſent, nor things
to come,

Nor height, nor depth, 39
nor any other creature,
ſhall be able to ſeparate us
from the love of God
which is in Chriſt Jeſus
our Lord.

NOTES.

33 (*n*) Reading this with an Interrogation, makes it needleſs to add any Words to the Text to make out the Senſe, and *is* more conformable to the Scheme of his Argumentation here, as appears by *ver.* 35. where the Interrogation cannot be avoided; and is as it were an Appeal to them, themſelves to be Judges, whether any of thoſe things he mentions to them (reckoning up thoſe which had moſt Power to hurt them) could give them juſt Cauſe of Apprehenſion, *Who ſhall accuſe you? Shall God who juſtifies you? Who ſhall condemn you? Chriſt that died for you?* What can be more abſurd than ſuch an Imagination?

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IX. 1.——X. 21.

CONTENTS.

THERE was nothing more grating and offenſive to the Jews, than the Thoughts of having the Gentiles joyn'd with them, and partake equally in the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah: And which was yet worſe, to be told that thoſe Aliens ſhould be admitted, and they, who preſumed themſelves Children of that Kingdom, to be ſhut out. St. *Paul*, who had

had insisted much on this Doctrine, in all the foregoing Chapters of this Epistle, to shew that he had not done it out of any Aversion or Unkindness to his Nation and Brethren the Jews, does here express his great Affection to them, and declares an extream Concern for their Salvation. But withal he shews, that whatever Privileges they had received from God above other Nations, whatever Expectation the Promises made to their Forefathers might raise in them, they had yet no just Reason of Complaining of God's dealing with them now under the Gospel, since it was according to his Promise to *Abraham*, and his frequent Declarations in Sacred Scripture. Nor was it any Injustice to the Jewish Nation, if God by the same Sovereign Power wherewith he prefer'd *Jacob* (the younger Brother, without any Merit of his) and his Posterity to be his People, before *Esau* and his Posterity whom he rejected. The Earth is all his; nor have the Nations that possess it any Title of their own, but what he gives them, to the Countries they inhabit, nor to the good things they enjoy, and he may dispossess or exterminate them when he pleaseth. And as he destroy'd the *Egyptians* for the Glory of his Name, in the Deliverance of the *Israelites*; so he may according to his good Pleasure raise or depress, take into Favour or reject the several Nations of this World. And particularly as to the Nation of the Jews, all but a small Remnant were rejected, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, to be the People and Church of God, because they were a gain-saying and disobedient People, that would not receive the Messiah whom he had promised, and in the appointed time sent to them. He, that will with moderate Attention and Indifferency of Mind read this Ninth Chapter, will see that what is said of God's exercising of an absolute Power, according to the good Pleasure of his Will, relates only to Nations or Bodies Politique of Men incorporated in civil Societies, which feel the Effects of it only in the Prosperity or Calamity they meet with in this World, but extends not to their eternal State in another World, consider'd as particular Persons, wherein they stand each Man by himself upon his own Bottom, and shall so answer separately at the Day of Judgment. They may be punished here with their Fellow-Citizens, as part of a sinful Nation, and that be but temporal Chastisement for their Good, and yet be advanced to eternal Life and Bliss in the World to come.

*An.Ch.*57. *Neronis* 3.

TEXT.

1 I Say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost.

2 That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart.

3 For I could wish that my self were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh:

4 Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory,

PARAPHRASE.

I As a Christian speak Truth, and my Conscience, guided and enlightened by the Holy Ghost, bears me witness, That I lie not in my Profession of great Heaviness and continual Sorrow of Heart, I could even wish that (*o*) the Destruction and Extermination, to which my Brethren the Jews are devoted by Christ, might, if it could save them from Ruine, be executed on me in the stead of those my Kinsmen after the Flesh; Who are *Israelites*, a Nation dignified with these Privileges, which were peculiar to them; Adoption, whereby they were in a particular manner the Sons of God (*p*); The Glory (*q*) of the Divine Presence amongst

1. 2. 3. 4.

NOTES.

3 (*o*) Ἀνάθεμα, *accursed*, חרם, which the Septuagint render *Anathema*, signifies Persons, or Things devoted to Destruction and Extermination. The Jewish Nation were an *Anathema*, destin'd to Destruction. St. *Paul*, to express his Affection to them, says, he could wish, to save them from it, to become an *Anathema*, and be destroy'd himself.

4 (*p*) *Adoption*, Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 31. 9.

(*q*) *Glory*, which was present with the Israelites, and appear'd to them in a great shining Brightness out of a Cloud. Some of the Places which mention it are these following, *Exod.* 13. 21. *Lev.* 9. 6, and 23, 24. *Numb.* 16. 42. 2 *Chron.* 7. 1—3. *Ezek.* 10. 4. and 43. 2, 3. compared with *ch.* 1. 4, 28.

them;

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them; Covenants (*r*) made between them and the great God of Heaven and Earth; The moral Law (*s*) a Conſtitution of Civil Government, and a Form of Divine Worſhip preſcribed by God himſelf, and all the
5. Promiſes of the Old Teſtament, had the Patriarchs to whom the Promiſes were made for their Fore-fathers (*t*); And of them as to his fleſhly Extraction Chriſt is come, he who is over all, God be bleſſed for ever,
6. Amen. I commiſerate my Nation for not receiving the promiſed Meſſiah now he is come, and I ſpeak of the great Prerogatives they had from God above other Nations, but I ſay not this as if it were poſſible that the Promiſe of God ſhould fail of Performance, and not have its effect (*u*). But it is to be obſerved, for a right underſtanding of the Promiſe, that the ſole Deſcendants of *Jacob* or *Iſrael*, do not make up the whole Nation of *Iſrael* (*w*), or the People of God comprehended in the Promiſe;
7. Nor are they who are the Race of *Abraham* all Children, but only his Poſterity by *Iſaac*, as it is ſaid, In *Iſaac* ſhall thy Seed be called.
8. That is, the Children of the Fleſh deſcended out of *Abraham*'s Loins, are not thereby the Children of God (*x*), and to be eſteemed his People, but the Children of the Promiſe, as *Iſaac* was, are alone to be accounted
9. his Seed. For thus runs the Word of Promiſe, *At this*
10. *time I will come, and* Sara *ſhall have a Son.* Nor was this the only Limitation of the Seed of *Abraham*, to whom the Promiſe belong'd; but alſo when *Rebecca* had conceived by that one of *Abraham*'s Iſſue to whom the Promiſe was made, *viz.* our Father *Iſaac*, and there
11. were Twins in her Womb, of that one Father, before the Children were born, or had done any Good or Evil (*y*), to ſhew that his making any Stock or Race of Men his

TEXT.

and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes;

Whoſe are the fathers, 5
and of whom as concerning the fleſh, Chriſt came, who is over all. God bleſſed for ever. Amen.

Not as though the 6
word of God hath taken none effect. For they are not all Iſrael, which are of Iſrael:

Neither becauſe they 7
are the ſeed of Abraham, are they all children: but in Iſaac ſhall thy ſeed be called.

That is, They which 8
are the children of the fleſh, theſe are not the children of God: but the children of the promiſe are counted for the ſeed.

For this is the word of 9
promiſe, At this time will I come, and Sara ſhall have a ſon.

And not only this, but 10
when Rebecca alſo had conceived by one, even by our father Iſaac,

(For the children being 11
not yet born, neither ha-

NOTES.

(*r*) Covenants. See *Gen.* 17. 4. *Exod.* 34. 27.

(*s*) Νομοθεσία, *The giving of the Law*, whether it ſignifies the extraordinary giving of the Law by God himſelf, or the exact Conſtitution of their Government in the moral and judicial part of it (for the next word λατρεία, *Service of God*, ſeems to comprehend the religious Worſhip) this is certain, that in either of theſe Senſes it was the peculiar Privilege of the Jews, and what no other Nation could pretend to.

5 (*t*) Fathers, who they were, ſee *Exod.* 3. 6, 16. *Acts* 7. 32.

6 (*u*) See *ch.* 3. 3. *Word of God*, i. e. Promiſe, ſee *ver.* 9.

(*w*) See *ch.* 4. 16. St. *Paul* uſes this as a Reaſon to prove that the Promiſe of God failed not to have its Effect, though the Body of the Jewiſh Nation rejected Jeſus Chriſt, and were therefore nationally rejected by God from being any longer his People. The Reaſon he gives for it is this, That the Poſterity of *Jacob* or *Iſrael* were not thoſe alone who were to make that *Iſrael*, or that choſen People of God, which were intended in the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, others beſides the Deſcendants of *Jacob* were to be taken into this *Iſrael*, to conſtitute the People of God under the Goſpel: and therefore the calling and coming in of the Gentiles was a fulfilling of that Promiſe. And then he adds in the next Verſe, that neither were all the Poſterity of *Abraham* comprehended in that Promiſe, ſo that thoſe who were taken in, in the time of the Meſſiah, to make the *Iſrael* of God, were not taken in, becauſe they were the natural Deſcendants from *Abraham*, nor did the Jews claim it for all his Race. And this he proves by the Limitation of the Promiſe to *Abraham*'s Seed by *Iſaac* only. All this he does to ſhew the Right of the Gentiles to that Promiſe, if they believed: Since that Promiſe concerned not only the natural Deſcendants either of *Abraham* or *Jacob*, but alſo thoſe who were of the Faith of their Father *Abraham*, of whomſoever deſcended, ſee *ch.* 4. 11——17.

8 (*x*) *Children of God*, i. e. People of God, ſee *ver.* 26.

11 (*y*) *Neither having done good nor evil.* Theſe Words may poſſibly have been added by St. *Paul* to the foregoing (which may perhaps ſeem full enough of themſelves) the more expreſly

TEXT.

ving done any good or evil, that the purpoſe of God according to election might ſtand, not of works, but of him that calleth)

12 It was ſaid unto her, The elder ſhall ſerve the younger.

13 As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Eſau have I hated.

14 What ſhall we ſay then? Is there unrighteouſneſs with God? God forbid.

15 For he ſaith to Moſes, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compaſſion on whom I will have compaſſion.

16 So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that ſheweth mercy.

17 For the ſcripture ſaith unto Pharaoh, Even for

PARAPHRASE.

his peculiar People, depended ſolely on his own Purpoſe and good Pleaſure in chooſing and calling them, and not on any Works or Deſerts of theirs, he acting here in the Caſe of *Jacob* and *Eſau*, according to the Predetermination of his own Choice, it was declared unto her, that there were two Nations (*z*) in her Womb, and that the Deſcendants of the Elder Brother ſhould ſerve thoſe of the Younger, as it is written, Jacob *have I loved* (*a*), ſo as to make his Poſterity my choſen People, and *Eſau* I put ſo much behind him (*b*), as to lay his Mountains and his Heritage waſte (*c*). What ſhall we ſay then, is there any Injuſtice with God in chooſing one People to himſelf before another, according to his good Pleaſure? By no means. My Brethren, the Jews themſelves cannot charge any ſuch thing on what I ſay, ſince they have it from *Moſes* himſelf (*d*), that God declared to him that he would be gracious to whom he would be gracious; and ſhew Mercy on whom he would ſhew Mercy. So then neither the Purpoſe of *Iſaac* who deſign'd it for *Eſau*, and willed (*e*) him to prepare himſelf for it; Nor the Endeavours of *Eſau*, who ran a hunting for Veniſon to come and receive it, could place on him the Bleſſing; but the Favour of being made in his Poſterity a great and proſperous Nation, the peculiar People of God preferred to that which ſhould deſcend from his Brother, was beſtowed on *Jacob* by the mere Bounty and good Pleaſure of God himſelf. The like hath *Moſes* left us upon Record of God's Dealing with *Pharaoh* and

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17.

NOTES.

preſly to obviate an Objection of the Jews, who might be ready to ſay, that *Eſau* was rejected becauſe he was wicked; as they did of *Iſhmael*, that he was rejected becauſe he was the Son of a Bond-woman.

12 (*z*) See *Gen.* 25. 23. And it was only in a national Senſe that it is there ſaid, *The Elder ſhall ſerve the Younger*, and not perſonally, for in that Senſe it is not true, which makes it plain, that theſe Words of Verſe

13 (*a*) Jacob *have I loved, and* Eſau *have I hated*, are to be taken in a national Senſe, for the Preference God gave to the Poſterity of one of them to be his People, and poſſeſs the promiſed Land before the other. What this Love of God was, ſee *Deut.* 7. 6——8.

(*b*) *Hated.* When it is uſed in Sacred Scripture, as it is often comparatively, it ſignifies only to poſt-pone in our Eſteem and Kindneſs, for this I need only give that one Example, *Luke* 14. 26. See *Mal.* 1. 2, 3.

(*c*) From the 7*th* to this 13*th* Verſe proves to the Jews, that though the Promiſe was made to *Abraham* and his Seed, yet it was not to all *Abraham*'s Poſterity, but God firſt choſe *Iſaac* and his Iſſue; And then again of *Iſaac*, (who was but one of the Sons of *Abraham*) when *Rebecca* had conceived Twins by him, God of his ſole good Pleaſure choſe *Jacob* the younger, and his Poſterity to be his peculiar People, and to enjoy the Land of Promiſe.

15 (*d*) See *Exod.* 33. 19. It is obſervable that the Apoſtle, arguing here with the Jews to vindicate the Juſtice of God in caſting them off from being his People, uſes three ſorts of Arguments, the firſt is the Teſtimony of *Moſes*, of God's aſſerting this to himſelf by the Right of his Sovereignty, and this was enough to ſtop the Mouths of the Jews. The ſecond from Reaſon, *ver.* 19——24. and the third from his Predictions of it to the Jews, and the Warning he gave them of it before-hand, *ver.* 25——29. which we ſhall conſider in their places.

16 (*e*) *Willeth* and *runneth*, conſider'd with the Context, plainly direct us to the Story, *Gen.* 27. where *ver.* 3——5. we read *Iſaac*'s purpoſe, and *Eſau*'s going a hunting, and *ver.* 28, 29. we find what the Bleſſing was.

his

PARAPHRASE.

his Subjects the People of *Egypt*, to whom God saith (*f*), *Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my Power in thee, and that my Name might be renowned through all the Earth.* (*g*) Therefore that his
18. Name and Power may be made known and taken notice of in the World, he is kind and bountiful (*h*) to one Nation, and lets another go on obstinately in their Opposition to him, that his taking them off by some signal Calamity and Ruin brought on them by the visible Hand of his Providence, may be seen and acknowledg'd to be an Effect of their standing-out against him, as in the Case of *Pharaoh*: For this End he is bountiful to whom he will be bountiful, and whom he will, he permits to make such an Use of his Forbearance towards them, as to persist obdurate in their Provocation of him, and draw on themselves exemplary Destruction (*i*). To this some may be ready
19. to say, Why then does he find fault? For who at any
20. time hath been able to resist his Will? Say you so indeed? But who art thou, O Man, that replyest thus to God? Shall the Nations (*k*) that are made great or little, shall Kingdoms that are raised or depressed, say to him in whose hands they are, to dispose of them as
21. he pleases, Why hast thou made us thus? Hath not the Potter Power over the Clay of the same Lump, to make this a Vessel of Honour, and that of Dis-

TEXT.

this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.

Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth. 18

Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault: For who hath resisted his will? 19

Nay, but O man, who art thou that replieſt against God? shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? 20

Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour? 21

NOTES.

17 (*f*) *Exod.* 9. 16.

18 (*g*) *Therefore.* That his Name and Power may be made known, and taken notice of in all the Earth, he is kind and bountiful to one Nation, and lets another go on in their Opposition and Obstinacy against him, till their taking off, by some signal Calamity and Ruin brought on them, may be seen and acknowledged to be the Effect of their standing-out against God, as in the case of *Pharaoh*.

(*h*) Ἐλεεῖ, *Hath Mercy.* That by this word is meant being bountiful in his outward Dispensations of Power, Greatness and Protection to one People above another, is plain from the three preceding Verses.

(*i*) *Hardeneth.* That God's *Hardening* spoke of here is what we have explained it in the Paraphrase, is plain in the Instance of *Pharaoh*, given *ver.* 17. as may be seen in that Story; *Exod.* 7——14. which is worth the reading, for the understanding of this place: see also *ver.* 22.

20 (*k*) Here St. *Paul* shews that the Nations of the World, Who are by a better Right in the hands and disposal of God, than the Clay in the Power of the Potter, may without any Question of his Justice be made great and glorious, or be pulled down, and brought into Contempt as he pleases. That he here speaks of Men nationally and not personally, in reference to their eternal State, is evident not only from the beginning of this Chapter, where he shews his Concern for the Nation of the Jews being cast off from being God's People, and the Instances he brings of *Isaac*, of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and of *Pharaoh*; but it appears also very clearly in the Verses immediately following, where by *the Vessels of Wrath fitted for Destruction*, he manifestly means the Nation of the Jews, who were now grown ripe, and fit for the Destruction he was bringing upon them. And by *Vessels of Mercy* the Christian Church, gather'd out of a small Collection of Convert-Jews, and the rest made up of the Gentiles, who together were from thence-forwards to be the People of God in the room of the Jewish Nation, now cast off, as appears by *ver.* 24. The Sense of which Verses is this; "How darest thou, O Man, to call "God to account, and question his Justice in casting off his ancient People the Jews? What "if God willing to punish that sinful People, and to do it so as to have his Power known, and "taken notice of in the doing of it: (For why might he not raise them to that purpose as "well as he did *Pharaoh* and his *Egyptians?*) What, I say, if God bore with them a long time, "even after they had deserved his Wrath, as he did with *Pharaoh*, that his Hand might be the "more eminently visible in their Destruction; and that also at the same time he might with "the more Glory make known his Goodness and Mercy to the Gentiles, whom according to his "purpose he was in a readiness to receive into the glorious State of being his People under "the Gospel?

honour

TEXT.

22 What if God willing to ſhew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-ſuffering the veſſels of wrath fitted to deſtruction:
23 And that he might make

PARAPHRASE.

nour (*l*)? But what haſt thou to ſay, O Man of *Judea*, 22.
if God, willing to ſhew his Wrath, and have his Power taken notice of in his Execution of it, did with much long-ſuffering (*m*) bear with the ſinful Nation of the Jews, even when they were proper Objects of that Wrath, fit to have it poured out upon them in their Deſtruction; That (*n*) he might 23.
make

NOTES.

21 (*l*) *Veſſel unto Honour*, and *Veſſel unto Diſhonour*, ſignifies a thing deſigned by the Maker to an honourable or diſhonourable Uſe: Now why it may not deſign Nations as well as Perſons, and Honour and Proſperity in this World as well as eternal Happineſs and Glory, or Miſery and Puniſhment in the World to come, I do not ſee. In common Reaſon this figurative Expreſſion ought to follow the ſenſe of the Context: And I ſee no peculiar Privilege it hath to wreſt and turn the viſible Meaning of the place to ſomething remote from the Subject in hand. I am ſure no ſuch Authority it has from ſuch an appropriated ſenſe ſettled in Sacred Scripture. This were enough to clear the Apoſtle's ſenſe in theſe words, were there nothing elſe; but *Jer.* 18. 6, 7. from whence this Inſtance of a Potter is taken, ſhews them to have a temporal Senſe, and to relate to the Nation of the Jews.

22 (*m*) *Endured with much long-ſuffering*, Immediately after the Inſtance of *Pharaoh*, whom God ſaid he raiſed up to ſhew his Power in him, *ver.* 17 'tis ſubjoin'd, *ver.* 18. *and whom he will he hardeneth*, plainly with Reference to the Story of *Pharaoh*, who is ſaid to harden himſelf, and whom God is ſaid to harden, as may be ſeen *Exod.* 7. 3, 22, 23. and 8. 15, 32. and 9. 7, 12, 34. and 10. 1, 20, 27. and 11. 9, 10. and 14. 5. What God's part in hardening is, is contained in theſe words, *endured with much long-ſuffering*. God ſends *Moſes* to *Pharaoh* with Signs, *Pharaoh*'s Magicians do the like, and ſo he is not prevailed with. God ſends Plagues; whilſt the Plague is upon him, he is mollified, and promiſes to let the People go: But as ſoon as God takes off the Plague, he returns to his Obſtinacy, and refuſes, and thus over and over again; God's being intreated by him to with-draw the Severity of his Hand, his gracious Compliance with *Pharaoh*'s Deſire to have the Puniſhment removed, was what God did in the Caſe, and this was all Goodneſs and Bounty: But *Pharaoh* and his People made that ill uſe of his Forbearance and Long-ſuffering, as ſtill to harden themſelves the more for God's Mercy and Gentleneſs to them, till they bring on themſelves exemplary Deſtruction from the viſible Power and Hand of God imploy'd in it. This Carriage of their's God fore-ſaw, and ſo made uſe of their obſtinate perverſe Temper for his own Glory, as he himſelf declares, *Exod.* 7. 3——5. and 8. 18. and 9. 14. 16. The Apoſtle, by the Inſtance of a Potter's Power over his Clay, having demonſtrated, that God by his Dominion and Sovereignty, had a Right to ſet up or pull down what Nation he pleaſed; and might without any injuſtice take one Race into his particular Favour to be his peculiar People, or reject them as he thought fit, does in this verſe apply it to the Subject in hand, (*viz.*) the calling off the Jewiſh Nation, whereof he ſpeaks here in Terms that plainly make a Parallel between this and his dealing with the *Egyptians*, mentioned *ver.* 17. and therefore that Story will beſt explain this *verſe*, that thence will receive its full Light. For it ſeems a ſome-what ſtrange ſort of Reaſoning, to ſay, God, to ſhew his Wrath, endured with much Long-ſuffering thoſe who deſerved his Wrath, and were fit for Deſtruction. But he that will read in *Exodus*, God's Dealing with *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, and how God paſſed over Provocation upon Provocation, and patiently endured thoſe who by their firſt Refuſal, nay by their former Cruelty and Oppreſſion of the *Iſraelites*, deſerved his Wrath, and were fitted for Deſtruction, that in a more ſignal Vengeance on the *Egyptians*, and glorious Deliverance of the *Iſraelites*, he might ſhew his Power, and make himſelf be taken notice of, will eaſily ſee the ſtrong and eaſie ſenſe of this and the following Verſe.

23 (*n*) Καὶ ἵνα, *And that*: The Vulgate has not *And*, and there are *Greek* MSS. that juſtifie that Omiſſion, as well as the ſenſe of the place, which is diſturb'd by the Conjunction *And*. For with that reading it runs thus; *And God that he might make known the riches of his Glory*, &c. A learned Paraphraſt, both againſt the Grammar and Senſe of the place, by his own Authority adds, *ſhew'd mercy*, where the Sacred Scripture is ſilent, and ſays no ſuch thing, by which we may make it ſay any thing. If a *Verb* were to be inſerted here, 'tis evident it muſt ſome way or other anſwer to *endured* in the foregoing Verſe; but ſuch an one will not be eaſie to be found that will ſuit here. And indeed there is no need of it, for *And* being left out, the ſenſe ſuitable to St. *Paul*'s Argument here, runs plainly and ſmoothly thus; *What have you Jews to complain of for God's rejecting you from being any longer his people? and giving you up to be over-run and ſubjected by the Gentiles? and his taking them in to be his people in your room? He has as much power over the Nations of the Earth, to make ſome of them mighty and flouriſhing, and others mean and weak, as a Potter has over his Clay, to make what ſort of Veſſels he pleaſes of any part of it. This you cannot deny. God might from the beginning have made you a ſmall neglected people: But he did not. He made you the poſterity of* Jacob, *a greater and mightier people than the poſterity of his elder brother* Eſau, *and made you alſo his own people,*

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make known the Riches of his Glory (*o*) on thoſe whom, being Objects of his Mercy, he had before prepared to
24. Glory? Even us Chriſtians, whom he hath alſo called,
25. not only of the Jews, but alſo of the Gentiles, as he hath declared in *Oſee: I will call them my people, who*
26. *were not my people, and her beloved, who was not beloved. And it ſhall come to paſs, that in the place where it was ſaid unto them, Ye are not my People; there ſhall they be called, the*
27. *Children of the living God. Iſaiah* crieth alſo concerning *Iſrael: Though the number of the Children of Iſrael be as the ſand of the Sea, yet it is but* (*p*) *a remnant that ſhall be ſaved.*
28. *For the Lord finiſhing and contracting the account in righteouſneſs, ſhall make a ſhort or ſmall remainder* (*q*) *in the earth.*
29. And as *Iſaiah* ſaid before, *unleſs the Lord of Hoſts had left us a ſeed* (*r*) *we had been as Sodom, and been made like unto*
30. *Gomorrah*, we had utterly been extirpated. What then remains to be ſaid but this? That the Gentiles, who ſought not after Righteouſneſs, have obtained the Righteouſneſs which is by Faith, and thereby are be-
31. come the People of God; but the Children of *Iſrael*, who followed the Law, which contained the Rule of Righteouſneſs, have not attained to that Law whereby Righteouſneſs is to be attained, *i. e.* have not received the Goſpel (*s*), and ſo are not the People of God.

How

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known the riches of his glory on the veſſels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory?

Even us whom he hath 24
called, not of the Jews only, but alſo of the Gentiles.

As he ſaith alſo in Oſee, 25
I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved.

And it ſhall come to paſs, 26
that in the place where it was ſaid unto them, ye are not my people; there ſhall they be called, The Children of the living God.

Eſaias alſo crieth con- 27
cerning Iſrael, Though the number of the children of Iſrael be as the ſand of the ſea, a remnant ſhall be ſaved.

For he will finiſh the 28
work, and cut it ſhort in righteouſneſs: becauſe a ſhort work will the Lord make upon the earth.

And as Eſaias ſaid be- 29
fore, Except the Lord of Sabbaoth had left us a ſeed, we had been as Sodoma, and been made like unto Gomorrha.

What ſhall we ſay then? 30
That the Gentiles which followed not after righteouſneſs, have attained to righteouſneſs, even the righteouſneſs which is of faith.

But Iſrael, which follow- 31
ed after the law of righteouſneſs, hath not attained to the law of righteouſneſs.

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plentifully provided for in the land of Promiſe. Nay, when your frequent revolts and repeated provocations had made you fit for deſtruction, he with long-ſuffering forbore you, that now under the goſpel, executing his wrath on you, he might manifeſt his glory on us whom he hath called to be his people, conſiſting of a ſmall remnant of Jews, and of Converts out of the Gentiles, whom he had prepared for this glory, as he had foretold by the prophets Hoſea *and* Iſaiah. This is plainly St. *Paul*'s meaning, That God dealt as is deſcribed, *ver.* 22. with the *Jews*, that he might manifeſt his Glory on the *Gentiles*; for ſo he declares over and over again, *Chap.* 11. *ver.* 11. 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 30.

(*o*) *Make known the riches of his Glory, on the veſſels of Mercy.* St. *Paul* in a parallel place, *Col.* 1. has ſo fully explain'd theſe words, that he that will read *ver.* 27. of that Chapter with the Context there, can be in no manner of doubt what St. *Paul* means here.

27 (*p*) *But a remnant.* There needs no more but to read the Text, to ſee this to be the meaning.

28 (*q*) Λόγον συντετμημένον ποιήσει; Shall make a contracted or little Account, or Overplus, a Metaphor taken from an Account wherein the matter is ſo order'd, that the Overplus or Remainder, ſtanding ſtill upon the Account, is very little.

29 (*r*) *A Seed, Iſaiah* 1. 9. The words are, *a very ſmall remnant.*

31 (*s*) See *Chap.* 10. 3. and 11. 6, 7. The Apoſtle's Deſign in this and the following Chapter, is to ſhew the Reaſon why the Jews were caſt off from being the People of God, and the Gentiles admitted. From whence it follows, that by *attaining to righteouſneſs, and to the law of*

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32 Wherefore? Becauſe they ſought it, not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law: for they ſtumbled at that ſtumbling ſtone;

33 As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a ſtumbling ſtone, and rock of offence: and whoſoever believeth on him, ſhall not be aſhamed.

1 Brethren, my hearts deſire and prayer to God for Iſrael, is that they might be ſaved.

2 For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.

3 For they being ignorant of God's righteouſneſs, and going about to eſtabliſh their own righteouſneſs, have not ſubmitted themſelves unto the righteouſneſs of God.

4 For Chriſt is the end of the law for righteouſneſs to every one that believeth.

5 For Moſes deſcribeth the righteouſneſs which is of the law, That the man which doth thoſe things, ſhall live by them.

6 But the righteouſneſs which is of faith, ſpeaketh on this wiſe, Say not in thine heart, Who ſhall aſcend into heaven? (that is to bring Chriſt down from above)

7 Or, who ſhall deſcend into the deep? (that is to bring up Chriſt again from the dead)

8 But what ſaith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is the word of faith which we preach,

9 That if thou ſhalt con-

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How came they to miſs it? Becauſe they ſought not to attain it by Faith; but as if it were to be obtained by the Works of the Law. A crucified Meſſiah was a ſtumbling-block to them (*t*); and at that they ſtumbled, as it is written, *Behold I lay in Sion a ſtumbling-block, and a rock of offence, and whoſoever believeth in him ſhall not be aſhamed.* Brethren, my hearty Deſire and Prayer to God for *Iſrael* is, that they may be ſaved. For I bear them Witneſs, that they are zealous (*u*), and as they think for God and his Law; but their Zeal is not guided by true Knowledge: For they being Ignorant of the Righteouſneſs that is of God, *viz.* That Righteouſneſs which he graciouſly beſtows and accepts of; and going about to eſtabliſh a Righteouſneſs of their own, which they ſeek for in their own Performances, have not brought themſelves to ſubmit to the Law of the Goſpel, wherein the Righteouſneſs of God *i. e.* Righteouſneſs by Faith, is offered. For the End of the Law (*w*) was to bring Men to Chriſt, that by believing in him every one that did ſo might be juſtified by Faith; For *Moſes* deſcribeth the Righteouſneſs that was to be had by the Law thus: *That the Man which doth the Things required in the Law, ſhall have Life thereby.* But the Righteouſneſs which is of Faith ſpeaketh after this manner: *Say not in thine heart, who ſhall aſcend into Heaven*, that is to bring down the Meſſiah from thence, whom we expect perſonally here on Earth to deliver us? *Or who ſhall deſcend into the deep*, i. e. to bring up Chriſt again from the Dead to be our Saviour? You miſtake the Deliverance you expect by the Meſſiah, there needs not the fetching him from the other World to be preſent with you: The Deliverance by him is a Deliverance from Sin, that you may be made Righteous by Faith in him, and that ſpeaks thus; *The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart*; that is, the Word of Faith, or the Doctrine of the Goſpel which we preach, (*x*) *viz. If thou ſhalt confeſs*

32. 33. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.

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of righteouſneſs here, is meant not attaining to the Righteouſneſs which puts particular Perſons into the State of Juſtification and Salvation; but the Acceptance of that Law, the Profeſſion of that Religion wherein that Righteouſneſs is exhibited; which Profeſſion of that which is now the only true Religion, and owning our ſelves under that Law which is now ſolely the Law of God, puts any collective Body of Men into the State of being the People of God. For every one of the Jews and Gentiles that *attain'd to the Law of Righteouſneſs*, or *to Righteouſneſs* in the ſenſe St. *Paul* ſpeaks here, *i. e.* became a Profeſſor of the Chriſtian Religion, did not attain to eternal Salvation. In the ſame ſenſe muſt *Chap.* 10. 3. and 11. 7, 8. be underſtood.

33 (*t*) See 1 *Cor.* 1. 23.

2 (*u*) This their *Zeal* for God, ſee deſcribed, *Acts* 21. 27——31. and 22. 3.

4 (*w*) See *Gal.* 3. 24.

8 (*x*) St. *Paul* had told them, *ver.* 4. that the End of the Law was to bring them to Life by Faith in Chriſt, that they might be juſtified, and ſo be ſaved. To convince them of this, he

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ſeſs with thy mouth (*y*), i. e. openly own Jeſus the Lord, *i. e.* Jeſus to be the Meſſiah, thy Lord, and ſhalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raiſed him from the Dead, (*z*) otherwiſe he cannot be believed to be the
10. Meſſiah, thou ſhalt be ſaved. 'Twas not for nothing that *Moſes* in the place above-cited mentioned both Heart and Mouth, there is Uſe of both in the caſe. For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the Mouth Confeſſion (*a*) is made unto Salvation.
11. For the Scripture ſaith, *whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed*, ſhall not repent his having believed,
12. and owning it. The Scripture ſaith, *whoſoever*, for in this caſe there is no Diſtinction of Jew and Gentile. For it is he the ſame who is Lord of them all, and is
13. abundantly bountiful to all that call upon him. For whoſoever ſhall call (*b*) upon his name ſhall be ſaved. But

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ſeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raiſed him from the dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.

10 For with the heart man believeth unto righteouſneſs, and with the mouth confeſſion is made unto ſalvation.

11 For the Scripture ſaith, Whoſoever believeth on him ſhall not be aſhamed.

12 For there is no difference between the Jew and the Greeks: for the ſame Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him.

13 For whoſoever ſhall call upon the name of the Lord, ſhall be ſaved.

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brings three Verſes out of the Book of the Law it ſelf, declaring that the Way to Life was by hearkening to that Word which was ready in their Mouth and in their Heart, and that therefore they had no reaſon to reject Jeſus the Chriſt, becauſe he died and was now removed into Heaven, and was remote from them; their very Law propoſed Life to them by ſomething nigh them, that might lead them to their Deliverer: By Words and Doctrines that might be always at hand in their Mouths and in their Hearts, and ſo lead them to Chriſt, *i. e.* to that Faith in him which the Apoſtle preached to them: I ſubmit to the attentive Reader, whether this be not the Meaning of this place.

9 (*y*) The Expectation of the Jews was, that the Meſſiah, who was promiſed them, was to be their Deliverer, and ſo far they were in the right. But that which they expected to be delivered from, at his appearing, was the Power and Dominion of Strangers. When our Saviour came, their Reckoning was up; and the Miracles which Jeſus did, concurr'd to perſuade them that it was he: But his obſcure Birth and mean Appearance, ſuited not with that Power and Splendor they had fanſied to themſelves he ſhould come in. This with his denouncing to them the Ruine of their Temple and State at hand, ſet the Rulers againſt him, and held the Body of the Jews in Suſpenſe till his Crucifixion, and that gave a full Turn of their Minds from him. They had figured him a mighty Prince at the Head of their Nation, ſetting them free from all foreign Power, and themſelves at Eaſe, and happy under his glorious Reign. But when at the Paſſover the whole People were Witneſſes of his Death, they gave up all thought of Deliverance by him. He was gone, they ſaw him no more, and 'twas paſt doubt a dead Man could not be the Meſſiah or Deliverer, even of thoſe who believed him. 'Tis againſt theſe Prejudices that what *Paul* ſays in this and the three preceding Verſes ſeem directed, wherein he teaches them, that there was no need to fetch the Meſſiah out of Heaven, or out of the Grave, and bring him perſonally among them. For the Deliverance he was to work for them, the Salvation by him was Salvation from Sin, and Condemnation for that; and that was to be had by barely believing and owning him to be the Meſſiah their King, and that he was raiſed from the Dead; by this they would be ſaved without his Perſonal Preſence amongſt them.

(*z*) *Raiſed him from the dead.* The Doctrine of the Lord Jeſus being raiſed from the Dead, is certainly one of the moſt fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Religion; but yet there ſeems another Reaſon why St. *Paul* here annexes Salvation to the Belief of it, which may be found *ver.* 7. where he teaches that it was not neceſſary for their Salvation, that they ſhould have Chriſt out of his Grave perſonally preſent amongſt them; and here he gives them the Reaſon, becauſe if they did but own him for their Lord, and believe that he was raiſed, that ſufficed, they ſhould be ſaved.

10 (*a*) Believing, and an open avowed Profeſſion of the Goſpel, are required by our Saviour, *Mark* 16. 16.

13 (*b*) Whoever hath with Care look'd into St. *Paul*'s Writings, muſt own him to be a cloſe Reaſoner that argues to the Point; and therefore if in the three preceding verſes he requires an open Profeſſion of the Goſpel, I cannot but think that *all that call upon him*, *ver.* 12. ſignifies all that are open profeſſed Chriſtians; and if this be the meaning of calling upon him, *ver.* 12. it is plain it muſt be the meaning *of calling upon his name*, *ver.* 13. a Phraſe not very remote from *naming his name*, which is uſed by St. *Paul* for profeſſing Chriſtianity, 2 *Tim.* 2. 19. If the meaning of the Prophet *Joel*, from whom theſe words be taken, be urged, I ſhall only ſay, that it will be an ill Rule for interpreting St. *Paul*, to tie up his uſe of any

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14 How then ſhall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they hear without a preacher?

15 And how ſhall they preach, except they be ſent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the goſpel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?

16 But they have not all obeyed the goſpel. For Eſaias ſaith, Lord, who hath believed our report?

17 So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.

18 But I ſay, have they not heard? yes, verily, their ſound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.

19 But I ſay, Did not Iſrael know? Firſt Moſes ſaith, I will provoke you to jealouſie by them that are no people, and by a fooliſh nation I will anger you.

20 But Eſaias is very bold, and ſaith, I was found of

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But how ſhall they call upon him on whom they have not believed? And how ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how ſhall they hear without a Preacher? And how ſhall they preach except they be ſent (*c*)? As it is written, *How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the goſpel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?* But though there be Meſſengers ſent from God to preach the Goſpel; yet it is not to be expected that all ſhould receive and obey it (*d*). For *Iſaiah* hath foretold that they ſhould not, ſaying, *Lord, who hath believed our Report?* That which we may learn from thence is, that Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing from the Word of God, *i. e.* the Revelation of the Goſpel in the Writings of the Sacred Scriptures, communicated by thoſe whom God ſends as Preachers thereof, to thoſe who are ignorant of it; and there is no need that Chriſt ſhould be brought down from Heaven, to be perſonally with you, to be your Saviour. It is enough that both Jews and Gentiles have heard of him by Meſſengers, whoſe Voice is gone out into the whole Earth, and Words unto the Ends of the World, far beyond the Bound of *Judea*.

But I ask, did not *Iſrael* know (*e*) this, that the Gentiles were to be taken in and made the People of God? Firſt *Moſes* tells it them from God, who ſays, *I will provoke you to jealouſie by them who are no people; and by a fooliſh Nation I will anger you.* But *Iſaiah* declares it yet much plainer in theſe words; *I was found of them that*

14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

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Text he brings out of the Old Teſtament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an Example than the 6, 7, 8 Verſes of this Chapter, which I deſire any one to read as they ſtand, *Deut.* 30. 11——14. and ſee whether St. *Paul* uſes them here in the ſame Senſe.

15 (*c*) St. *Paul* is careful every where to keep himſelf, as well as poſſibly he can, in the Minds and fair Eſteem of his Brethren the *Jews*; may not therefore this, with the two foregoing verſes, be underſtood as an Apology to them for profeſſing himſelf an Apoſtle of the Gentiles, as he does by the Tenor of this Epiſtle, and in the next Chapter in words at length, *ver.* 13? In this Chapter *ver.* 12. he had ſhewed that both Jews and Greeks or Gentiles were to be ſaved only by receiving the Goſpel of Chriſt: And if ſo, it was neceſſary that ſomebody ſhould be ſent to teach it them, and therefore the Jews had no reaſon to be angry with any that was ſent on that Imployment.

16 (*d*) *But they have not all obeyed.* This ſeems an Objection of the Jews to what St. *Paul* had ſaid, which he anſwers in this and the following verſe. The Objection and Anſwer ſeems to ſtand thus: You tell us that you are ſent from God to preach the Goſpel; If it be ſo, how comes it that all that have heard, have not received and obeyed; and ſince, according to what you would inſinuate, the Meſſengers of good Tidings (which is the Import of *Evangel* in Greek, and *Goſpel* in Engliſh) were ſo welcome to them? To this he anſwers out of *Iſaiah*, that the Meſſengers ſent from God were not believed by all. But from thoſe words of *Iſaiah*, he draws an Inference to confirm the Argument he was upon, *viz.* that Salvation cometh by hearing and believing the *Word of* God. He had laid it down, *ver.* 8. that it was by their having ῥῆμα πίστεως, *the word of faith*, nigh them or preſent with them, and not by the bodily Preſence of their Deliverer amongſt them, that they were to be ſaved. This ῥῆμα *word*, he tells them, *ver.* 17. is by Preaching brought to be actually preſent with them and the Gentiles; ſo that it was their own Fault if they believed it not to Salvation.

19 (*e*) *Did not Iſrael know?* In this, and the next Verſes, St. *Paul* ſeems to ſuppoſe a reaſoning of the Jews to this Purpoſe, *viz.* That they did not deſerve to be caſt off, becauſe they did not know that the Gentiles were to be admitted, and ſo might be excuſed if they did not embrace a Religion, wherein they were to mix with the Gentiles; and to this he anſwers in the following Verſes.

ſought

PARAPHRASE.

ſought me not; I was made manifeſt to them that asked not
21. *after me.* And to *Iſrael*, to ſhew their Refuſal, he ſaith; *All day long have I ſtretched forth mine hands unto a diſobedient and gainſaying people.*

TEXT.

them that ſought me not; I was made manifeſt unto them that asked not after me.

But to Iſrael he ſaith, 21 All day long have I ſtretched forth my hands unto a diſobedient and gainſaying People.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XI. 1—36.

CONTENTS.

THE Apoſtle in this Chapter goes on to ſhew the future State of the Jews and Gentiles, in reſpect of Chriſtianity, *viz.* That tho' the Nation of the Jews were for their Unbelief rejected, and the Gentiles taken in their room to be the People of God; yet there was a few of the Jews that believed in Chriſt, and ſo a ſmall Remnant of them continued to be God's People, being incorporated with the converted Gentiles into the Chriſtian Church. But they ſhall, the whole Nation of them, when the Fulneſs of the Gentiles is come in, be converted to the Goſpel, and again be reſtored to be the People of God.

The Apoſtle takes Occaſion alſo from God's having rejected the Jews, to warn the Gentile Converts, that they take Heed: Since if God caſt off his ancient People the Jews for their Unbelief, the Gentiles could not expect to be preſerved, if they apoſtatized from the Faith, and kept not firm in their Obedience to the Goſpel.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Say then, Has (*f*) God wholly caſt away his People the Jews from being his People? By no means. For I my ſelf am an Iſraelite, of the Seed of *Abraham*,
2. of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. God hath not utterly caſt off his People whom he formerly owned (*g*) with ſo peculiar a Reſpect. Know ye not what the Scripture ſaith concerning *Eliah*? How he complain'd to the
3. God of *Iſrael* in theſe Words: *Lord, they have killed thy Prophets, and have digged down thine Altars, and of all that worſhipped thee, I alone am left, and they ſeek my Life alſo.*

TEXT.

I Say then, Hath God 1 caſt away his people? God forbid. For I alſo am an Iſraelite, of the ſeed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.

God hath not caſt away 2 his people which he foreknew. Wot ye not what the ſcripture ſaith of Elias? how he maketh interceſſion to God againſt Iſrael, ſaying,

Lord, they have killed 3 thy Prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they ſeek my life.

NOTES.

1 (*f*) This is a Queſtion in the Perſon of a Jew, who made the Objections in the foregoing Chapter, and continues on to object here.

2 (*g*) See *Chap.* 8. 29.

But

TEXT.

4 But what ſaith the anſwer of God unto him? I have reſerved to my ſelf ſeven thouſand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.

5 Even ſo then at this preſent time alſo there is a remnant according to the election of grace.

6 And if by Grace, then is it no more of works; otherwiſe grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace: otherwiſe work is no more work.

7 What then? Iſrael hath not obtained that which he ſeeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the reſt were blinded:

8 According as it is written, God hath given them the ſpirit of ſlumber, eyes that they ſhould not ſee, and ears that they ſhould not hear, unto this day.

9 And David ſaith, Let their table be made a ſnare, and a trap, and a ſtumbling-block, and a recompence unto them.

10 Let their eyes be darkened,

PARAPHRASE.

But what ſaith the Anſwer of God to him? *I have reſerved to my ſelf ſeven thouſand Men, who have not bowed the Knee to* Baal (*h*) *i. e.* have not been guilty of Idolatry. 4.

Even ſo at this time alſo there is a Remnant reſerved and ſegregated by the Favour and free Choice of God. 5.

Which Reſervation of a Remnant, if it be by Grace and Favour, it is not of Works (*i*), for then Grace would not be Grace. But if it were of Works, then is it not Grace. For then Work would not be Work, *i. e.* Work gives a Right, Grace beſtows the Favour where there is no Right to it; ſo that what is confer'd by the one cannot be aſcribed to the other. 6.

How is it then? Even thus; *Iſrael*, or the Nation of the Jews, obtained not what it ſeeks (*k*) but the Election (*l*), or that part which was to remain God's Elect choſen People, obtained it, but the reſt of them were blinded (*m*): 7.

According as it is written (*n*), *God hath given them the Spirit of Slumber; Eyes that they ſhould not ſee, and Ears that they ſhould not hear, unto this day.* 8.

And *David* ſaith (*o*), *Let their Table be made a Snare and a Trap, and a Stumbling-block, and a Recompence unto them: Let their Eyes be* 9. 10.

NOTES.

4 (*h*) *Baal* and *Baalim* was the Name whereby the falſe Gods and Idols which the Heathens worſhiped were ſignified in Sacred Scripture; See *Judges* 11. 11——13. *Hoſ.* 11. 2.

6 (*i*) *It is not of works.* This Excluſion of Works, ſeems to be miſtaken by thoſe who extend it to all manner of Difference in the Perſon choſen, from thoſe that were rejected; for ſuch a Choice as that, excludes not Grace in the Chooſer, but Merit in the Choſen. For it is plain that by *Works* here St. *Paul* means Merit, as is evident alſo from *Chap.* 4. 2——4. The Law required compleat perfect Obedience: He that performed that, had a Right to the Reward; but he that failed and came ſhort of that, had by the Law no Right to any thing but Death. And ſo the Jews being all Sinners, God might without Injuſtice have caſt them all off; none of them could plead a Right to his Favour. If therefore he choſe out and reſerv'd any, it was of meer Grace, tho' in his Choice he preferr'd thoſe who were the beſt diſpoſed and moſt inclined to his Service. A whole Province revolts from their Prince, and takes Arms againſt him; He reſolves to pardon ſome of them. This is a Purpoſe of Grace. He reduces them under his Power, and then chooſes out of them, as Veſſels of Mercy, thoſe that he finds leaſt infected with Malice, Obſtinacy and Rebellion. This Choice neither voids nor abates his Purpoſe of Grace, that ſtands firm; but only executes it ſo as may beſt comport with his Wiſdom and Goodneſs. And indeed without ſome Regard to a Difference in the things taken from thoſe that are left, I do not ſee how it can be called Choice. An handful of Pebbles, for Example, may be taken out of a Heap; they are taken and ſeparated indeed from the reſt, but if it be without any Regard to any Difference in them from others rejected, I doubt whether any body can call them choſen.

7 (*k*) *What it ſeeks*, i. e. That Righteouſneſs whereby it was to continue the People of God; ſee *ch.* 9. 31. It may be obſerved, that St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe being of the National Privilege of continuing the People of God, he ſpeaks here, and all along of the Jews in the collective term *Iſrael*. And ſo likewiſe the *Remnant*, which were to remain his People, and incorporate with the Convert Gentiles, into one Body of Chriſtians, owning the Dominion of the one true God, in the Kingdom he had ſet up under his Son, and owned by God for his People, he calls the *Election*.

(*l*) *Election*, a collective Appellation of the Part elected, which in other places he calls *Remnant*. This *Remnant* or *Election*, call it by which name you pleaſe, were thoſe who ſought Righteouſneſs by Faith in Chriſt, and not by the Deeds of the Law, and ſo became the People of God, that People which he had choſen to be his.

(*m*) *Blinded*, ſee 2 *Cor.* 3. 13——16.

8 (*n*) *Written*, Iſa. 29. 10. and 6. 9, 10.

9 (*o*) *Saith*, Pſal. 69. 22, 23.

darkned,

An.Ch.57. Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

darkned, that they may not ſee, and bow down their back alway. What then do I ſay, that they have ſo ſtumbled as to be fallen paſt Recovery? By no means: But this I ſay, that by their Fall, by their Rejection for refuſing (*p*) the Goſpel, the Privilege of becoming the People of God, by receiving the Doctrine of Salvation, is come to the Gentiles, to provoke the Jews to Jealouſy. Now if the Fall of the Jews hath been to the enriching of the reſt of the World, and their Damage an Advantage to the Gentiles, by letting them into the Church, how much more ſhall their Completion be ſo, when their whole Nation ſhall be reſtored? This I ſay to you Gentiles, foraſmuch as being Apoſtle of the Gentiles, I magnifie (*q*) mine Office: If by any means I may provoke to Emulation the Jews, who are my own Fleſh and Blood, and bring ſome of them into the way of Salvation. For if the caſting them off be a Means of reconciling the World, what ſhall their Reſtoration be, when they are taken again into Favour, but as it were Life from the Dead, which is to all Mankind of all Nations? For if the Firſt-fruits (*r*) be holy (*s*) and accepted, the whole Product of the Year is holy, and will be accepted. And if *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, from whom the Jewiſh Nation had their Original, were holy, the Branches alſo that ſprang from this Root are holy. If then ſome of the natural Branches were broken off: If ſome of the natural Jews, of the Stock of *Iſrael*, were broken off and rejected, and thou a Heathen of the wild Gentile-Race, were taken in, and ingrafted into the Church of God in their room: And there partakeſt of the Bleſſings promiſed to *Abraham* and his Seed, be not ſo conceited of thy ſelf, as to ſhew any Diſreſpect (*t*) to the Jews. If any ſuch Vanity poſſeſſes thee, remember that the Privilege thou haſt in being a Chriſtian, is derived to thee from the Promiſe made to *Abraham* and his Seed, but nothing accrues to *Abraham* or his

11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18.

TEXT.

ned, that they may not ſee, and bown down their back alway.

11 I ſay then, Have they ſtumbled that they ſhould fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall ſalvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealouſie.

12 Now if the fall of them be the riches of the world, and the diminiſhing of them the riches of the Gentiles: how much more their fulneſs?

13 For I ſpeak to you Gentiles in as much as I am the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, I magnifie mine office:

14 If by any means I may provoke to emulation them which are my fleſh, and might ſave ſome of them.

15 For if the caſting away of them be the reconciling of the world; what ſhall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?

16 For if the firſt-fruit be holy, the lump is alſo holy: and if the root be holy, ſo are the branches.

17 And if ſome of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive-tree, were graffed in amongſt them, and with them partakeſt of the root and fatneſs of the olive-tree;

18 Boaſt not againſt the branches: but if thou boaſt, thou beareſt not the root, but the root thee.

NOTES.

11 (*p*) That this is the meaning of *Fall* here, ſee *Acts* 13. 46.

13 (*q*) St. *Paul* magnified his Office of Apoſtle of the Gentiles, not only by preaching the Goſpel to the Gentiles; but in aſſuring them farther, as he does, *ver.* 12. that when the Nation of the Jews ſhall be reſtored, the Fulneſs of the Gentiles ſhall alſo come in.

16 (*r*) Theſe Alluſions the Apoſtle makes uſe of here, to ſhew that the Patriarchs, *the Root* of the Jewiſh Nation, being accepted by God; and the few Jewiſh Converts which at firſt enter'd into the Chriſtian Church, being alſo accepted by God, are, as it were, *firſt Fruits* or Pledges, that God will in due time admit the whole Nation of the Jews into his viſible Church, to be his peculiar People again.

(*s*) *Holy:* By *Holy* is here meant that relative Holineſs whereby any thing hath an Appropriation to God.

18 (*t*) *Boaſt not againſt the Branches.* Tho' the great Fault that moſt diſorder'd the Church, and principally exercis'd the Apoſtle's Care in this Epiſtle, was from the Jews preſſing the Neceſſity of legal Obſervances, and not brooking that the Gentiles, tho' Converts to Chriſtianity, ſhould be admitted into their Communion, without being circumciſed; yet it is plain from this Verſe, as alſo *ch.* 14. 3, 10. that the Convert Gentiles were not wholly without Fault on their ſide, in treating the Jews with Diſeſteem and Contempt. To this alſo, as it comes in his way, he applies fit Remedies, particularly in this Chapter, and *ch.* 14.

Race

TEXT.

19 Thou wilt ſay then, The branches were broken off, that I might be graffed in.
20 Well; becauſe of unbelief they were broken off, and thou ſtandeſt by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.
21 For if God ſpared not the natural branches, take heed leſt he alſo ſpare not thee.
22 Behold therefore the goodneſs and ſeverity of God: on them which fell, ſeverity, but towards thee, goodneſs, if thou continue in his goodneſs: otherwiſe thou alſo ſhalt be cut off.
23 And they alſo, if they bide not ſtill in unbelief, ſhall be graffed in: for God is able to graff them in again.
24 For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert graffed contrary to nature into a good olive-tree; how much more ſhall theſe which be the natural branches, be graffed into their own olive-tree?
25 For I would not, brethren, that ye ſhould be ignorant of this myſtery (leſt ye ſhould be wiſe in your own conceits) that blindneſs in part is happen'd to Iſrael, until the fulneſs of the Gentiles be come in.
26 And ſo all Iſrael ſhall be ſaved: as it is written, There ſhall come out of Sion the deliverer, and ſhall turn away ungodlineſs from Jacob.

PARAPHRASE.

Race by any thing derived from thee. Thou wilt perhaps ſay, the Jews were rejected to make way for me. Well, let it be ſo: But remember that 'twas becauſe of Unbelief that they were broken off, and that 'tis by Faith alone that thou haſt obtained, and muſt keep thy preſent Station. This ought to be a Warning to thee, not to have any haughty Conceit of thy ſelf, but with Modeſty to fear. For if God ſpared not the Seed of *Abraham*, but caſt off even the Children of *Iſrael* for their Unbelief, he will certainly not ſpare thee, if thou art guilty of the like Miſcarriage. Mind therefore the Benignity and Rigour of God, Rigour to them that ſtumbled at the Goſpel and fell, but Benignity to thee, if thou continue within the Sphere of his Benignity, *i. e.* in the Faith by which thou partakeſt of the Privilege of being one of his People: Otherwiſe even thou alſo ſhalt be cut off. And the Jews alſo, if they continue not in Unbelief, ſhall be again grafted into the Stock of *Abraham*, and be re-eſtabliſhed the People of God. For however they are now ſcatter'd, and under Subjection to Strangers, God is able to collect them again into one Body, make them his People, and ſet them in a flouriſhing Condition in their own Land (*u*). For if you who are Heathens by Birth, and not of the promiſed Seed, were, when you had neither Claim nor Inclination to it, brought into the Church, and made the People of God; how much more ſhall thoſe who are the Poſterity and Deſcendants of him to whom the Promiſe was made, be reſtored to the State which the Promiſe veſted in that Family? For to prevent your being conceited of your ſelves, my Brethren, let me make known to you, which has yet been undiſcovered to the World, *viz.* That the Blindneſs, which has fallen upon part of *Iſrael*, ſhall remain upon them but till the time be come, wherein the whole (*w*) Gentile World ſhall enter into the Church, and make Profeſſion of Chriſtianity. And ſo all *Iſrael* ſhall be converted (*x*) to the Chriſtian Faith, and the whole Nation become the People of God: As it is written, *There ſhall come out of* Sion *the Deliverer, and ſhall turn away Un-*

19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.

NOTES.

23 (*u*) This *grafting in again*, ſeems to import, that the Jews ſhall be a flouriſhing Nation again, profeſſing Chriſtianity in the Land of Promiſe, for that is to be re-inſtated again in the Promiſe made to *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*. This St. *Paul* might, for good Reaſons, be withheld from ſpeaking out here: But in the Prophets there are very plain Intimations of it.

25 (*w*) Πλήρωμα, The *Fulneſs* of the Jews, *ver.* 12. is the whole Body of the Jewiſh Nation profeſſing Chriſtianity: And therefore here πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν, *The Fulneſs of the Gentiles*, muſt be the whole Body of the Gentiles profeſſing Chriſtianity. And this *ver.* 15. ſeems to teach. For the Reſurrection is of all.

26 (*x*) Σωθήσεται, *ſhall be ſaved*. 'Tis plain that the Salvation that St. *Paul* in this Diſcourſe concerning the Nation of the Jews, and the Gentile World in groſs, ſpeaks of, is not eternal Happineſs in Heaven, but he means by it the Profeſſion of the true Religion here on Earth. Whether it be that that is as far as Corporations or Bodies Politick can go, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, I will not enquire. But this is evident, that being ſaved, is uſed by the Apoſtle here in this Senſe. That all the Jewiſh Nation may become the People of God again, by taking up the Chriſtian Profeſſion, may be eaſily conceived. But that every Perſon of ſuch a Chriſtian Nation, ſhall attain eternal Salvation in Heaven, I think no body can imagine to be here intended.

PARAPHRASE.

27. *godlineſs from* Jacob. *For this is my Covenant to them, when*
28. *I ſhall take away* (*y*) *their Sins.* They are indeed at preſent Strangers to the Goſpel, and ſo are in the State of Enemies (*z*), but this is for your ſakes: Their Fall and Loſs is your enriching, you having obtain'd Admittance through their being caſt out: But yet they, being within the Election that God made of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, and their Poſterity, to be his People, are ſtill his beloved People, for *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*'s
29. ſake, from whom they are deſcended. For the Favours that God ſhew'd thoſe their Fathers, in calling them and their Poſterity to be his People, he doth not repent of; but his Promiſe, that they ſhall be his Peo-
30. ple, ſhall ſtand good (*a*). For as you the Gentiles formerly ſtood out, and were not the People of God, but yet have now obtained Mercy ſo as to be taken in through the ſtanding out of the Jews, who ſubmit not
31. to the Goſpel (*b*): Even ſo they now have ſtood out by reaſon of your being in Mercy admitted, that they alſo, through the Mercy you have receiv'd, may again
32. hereafter be admitted. For God hath put up together in a State of Revolt from their Allegiance (*c*) to him, as it were in one Fold, all Men, both Jews and Gentiles, that through his Mercy they might all, both Jews and Gentiles, come to be his People, *i. e.* he hath ſuffer'd both Jews and Gentiles in their turns not to be his People, that he might bring the whole Body, both of

TEXT.

For this is my covenant 27
unto them, when I ſhall
take away their ſins.

As concerning the go- 28
ſpel, they are enemies for
your ſake: but as touch-
ing the election, they are
beloved for the fathers
ſakes.

For the gifts and cal- 29
ling of God are without
repentance.

For as ye in times paſt 30
have not believed God,
yet have now obtained
mercy through their un-
belief:

Even ſo have theſe al- 31
ſo now not believed, that
through your mercy they
alſo may obtain mercy.

For God hath conclu- 32
ded them all in unbelief,
that he might have mercy
upon all.

NOTES.

27 (*y*) *Take away*, i. e. Forgive *their Sins*, and take away the Puniſhment they live under for them.

28 (*z*) Ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*, ſignifies Strangers or Aliens, *i. e.* ſuch as are no longer the People of God. For they are called *Enemies* in oppoſition to *Beloved*, in this very Verſe. And the Reaſon given why they are *Enemies*, makes it plain, that this is the Senſe, (*viz*) *For the Gentiles ſake*, i. e. They are rejected from being the People of God, that you Gentiles may be taken in to be the People of God in their room, *ver.* 30. The ſame Signification has ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*, ch. 5. 10. καὶ' εὐαγγέλιον ἐχθροὶ, as *concerning the Goſpel*, *Enemies*, i. e. all thoſe, who not embracing the Goſpel, not receiving Chriſt for their King and Lord, are Aliens from the Kingdom of God, and all ſuch Aliens are called ἐχθροὶ, *Enemies*. And ſo indeed were the Jews now: but yet they were κατ' ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοὶ, *as touching the Election*, *beloved*, i. e. were not actually within the Kingdom of God his People, but were within the *Election* which God had made of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, and their Poſterity to be his People, and ſo God had ſtill Intentions of Kindneſs to them for their Fathers ſake, to make them again his People.

29 (*a*) So God's Repenting is explain'd, *Numb.* 23. 19——24.

30 (*b*) See *Acts* 13. 46.

32 (*c*) Εἰς ἀπείθειαν, *In Unbelief*. The *Unbelief* here charged nationally on Jews and Gentiles in their turns, in this and the two preceding Verſes, whereby they ceaſed to be the People of God, was evidently the diſowning of his Dominion, whereby they put themſelves out of the Kingdom which he had and ought to have in the World, and ſo were no longer in the State of Subjects, but Aliens and Rebels. A general View of Mankind will lead us into an eaſier Conception of St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, who all through this Epiſtle conſiders the Gentiles, Jews and Chriſtians, as three diſtinct Bodies of Men.

God by Creation had no doubt an unqueſtionable Sovereignty over Mankind, and this was at firſt acknowledg'd in their Sacrifices and Worſhip of him. Afterwards they withdrew themſelves from their Submiſſion to him, and found out other Gods, whom they worſhiped and ſerved. This Revolt from God, and the Conſequence of it, God's abandoning them, St. *Paul* deſcribes, *ch.* 1. 18——32.

In this State of Revolt from God were the Nations of the Earth in the times of *Abraham*; and then *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, and their Poſterity the Iſraelites, upon God's gracious Call, return'd to their Allegiance to their ancient and rightful King and Sovereign, to own the

one

TEXT.

33 O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!
34 For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counseller?
35 Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?
36 For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

of Jews and Gentiles, to be his People. O the Depth of the Riches of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God (*d*)! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways not to be traced! For who hath known the Mind of the Lord? Or who hath sat in Counsel with him? Or who hath been before-hand with him, in bestowing any thing upon him, that God may repay it to him again (*e*)? The Thought of any such thing is absurd. For from him all things have their Being and Original; By him they are all order'd and disposed of, and for him and his Glory they are all made and regulated, to whom be Glory for ever. Amen. 33. 34. 35. 36.

NOTES.

one invisible God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, for their God, and so become his People again, to whom he, as to his peculiar People, gave a Law. And thus remain'd the Distinction between Jews and Gentiles, *i. e.* the Nations, as the word signifies, till the time of the Messiah, and then the Jews ceased to be the People of God, not by a direct Renouncing the God of *Israel*, and taking to themselves other false Gods whom they worshiped: but by opposing and rejecting the Kingdom of God, which he purposed at that time to set up with new Laws and Institutions, and to a more glorious and spiritual Purpose under his Son Jesus Christ: Him God sent to them, and him the Nation of the Jews refus'd to receive as their Lord and Ruler, tho' he was their promised King and Deliverer, answering all the Prophesies and Types of him, and evidencing his Mission by his Miracles. By this Rebellion against him, into whose hand God had committed the Rule of his Kingdom, and appointed Lord over all things, the Jews turn'd themselves out of the Kingdom of God, and ceas'd to be his People, who had now no other People but those who receiv'd and obey'd his Son as their Lord and Ruler. This was the ἀπιστια, *Unbelief*, here spoken of. And I would be glad to know any other Sense of *Believing* or *Unbelief*, wherein it can be nationally attributed to a People (as visibly here it is) whereby they shall cease, or come to be the People of God, or visible Subjects of his Kingdom here on Earth. Indeed to enjoy Life and Estate in this, as well as other Kingdoms, not only the owning of the Prince, and the Authority of his Laws, but also Obedience to them is required. For a Jew might own the Authority of God, and his Law given by *Moses*, and so be a true Subject, and as much a Member of the Commonwealth of *Israel*, as any one in it, and yet forfeit his Life by Disobedience to the Law. And a Christian may own the Authority of Jesus Christ, and of the Gospel, and yet forfeit eternal Life by his Disobedience to the Precepts of it, as may be seen, *ch.* 7, 8, and 9.

33 (*d*) This emphatical Conclusion seems in a special manner to regard the Jews, whom the Apostle would hereby teach Modesty and Submission to the over-ruling Hand of the All-wise God, whom they are very unfit to call to account for his dealing so favourably with the Gentiles. His Wisdom and Ways are infinitely above their Comprehension, and will they take upon them to advise him what to do? Or is God in their Debt? Let them say for what, and he shall repay it to them. This is a very strong Rebuke to the Jews, but delivered, as we see, in a way very gentle and inoffensive. A Method which the Apostle endeavours every where to observe towards his Nation.

35 (*e*) This has a manifest Respect to the Jews, who claim'd a Right to be the People of God so far, that St. *Paul*, ch. 9. 14. finds it necessary to vindicate the Justice of God in the Case, and does here in this Question expose and silence the Folly of any such Pretence.

SECT. X.

CHAP. XII. 1—21.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* in the end of the foregoing Chapter, with a very ſolemn Epiphonema, cloſes that admirable Evangelical Diſcourſe to the Church at *Rome*, which had taken up the eleven foregoing Chapters. It was addreſſed to the two ſorts of Converts, *viz.* Gentiles and Jews, into which, as into two diſtinct Bodies, he all along through this Epiſtle divides all Mankind, and conſiders them as ſo divided into two ſeparate Corporations.

1. As to the Gentiles, he endeavours to ſatisfie them, that tho' they, for their Apoſtacy from God to Idolatry, and the Worſhip of falſe Gods, had been abandon'd by God, had lived in Sin and Blindneſs, without God in the World, Strangers from the Knowledge and Acknowledgment of him; yet that the Mercy of God through Jeſus Chriſt was extended to them, whereby there was a Way now open'd to them to become the People of God. For ſince no Man could be ſaved by his own Righteouſneſs, no not the Jews themſelves, by the Deeds of the Law; the only Way to Salvation, both for Jews and Gentiles, was by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt. Nor had the Jews any other Way now to continue themſelves the People of God, than by receiving the Goſpel, which Way was open'd alſo to the Gentiles, and they as freely admitted into the Kingdom of God now erected under Jeſus Chriſt, as the Jews, and upon the ſole Terms of Believing. So that there was no need at all for the Gentiles to be circumciſed to become Jews, that they might be Partakers of the Benefits of the Goſpel.

2. As to the Jews, the Apoſtle's other great Aim in the foregoing Diſcourſe, is to remove the Offence the Jews took at the Goſpel, becauſe the Gentiles were received into the Church as the People of God, and were allowed to be Subjects of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah. To bring them to a better Temper, he ſhews them from the Sacred Scripture, that they could not be ſaved by the Deeds of the Law, and therefore the Doctrine of Righteouſneſs by Faith ought not to be ſo ſtrange a thing to them. And as to their being for their Unbelief rejected from being the People of God, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, he ſhews plainly, that this was foretold them in the Old Teſtament; and that herein God did them no Injuſtice. He was Sovereign over all Mankind, and might chooſe whom he would to be his People, with the ſame Freedom that he choſe the Poſterity of *Abraham* among all the Nations of the Earth, and of that Race choſe the Deſcendants of *Jacob* before thoſe of his elder Brother *Eſau*, and that before they had a Being, or were capable of doing Good or Evil. In all which Diſcourſe of his, 'tis plain the Election ſpoken of, has for its Object only Nations or collective Bodies Politick in this world, and not particular Perſons, in reference to their eternal State in the World to come.

Having thus finiſhed the principal Deſign of his Writing, he here in this, as is uſual with him in all his Epiſtles, concludes with practical and moral Exhortations, whereof there are ſeveral in this Chapter, which we ſhall take in their Order.

PARAPHRASE. *TEXT.*

1. IT being ſo then, that you are become the People of God in the room of the Jews, do not ye fail to offer him that Sacrifice that it is reaſonable for you to

1 Beſeech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye preſent your bodies a living

do,

TEXT.

sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.

2 And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God.

3 For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.

4 For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:

5 So we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.

6 Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophesie, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith:

PARAPHRASE.

do, I mean your Bodies (*f*) not to be slain, but the Lusts thereof being mortified, and the Body cleansed from the Spots and Blemishes of Sin, will be an acceptable Offering to him, and such a way of Worship as becomes a rational Creature, which therefore I beseech you by the Mercies of God to you, who has made you his People, to present to him. And be not 2.
conformed to the Fashion of this World (*g*): But be ye transform'd in the renewing of your Minds (*h*), that you may upon Examination find out what is the good, the acceptable and perfect Will of God, which now under the Gospel has shewn it self to be in Purity and Holiness of Life: the ritual Observances which he once instituted not being that, his good, acceptable, and perfect Will, which he always intended, they were made only the Types and preparatory Way to this more perfect State under the Gospel (*i*). For by Vir- 3.
tue of that Commission, to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, which by the Favour of God is bestowed on me, I bid every one of you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to have sober and modest Thoughts of himself, according to that Measure of spiritual Gifts (*k*), which God has bestowed upon him. For as there are many Members 4.
in one and the same Body, but all the Members are not appointed to the same Work; So we who are 5.
many make all but one Body in Christ, and are all Fellow-Members one of another (*l*). But having ac- 6.
cording to the respective Favour that is bestowed upon us, every one of us different Gifts; whether it be Prophesie (*m*), let us prophesie, according to the

NOTES.

1 (*f*) *Your Bodies.* There seem to be two Reasons why St. *Paul*'s first Exhortation to them is, to present their Bodies undefiled to God: (1) Because he had before, especially *ch.* 7. so much insisted on this, that the Body was the great Source from whence Sin arose. (2.) Because the Heathen World, and particularly the *Romans*, were guilty of those vile Affections which he mentions, *ch.* 1. 24——27.

2 (*g*) *To the Fashion of this World*; or, as St. *Peter* expresses it, *not fashioning your selves according to your former Lusts in the time of Ignorance.*

(*h*) *Transformed in the renewing of your Minds.* The State of the Gentiles is thus described, *Eph.* 4. 17——19. *As walking in the Vanity of their Minds, having the Understanding darkened, being alienated from the Life of God through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness of their Hearts, who being past feeling, have given themselves over unto Lasciviousness, to work all Uncleanness with Greediness, fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh and of the Mind.* And *Col.* 1. 21. *Alienated and Enemies in their Minds by wicked Works. The renewing* therefore of *their Minds*, or as he speaks, *Eph.* 4. *in the Spirit of their Minds*, was the getting into an Estate contrary to what they were in before, (*viz.*) to take it in the Apostle's own words; *That the Eyes of their Understandings might be enlighten'd*; and that they may *put on the new Man, that is renewed in Knowledge after the Image of him that created him*, that ye *walk as Children of the Light, proving what is acceptable to the Lord. having no fellowship with the Works of Darkness:* That they *be not unwise, but understanding what is the Will of the Lord: For this is the Will of God, even your Sanctification.* That you should *abstain from Fornication.* That every one of you should *know how to possess his Vessel in Sanctification and Honour, not in the Lusts of Concupiscence, even as the Gentiles that know not God.*

(*i*) In these two first Verses of this Chapter is shewn the Preference of the Gospel to the Gentile State and the Jewish Institution.

3 (*k*) Μέτρον πίστεως, *Measure of Faith*, some Copies read χάριτος, *of Favour*, either of them express the same thing, *i. e.* Gifts of the Spirit.

5 (*l*) The same Simile to the same purpose, see 1 *Cor.* 12.

6 (*m*) *Prophesie* is enumerated in the new Testament among the Gifts of the Spirit, and means either the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture, and explaining of Prophesies already deliver'd, or foretelling things to come.

Propor-

PARAPHRASE.

Proportion of Faith (*n*), or Gift of Interpretation, which is given us, *i. e.* as far forth as we are enabled by Revelation, and an extraordinary Illumination to
7. underſtand and expound it, and no farther: Or if it be Miniſtry, let us wait on our Miniſtring: He that
8. is a Teacher let him take care to teach. He whoſe Gift is Exhortation, let him be diligent in exhorting: He that giveth, let him do it liberally, and without the Mixture of any Self-Intereſt: He that preſideth (*o*), let him do it with Diligence: He that ſheweth Mercy,
9. let him do it with Chearfulneſs. Let Love be without Diſſimulation. Abhor that which is evil, ſtick
10. to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another with brotherly Love; in Honour
11. preferring one another. Not ſlothful in Buſineſs; but active and vigorous in Mind, directing all to the
12. Service of Chriſt and the Goſpel. Rejoicing in the Hope you have of Heaven and Happineſs; patient in
13. Tribulation; frequent and inſtant in Prayer: Forward to help Chriſtians in Want, according to their

TEXT.

Or miniſtry, let us wait 7
on our miniſtring; or he that teacheth, on teaching;

Or he that exhorteth, 8
on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with ſimplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that ſheweth mercy, with chearfulneſs.

Let love be without diſ- 9
ſimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.

Be kindly affectioned 10
one to another; with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another:

Not ſlothful in buſineſs: 11
fervent in ſpirit; ſerving the Lord:

Rejoycing in hope; pa- 12
tient in tribulation; continuing inſtant in prayer:

Diſtributing to the ne- 13
ceſſity of ſaints; given to hoſpitality.

NOTES.

(*n*) *According to the Proportion of Faith.* The Context in this and the three preceding Verſes leads us, without any difficulty, into the meaning of the Apoſtle in this Expreſſion: 1 *Cor.* 12, and 14. ſhew us how apt the new Converts were to be puſt up with the ſeveral Gifts that were beſtowed on them; and every one, as in like caſes is uſual, forward to magnifie his own, and to carry it farther than in reality it extended. That it is St. *Paul*'s Deſign here to prevent or regulate ſuch Diſorder, and to keep every one in the exerciſing of his particular Gift within its due Bounds, is evident in that exhorting them, *ver.* 3. to a ſober Uſe of their Gifts (for 'tis in reference to their ſpiritual Gifts he ſpeaks in that Verſe) he makes the meaſure of that Sobriety to be that Meaſure of Faith or ſpiritual Gift which every one in particular enjoy'd by the Favour of God, *i. e.* That no one ſhould go beyond that which was given him, and he really had. But beſides this, which is very obvious, there is another Paſſage in that Verſe, which, rightly conſider'd, ſtrongly inclines this way. *I ſay through the Grace that is given unto me*, ſays St. *Paul*. He was going to reſtrain them in the Exerciſe of their diſtinct ſpiritual Gifts, and he could not introduce what he was going to ſay in the caſe with a more perſuaſive Argument than his own Example; "I exhort, (ſays he) that every one of you in the Exer- "ciſe and Uſe of his ſpiritual Gift, keep within the Bounds and Meaſure of that Gift which is "given him. I my ſelf in giving you this Exhortation do it *by the grace given unto me*, I do "it by the Commiſſion and Power given me by God, and beyond that I do not go. In one that had before declared himſelf an Apoſtle, ſuch an Expreſſion as this here (if there were not ſome particular Reaſon for it) might ſeem ſuperfluous, and to ſome idle, but in this View it has a great Grace and Energie in it. There wants nothing but the Study of St. *Paul*'s Writings, to give us a juſt Admiration of his great Addreſs, and the Skill wherewith all that he ſays is adapted to the Argument he has in hand: "I, (ſays he) according to the Grace "given me, direct you every one in the uſe of your Gifts, which according to the Grace given "you are different, whether it be the Gift of Propheſie, to propheſie according to the Propor- "tion or Meaſure of that Gift or Revelation that he hath. And let him not think that be- "cauſe ſome things are, therefore every thing is revealed to him. The ſame Rule concerning the ſame matter St. *Paul* gives, *Eph.* 4. 6. that every Member ſhould act according to the meaſure of its own Strength, Power and Energie; 1 *Cor.* 14. 29——32. may alſo give light to this place. This therefore is far from ſignifying that a Man in interpreting of Sacred Scripture ſhould explain the Senſe according to the Syſtem of his particular Sect, which each Party is pleaſed to call the *Analogie of Faith*. For this would be to make the Apoſtle to ſet that for a Rule of Interpretation, which had not its Being till long after, and is the Product of fallible Men.

The *meaſure of Faith*, *ver.* 3. and *proportion of Faith*, in this Verſe, ſignifies the ſame thing, *viz.* ſo much of that particular Gift which God was pleaſed to beſtow on any one.

8 (*o*) Ὁ προϊστάμενος, *He that ruleth*, ſays our Tranſlation; the Context inclines to the Senſe I have taken it in: See *Vitringa de Synagog. l.* 2. *c.* 3.

Neceſſities;

TEXT.

14 Bleſs them which perſecute you: bleſs and curſe not.
15 Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep.
16 Be of the ſame mind one towards another. Mind not high things, but condeſcend to men of low eſtate. Be not wiſe in your own conceits.
17 Recompenſe to no man evil for evil. Provide things honeſt in the ſight of all men.
18 If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.
19 Dearly beloved, avenge not your ſelves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, ſaith the Lord.
20 Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him drink: for in ſo doing thou ſhalt heap coals of fire on his head.
21 Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

PARAPHRASE.

Neceſſities; given to Hoſpitality. Bleſs them who perſecute you: bleſs and curſe not. Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of the ſame Mind one towards another. Do not mind only high things; but ſuit your ſelves to the mean Condition and low Concerns of Perſons beneath you. Be not wiſe in your own Conceits. Render to no Man Evil for Evil: But take care that your Carriage be ſuch as may be approved by all Men. If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all Men. Dearly Beloved, do not avenge your ſelves, but rather leave that to God. For it is written, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, ſaith the Lord.* Therefore if thine Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirſt, give him Drink; if this prevail on him, thou ſubdueſt an Enemy, and gaineſt a Friend, if he perſiſts ſtill in his Enmity, in ſo doing thou heapeſt Coals of Fire on his Head, *i. e.* expoſeſt him to the Wrath of God, who will be thy Avenger. Be not overcome and prevailed on, by the Evil thou receiveſt, to retaliate; but endeavour to maſter the Malice of an Enemy in injuring thee, by a Return of Kindneſs and good Offices to him.

14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. XIII. 1——7.

CONTENTS.

THis Section contains the Duty of Chriſtians to the Civil Magiſtrate. For the underſtanding this right we muſt conſider theſe two things.

1. That theſe Rules are given to Chriſtians that were Members of a Heathen Commonwealth, to ſhew them that by being made Chriſtians and Subjects of Chriſt's Kingdom, they were not by the Freedom of the Goſpel exempt from any Ties of Duty or Subjection, which by the Laws of their Country they were in, and ought to obſerve, to the Government and Magiſtrates of it, though Heathens, any more than any of their Heathen Subjects. But on the other ſide, theſe Rules did not tie them up any more than any of their Fellow-Citizens, who were not Chriſtians, from any of thoſe due Rights, which by the Law of Nature, or the Conſtitutions of their Country, belong'd to them. Whatſoever any other of their Fellow-Subjects, being in a like Station with them, might do without ſinning, that they were not abridged of, but might do ſtill being Chriſtians. The Rule here being the ſame with that given by St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 17. *As God has called every one, ſo let him walk.* The Rules of Civil Right and Wrong, that he is to walk by, are to him the ſame they were before.

2. That

An. Ch. 57. *Neronis* 3.

2. That St. *Paul* in this Direction to the *Romans*, does not ſo much deſcribe the Magiſtrates that then were in *Rome*, as tells whence they, and all Magiſtrates every where, have their Authority; and for what end they have it, and ſhould uſe it. And this he does as becomes his Prudence, to avoid bringing any Imputation on Chriſtians from Heathen Magiſtrates, eſpecially thoſe inſolent and vitious ones of *Rome*, who could not brook any thing to be told them as their Duty, and ſo might be apt to interpret ſuch plain Truths laid down in a dogmatical way, into Saucineſs, Sedition, or Treaſon, a Scandal cautiouſly to be kept off from the Chriſtian Doctrine. Nor does he, in what he ſays, in the leaſt flatter the Roman Emperor, let it be either *Claudius*, as ſome think, or *Nero*, as others, who then was in Poſſeſſion of that Empire. For he ſpeaks here of the *Higher Powers*, i. e. the Supreme Civil Power, which is in every Commonwealth derived from God, and is of the ſame Extent every where, *i. e.* is abſolute and unlimited by any thing but the End for which God gave it, (*viz.*) the Good of the People ſincerely purſued, according to the beſt of the Skill of thoſe who ſhare that Power, and ſo not to be reſiſted. But how Men come by a rightful Title to this Power; or who has that Title, he is wholly ſilent, and ſays nothing of it. To have medled with that would have been to decide of Civil Rights, contrary to the Deſign and Buſineſs of the Goſpel, and the Example of our Saviour, who refuſed medling in ſuch Caſes with this deciſive Queſtion: *Who made me a Judge or Divider over you?* Luke 12. 14.

PARAPHRASE.

1. LET every one of you, none excepted (*p*), be ſubject unto the over-ruling Powers (*q*) of the Government he lives in. There is no Power but what is from God: The Powers that are in being are or-
2. dained by God: So that he who reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt will be puniſhed by thoſe Powers that they reſiſt. What

TEXT.

1 LET every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God.

2 Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.

NOTES.

1 (*p*) *Every one*, however endowed with miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, or advanced to any Dignity in the Church of Chriſt. For that theſe things were apt to make Men overvalue themſelves, is obvious from what St. *Paul* ſays to the Corinthians, 1 *Cor.* 12. and here to the Romans, *ch.* 12. 3——5. But above all others, the Jews were apt to have an inward Reluctancy and Indignation againſt the Power of any Heathen over them, taking it to be an unjuſt and tyrannical Uſurpation upon them, who were the People of God, and their Betters. Theſe the Apoſtle thought it neceſſary to reſtrain, and therefore ſays in the Language of the Jews, *Every Soul*, i. e. every Perſon among you, whether *Jew* or *Gentile*, muſt live in Subjection to the Civil Magiſtrate. We ſee by what St. *Peter* ſays on the like occaſion, that there was great need that Chriſtians ſhould have this Duty inculcated to them, leſt any among them ſhould uſe their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs or Misbehaviour, 1 *Pet.* 11. 13—— 16. The Doctrine of Chriſtianity was a Doctrine of Liberty. And St. *Paul* in this Epiſtle had taught them, that all Chriſtians were free from the Moſaical Law. Hence corrupt and miſtaking Men, eſpecially Jewiſh Converts, impatient, as we have obſerved, of any Heathen Dominion, might be ready to infer, that Chriſtians were exempt from Subjection to the Laws of Heathen Governments. This he obviates by telling them, That all other Governments derived the Power they had from God, as well as that of the Jews, tho' they had not the whole Frame of their Government immediately from him as the Jews had.

(*q*) Whether we take *Powers* here in the Abſtract for Political Authority, or in the Concrete for the Perſons *de facto*, exerciſing Political Power and Juriſdiction, the Senſe will be the ſame, (*viz.*) That Chriſtians, by virtue of being Chriſtians, are not any way exempt from Obedience to the Civil Magiſtrates, nor ought by any means to reſiſt them, tho' by what is ſaid, *ver.* 3. it ſeems that St. *Paul* meant here Magiſtrates having and exerciſing a lawful Power. But whether the Magiſtrates in being were or were not ſuch, and conſequently were or were not to be obeyed, that Chriſtianity gave them no peculiar Power to examin. They had the common Right of others their Fellow-Citizens, but had no diſtinct Privilege as Chriſtians. And therefore we ſee *ver.* 7. where he enjoyns the paying of Tribute and Cuſtom, &c. It is in theſe words;

TEXT.

3 For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame:
4 For he is the miniſter of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the ſword in vain: for he is the miniſter of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.
5 Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.
6 For, for this cauſe pay tribute alſo: for they are God's miniſters, attending continually upon this very thing.
7 Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, cuſtom to whom cuſtom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.

PARAPHRASE.

What ſhould you be afraid of? Rulers are no Terror to thoſe that do well, but to thoſe that do ill. Wilt thou then not live in dread of the Civil Power? Do that which is good and right, and then Praiſe only is thy Due from the Magiſtrate. For he is the Officer and Miniſter of God appointed only for thy Good. But if thou doeſt amiſs, then thou haſt reaſon to be afraid. For he bears not the Sword in vain. For he is the Miniſter of God, and Executioner of Wrath and Puniſhment upon him that doth ill. This being the End of Government, and the Buſineſs of the Magiſtrate, to cheriſh the good, and puniſh ill Men, it is neceſſary for you to ſubmit to Government, not only in Apprehenſion of the Puniſhment which Diſobedience will draw on you, but out of Conſcience, as a Duty required of you by God. This is the Reaſon why alſo you pay Tribute, which is due to the Magiſtrates, becauſe they employ their Care, Time and Pains, for the Publick Weal, in puniſhing and reſtraining the Wicked and Vicious; and in countenancing and ſupporting the Virtuous and Good. Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Cuſtom to whom Cuſtom, Fear to whom Fear, and Honour to whom Honour.

3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

NOTES.

words; *Render to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Honour to whom Honour*, &c. But who it was to whom any of theſe, or any other Dues of Right belong'd, he decides not, for that he leaves them to be determined by the Laws and Conſtitutions of their Country.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. XIII. 8——14.

CONTENTS.

HE exhorts them to Love, which is in effect the fulfilling of the whole Law.

TEXT.

8 OWE no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law.
9 For this, Thou ſhalt not commit adultery, Thou ſhalt not kill, Thou ſhalt not ſteal, Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs, Thou ſhalt not covet; and if there be any other com-

PARAPHRASE.

OWE nothing to any body but Affection and good Will mutually to one another; for he that loves others ſincerely, as he does himſelf, has fulfilled the Law. For this Precept, Thou ſhalt not commit Adultery, Thou ſhalt not kill, Thou ſhalt not ſteal, Thou ſhalt not bear falſe Witneſs, Thou ſhalt not covet; and whatever other Command there be concerning ſocial Duties, it in ſhort is comprehended in this,

8.
9.

PARAPHRASE.

10. Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf. Love permits us to do no harm to our Neighbour, and therefore is the fulfilling of the whole Law of the ſecond Table.
11. And all this do, conſidering that it is now high time that we rouſe our ſelves up, ſhake off Sleep, and betake our ſelves with Vigilancy and Vigour to the Duties of a Chriſtian Life. For the time of your Removal out of this place of Exerciſe and Probationerſhip is nearer than when you firſt enter'd into the Profeſſion
12. of Chriſtianity (*r*). The Night, the dark State of this World, wherein the Good and the Bad can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed, is far ſpent. The Day that will ſhew every one in his own Dreſs and Colours is at hand. Let us therefore put away the Works that we ſhould be aſhamed of but in the dark; and let us put on the Dreſs (*s*) and Ornaments, that we ſhould be
13. willing to appear-in in the Light. Let our Behaviour be decent, and our Carriage ſuch, as fears not the Light nor the Eyes of Men, not in diſorderly Feaſtings and Drunkenneſs; nor in Dalliance and Wantonneſs (*t*): nor in Strife and Envy (*u*). But walk
14. in Newneſs of Life, in Obedience to the Precepts of the Goſpel, as becomes thoſe who are baptized into the Faith of Chriſt, and let not the great Imployment of your Thoughts and Cares be wholly in making Proviſion for the Body, that you may have wherewithal to ſatisfy your carnal Luſts.

TEXT.

mandment, it is briefly comprehended in this ſaying, namely, Thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thy ſelf.

10 Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

11 And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of ſleep: for now is our ſalvation nearer than when we believed.

12 The night is far ſpent, the day is at hand: let us therefore caſt off the works of darkneſs, and let us put on the armour of light.

13 Let us walk honeſtly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenneſs, not in chambering and wantonneſs, not in ſtrife and envying.

14 But put ye on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and make not proviſion for the fleſh, to fulfil the luſts thereof.

NOTES.

11, 12 (*r*) It ſeems by theſe two Verſes, as if St. *Paul* look'd upon Chriſt's Coming as not far off, to which there are ſeveral other concurrent Paſſages in his Epiſtles: See 1 *Cor.* 1. 7.

12 (*s*) Ὅπλα, *Armour*. The word in the Greek is often uſed for the Apparel, Clothing, and Accoutrements of the Body.

13 (*t*) Theſe he ſeems to name with reference to the Night which he had mentioned, theſe being the Diſorders to which the Night is uſually ſet apart.

(*u*) Theſe probably were ſet down, with regard to univerſal Love and Good-will, which he was principally here preſſing them to.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. XIV. 1——XV. 13.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* inſtructs both the Strong and the Weak in their mutual Duties one to another, in reſpect of Things indifferent, teaching them that the Strong ſhould not uſe their Liberty where it might offend a weak Brother: Nor the Weak cenſure the Strong for uſing their Liberty.

PARAPHRASE.

1. HIM that is weak in the Faith, *i. e.* not fully perſuaded of his Chriſtian Liberty in the Uſe of ſome indifferent thing, receive you into your Friend-

TEXT.

1 HIM that is weak in the faith receive

ſhip

TEXT.

you, but not to doubtful disputations.

2 For one believeth that he may eat all things: another who is weak, eateth herbs.

3 Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received him.

4 Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand.

5 One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully perswaded in his own mind.

6 He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not re-

PARAPHRASE.

ship and Conversation (*w*), without any Coldness or Distinction, but do not engage him in Disputes and Controversies about it. For such Variety is there in Men's Persuasions about their Christian Liberty, that one believeth that he may without Restraint eat all Things; another is so scrupulous that he eateth nothing but Herbs. Let not him that is persuaded of his Liberty, and eateth, despise him that through Scruple eateth not: And let not him that is more doubtful and eateth not, judge or censure him that eateth, for God hath received (*x*) him into his Church and Family: And who art thou that takest upon thee to judge the Domestick of another, whether he be of his Family or no? 'Tis his own Master alone who is to judge whether he be or shall continue his Domestick or no: What hast thou to do to meddle in the Case? But trouble not thy self, he shall stand and stay in the Family. For God is able to confirm and establish him there (*x*). One Man judgeth (*y*) one Day to be set apart to God more than another, another Man judgeth every Day to be God's alike. Let every one take care to be satisfied in his own Mind touching the Matter. But let him not censure (*z*) another in what he doth. He that observeth a Day, observeth it as the Lord's Servant, in Obedience to him: And he that observeth it not, passes by that Observance as the Lord's Servant in Obedience also

2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

NOTES.

1 (*w*) That the Reception here spoken of is the receiving into familiar and ordinary Conversation, is evident from *ch.* 15. 7. where he, directing them to receive one another mutually, uses the same word προσλαμβάνεσθε, *i. e.* live together in a free and friendly manner, the weak with the strong, and the strong with the weak, without any regard to the Differences among you about the Lawfulness of any indifferent things. Let those that agree or differ concerning the Use of any indifferent thing, live together all alike.

4 (*x*) By *him that eateth*, v. 3. St. *Paul* seems to mean the Gentiles, who were less scrupulous in the Use of indifferent things; and by *him that eateth not*, the Jews who made a great Distinction of Meats and Drinks and Days, and placed in them a great, and as they thought, necessary Part of the Worship of the true God. To the Gentiles the Apostle gives this Caution, that they should not contemn the Jews, as weak narrow-minded Men, that laid so much Stress on Matters of so small moment, and thought Religion so much concerned in those indifferent things. On the other side, he exhorts the Jews not to judge that those who neglected the Jewish Observances of Meats and Days, were still Heathens, or would soon apostatize to Heathenism again: No, says he; God has received them, and they are of his Family; and thou hast nothing to do to judge, whether they are or will continue of his Family, or no; that belongs only to him, the Master of the Family, to judge, whether they shall stay or leave his Family, or no. But, notwithstanding thy Censure or hard Thoughts of them, they shall not fall off or apostatize; for God is able to continue them in his Family, in his Church, notwithstanding thou suspectest, from their free Use of things indifferent, they incline too much, or approach too near to Gentilism.

5 (*y*) The Apostle having in the foregoing Verse used κρίνειν ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην, for judging any one to be or not to be another Man's Servant or Domestick, he seems here to continue the use of the word κρίνειν in the same Signification, *i. e.* for judging a Day to be more peculiarly God's.

(*z*) This may be concluded to be the Apostle's Sense, because the thing he is upon here, is to keep them from censuring one another in the use of things indifferent; particularly the Jews from judging the Gentiles in their Neglect of the Observance of Days or Meats. This judging being what St. *Paul* principally endeavour'd here to restrain, as being opposite to the Liberty of the Gospel, which favoured a Neglect of these Rituals of the Law which were now antiquated. See *Gal.* 4. 9 —— 11. and 5. 1, 2.

PARAPHRASE.

to the Lord. He that eateth what another out of Scruple forbears, eateth it as the Lord's Servant: For he giveth God Thanks. And he that out of Scruple forbeareth to eat, does it alſo as the Lord's Servant: For he giveth God Thanks even for that which he
7. doeth, and thinks he may not eat. For no one of us Chriſtians liveth as if he were his own Man, perfectly
8. at his own Diſpoſal: And no one (*a*) of us dies ſo. For whether we live, our Life is appropriated to the Lord: or whether we die, to him we die as his Servants. For whether we live or die we are his, in his Family, his
9. Domeſticks (*b*), appropriated to him. For to this End Chriſt died, and roſe, and lived again that he might be Lord and Proprietor of us (*c*) both dead and living.
10. What haſt thou then to do to judge thy Brother, who is none of thy Servant, but thy equal? Or how dareſt thou to think contemptibly of him. For we ſhall, thou, and he, and all of us, be brought before the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, and there we ſhall anſwer every one
11. for himſelf to our Lord and Maſter. For it is written, *As I live*, ſaith the Lord, *every Knee ſhall bow to me, and*
12. *every Tongue ſhall confeſs to God.* So then every one of us
13. ſhall give an Account of himſelf to God. Let us not therefore take upon us to judge one another; but rather come to this Judgment or Determination of Mind, that no Man put (*d*) a Stumbling-block, or an Occaſion
14. of falling in his Brother's way. I know and am fully aſſured by the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean or unlawful to be eaten of it ſelf. But to him that accounts any thing to be unclean, to him it is un-

TEXT.

gard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks.

For none of us liveth to 7
himſelf, and no Man dieth to himſelf.

For whether we live, 8
we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.

For to this end Chriſt 9
both died, and roſe, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.

But why doſt thou 10
judge thy brother? or why doſt thou ſet at nought thy brother? for we ſhall all ſtand before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt.

For it is written, As I 11
live, ſaith the Lord, every knee ſhall bow to me and every tongue ſhall confeſs to God.

So then every one of us 12
ſhall give account of himſelf to God.

Let us not therefore 13
judge one another any more: but judge this rather, that no man put a ſtumbling-block, or an occaſion to fall in his brother's way.

I know, and am per- 14
ſwaded by the Lord Jeſus, that there is nothing unclean of it ſelf: but to him that eſteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.

NOTES.

7 (*a*) Οὐδεὶς ſhould, I ſuppoſe, be taken here with the ſame Limitation it hath in the former part of the Verſe with the Pronoun ἡμῶν; and ſo ſhould here, as there, be render'd in Engliſh, *no one of us*, and not, *no Man*, St. *Paul* ſpeaking here only of Chriſtians; this ſenſe of οὐδεὶς the next Verſe ſeems to confirm.

8 (*b*) Theſe words, *we are the Lord's*, give an eaſie Interpretation to theſe Phraſes of *eating and living*, &c. *to the Lord*; For they make them plainly refer to what he had ſaid at the latter end of *ver.* 3. *For God hath received him*; ſignifying, that God had received all thoſe who profeſs the Goſpel, and had given their Names up to Jeſus Chriſt, into his Family, and had made them his Domeſticks. And therefore we ſhould not judge or cenſure one another, for that every Chriſtian was the Lord's Domeſtick, appropriated to him as his menial Servant: And therefore all that he did in that State, was to be looked on as done to the Lord, and not to be accounted for to any body elſe.

9 (*c*) Κυριεύσῃ, *might be Lord*; muſt be taken ſo here as to make this agree with the foregoing Verſe. There it was *we*, i. e. *we* Chriſtians, whether we live or die, are the Lord's Property: For the Lord died and roſe again, that we, whether living or dying, ſhould be his.

13 (*d*) He had before reproved the Weak that cenſur'd the Strong in the uſe of their Liberty. He comes now to reſtrain the Strong from offending their weak Brethren by a too free Uſe of their Liberty, in not forbearing the Uſe of it where it might give Offence to the Weak.

clean.

TEXT.

15 But if thy Brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkeſt thou not charitably. Deſtroy not him with thy meat, for whom Chriſt died.
16 Let not then your good be evil ſpoken of.
17 For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteouſneſs, and peace, and joy in the holy Ghoſt.
18 For he that in theſe things ſerveth Chriſt, is acceptable to God, and approved of men.
19 Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edifie another.
20 For meat deſtroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.
21 It is good neither to eat fleſh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother ſtumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.
22 Haſt thou faith? have it to thy ſelf before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himſelf in that thing which he alloweth.
23 And he that doubteth, is damned if he eat, becauſe he eateth not of faith: for whatſoever is not of faith, is ſin.
1 We then that are ſtrong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to pleaſe our ſelves.
2 Let every one of us pleaſe his neighbour for his good to edification.

PARAPHRASE.

clean. But if thy Brother be grieved (*e*) with thy Meat, thy Carriage is uncharitable to him. Deſtroy not him with thy Meat, for whom Chriſt died. Let not then your Liberty which is a Good (*f*) you enjoy under the Goſpel, be evil ſpoken of. For the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of God, do not conſiſt in the Enjoyment of greater Variety of Meats and Drinks, but in Uprightneſs of Life, Peace of all Kinds, and Joy in the Gifts and Benefits of the Holy Ghoſt under the Goſpel. For he that in theſe Things pays his Allegiance and Service to Jeſus Chriſt, as a dutiful Subject of his Kingdom, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men. The things therefore that we ſet our Hearts upon to purſue and promote, let them be ſuch as tend to Peace and Good-will, and the mutual Edification of one another. Do not for a little Meat deſtroy a Man that is the Work (*g*) of God, and no ordinary piece of Workmanſhip. 'Tis true all ſort of wholeſome Food is pure, and defileth not a Man's Conſcience, but yet it is evil to him who eateth any thing ſo as to offend his Brother. It is better to forbear Fleſh, and Wine, and any thing, rather than in the uſe of thy Liberty, in any indifferent things, to do that whereby thy Brother ſtumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak (*h*). Thou art fully perſuaded of the Lawfulneſs of eating the Meat which thou eateſt: It is well. Happy is he that is not ſelf-condemned in the thing that he practiſes. But have a Care to keep this Faith or Perſuaſion to thy ſelf: Let it be between God and thy own Conſcience: Raiſe no Diſpute about it; neither make Oſtentation of it (*i*) by thy Practice before others. But he that is in doubt, and balanceth (*k*), is ſelf-condemned, if he eat; becauſe he doth it without a full Perſuaſion of the Lawfulneſs of it. For whatever a Man doth, which he is not fully perſuaded in his own Mind to be lawful, is Sin. We then that are ſtrong, ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to indulge our own Appetites or Inclinations, in ſuch a Uſe of indifferent things as may offend the weak. But let every one of us pleaſe his Neighbour, comply with his Infirmities for his Good, and to Edification.

15 15.
16 16.
17 17.
18 18.
19 19.
20 20.
21 21.
22 22.
23 23.
1 1.
2 2.

NOTES.

15 (*e*) *Grieved*, does not here ſignify ſimply, made ſorrowful for what thou doeſt; but brought into Trouble and Diſcompoſure, or receives an Hurt or Wound, as every one does, who by another's Example does what he ſuppoſes to be unlawful. This Senſe is confirmed in the words, *Deſtroy not him with thy Meat:* And alſo by what he ſays, 1 *Cor.* 8. 9——13. in the like Caſe.

16 (*f*) See 1 *Cor.* 10. 30.

20 (*g*) The Force of this Argument, ſee *Mat.* 8. 25. *The Life is more than Meat.*

21 (*h*) *Offended and made weak*; i. e. drawn to the doing of any thing, of whoſe Lawfulneſs not being fully perſuaded, it becomes a Sin to him.

22 (*i*) Theſe two, (*viz.*) not diſputing about it, which he forbad, *v.* 1. and not uſing his Liberty before any one whom poſſibly it may offend, may be ſuppoſed to be contained in theſe words, *Have it to thy ſelf.*

23 (*k*) Διακρινόμενος, tranſlated here *doubteth*, is, *Rom.* 4. 20. tranſlated *ſtaggered*; and is there oppoſed to ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, *ſtrong in the Faith*; or to πληροφορηθεὶς, *fully perſuaded*, as it follows in the next verſe.

For

PARAPHRASE.

3. For even Christ our Lord pleased not himself: but as it is written, *The Reproaches of them that reproached thee are*
4. *fallen upon me.* For whatsoever was heretofore written, *i. e.* in the Old Testament, was written for our Learning, that we through Patience, and the Comfort which
5. the Scriptures give us, might have Hope. Now God who is the Giver of Patience and Consolation, make you to be at Unity one with another, according to
6. the Will of Christ Jesus; That you may with one Mind and one Mouth glorify the God and Father of our
7. Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore admit and receive one another (*l*) into Fellowship and Familiarity, without Shyness or Distance, upon occasion of Differences about things indifferent, even as Christ received us
8. Jews to glorify (*m*) God. (For (*n*) I must tell you, ye converted *Romans*, that Christ was sent to the Jews, and imploy'd all his Ministry (*o*) on those of the Circumcision) for his Truth in making good his Promise made to the Fathers, *i. e. Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*;

TEXT.

For even Christ pleased 3
not himself; but as it is
written, The reproaches
of them that reproached
thee, fell on me.

For whatsoever things 4
were written aforetime,
were written for our learning; that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope.

Now the God of pati- 5
ence and consolation, grant you to be like minded one towards another, according to Christ Jesus:

That ye may with one 6
mind and one mouth glorifie God; even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore receive ye 7
one another, as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.

Now I say, that Jesus 8
Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers:

NOTES.

7 (*l*) Προσλαμβάνεσθε, *receive one another*, cannot mean, receive one another into Church-Communion: For there is no appearance, that the convert Jews and Gentiles separated Communion in *Rome* upon account of Differences about Meats and Drinks, and Days. We should have heard more of it from St. *Paul*, if there had been two separate Congregations, *i.* e. two Churches of Christians in *Rome* divided about these indifferent things. Besides Directions cannot be given to private Christians to *receive* one another in that Sense. The *receiving* therefore here, must be understood of *receiving* as a Man doth another into his Company, Converse and Familiarity, *i.* e. He would have them, Jews and Gentiles, lay by all Distinction, Coldness, and Reservedness in their Conversation one with another; and, as Domesticks of the same Family, live friendly and familiar, notwithstanding their different Judgments about those ritual Observances. Hence, *v.* 5. he exhorts them to be united in Friendship one to another, that with one Heart and one Voice they might conjointly glorify God, and receive one another with the same good Will that Christ has received us the Jews, εἰς δόξαν τῦ Θεῦ, to the glorifying of God for his Truth; in fulfilling the Promises he made to the Patriarchs, and received the Gentiles to glorify God for his Mercy to them. So that we have reason, both Jews and Gentiles, laying aside these little Differences about things indifferent, to joyn together heartily in glorifying God.

(*m*) Εἰς δόξαν τῦ Θεῦ, *to the Glory of God*; i. e. to glorify God, by the same Figure of Speech that he uses πίστις Ἰησῦ, *the Faith of Jesus*, for, believing in Jesus, *Rom.* 3. 22. and 26. The thing that St. *Paul* is exhorting them to here, is to the glorifying of God with one accord; as is evident from the immediately preceding words, *v.* 6. and that which follows, *v.* 9, 10, 11. is to the same purpose: So that there is no room to doubt that his meaning in these words is this, (*viz.*) Christ received or took us believing Jews to himself, that we might magnify the Truth of God; and took the Gentiles that believe to himself, that they might magnify God's Mercy. This stands easie in the Construction of his Words, and Sense of his Mind.

8 (*n*) (*Now I say, that Jesus Christ was a Minister of the Circumcision.*) These words are plainly a Parenthesis, and spoken with some Emphasis, to restrain the Gentile Converts of *Rome*; who, as it is plain from *ch.* 14. 3. were apt, ἐξουθενεῖσθαι, to set at nought and despise the converted Jews for sticking to their ritual Observances of Meats and Drinks, &c.

(*o*) Διάκονον περιτομῆς, *a Minister of*, or *to the Circumcision*. What it was that Christ ministred to the Jews, we may see by the like Expression of St. *Paul*, applied to himself, *v.* 16. where he calls himself *a Minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God.*

And

TEXT.

9 And that the Gentiles might glorifie God for his mercy; as it is written, For this cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.
10 And again he saith, Rejoice ye Gentiles, with his people.
11 And again, Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye people.
12 And again Esaias saith, there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.
13 Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the holy Ghost.

PARAPHRASE.

And received you the Gentiles to glorifie God for his Mercy to you, as it is written; *For this Cause I will confess to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy Name.* 9.
And again he saith, *Rejoyce ye Gentiles with his People.* 10.
And again, *Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye Nations.* 11.
And again, *Isaiah* saith, *There shall be a Root of* Jesse, *and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust* (*p*). 12.
Now the God of Hope fill you with all Joy and Peace in Believing, that ye may abound in Hope through the Power of the Holy Ghost (*q*). 13.

NOTES.

12 (*p*) Ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι, *in him shall the Gentiles trust*, rather *hope*; not that there is any material Difference in the Signification of *trust* and *hope*, but the better to express and answer St. *Paul*'s way of writing, with whom it is familiar, when he hath been speaking of any Vertue or Grace whereof God is the Author, to call God thereupon the God of that Vertue or Favour. An eminent Example whereof we have a few Verses backwards, *v.* 4. ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν, *That we through Patience and Comfort*, rather *Consolation, of the Scriptures might have hope*; and then subjoins, ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως, *Now the God of Patience and Consolation.* And so here ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλπίδος, *The Gentiles shall* hope. *Now the God of hope.*

13 (*q*) The Gifts of the *Holy Ghost* bestowed upon the Gentiles, were a Foundation of hope to them, that they were by believing the Children or People of God as well as the Jews.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. XV. 14——33.

CONTENTS.

IN the remaining part of this Chapter St. *Paul* makes a very kind and skilful Apology to them for this Epistle: Expresses an earnest Desire of coming to them: Touches upon the Reasons that hitherto had hinder'd him: Desires their Prayers for his Deliverance from the Jews in his Journey to *Jerusalem*, whither he was going; and promises that from thence he will make them a Visit in his way to *Spain*.

PARAPHRASE.

14. AS to my own Thoughts concerning you my Brethren, I am perſuaded that you alſo as well as others, are full of Goodneſs, abounding in all Know-
15. ledge, and able to inſtruct one another. Nevertheleſs, Brethren, I have written to you in ſome things pretty freely, as your Remembrancer, which I have been emboldened to do, by the Commiſſion which God has been
16. graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow on me, Whom he hath made to be the Miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to the Gentiles in the Goſpel of God, in which holy Miniſtration I officiate, that the Gentiles may be made an acceptable Offering (*r*) to God, ſanctified by the pour-
17. ing out of the Holy Ghoſt upon them. I have therefore Matter of glorying through Jeſus Chriſt, as to thoſe
18. things that pertain (*s*) to God. For I ſhall not venture to trouble you with any concerning my ſelf, but only what Chriſt hath wrought by me, for the bringing of the Gentiles to Chriſtianity, both in Profeſſion and
19. Practice, Through mighty Signs and Wonders, by the Power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſo that, from *Jeruſalem* and the Neighbouring Countries, all along quite to *Illyricum*,
20. I have effectually preached the Goſpel of Chriſt, but ſo as ſtudiouſly to avoid the carrying of it to thoſe Places where it was already planted, and where the People were already Chriſtians, leſt I ſhould build
21. upon another Man's Foundation (*t*). But as it is written (*u*), *To whom he was not ſpoken of they ſhall ſee: And*
22. *they that have not heard ſhall underſtand.* This has often
23. hinder'd me from coming to you: But now having in theſe Parts no Place, where Chriſt hath not been heard of, to preach the Goſpel in; and having had for theſe many Years a Deſire to come to you, I will

TEXT.

14 And I my ſelf alſo am perſwaded of you my brethren, that ye alſo are full of goodneſs, filled with all knowledge, able alſo to admoniſh one another.

15 Nevertheleſs, brethren, I have written the more boldly unto you, in ſome ſort, as putting you in mind, becauſe of the grace that is given to me of God.

16 That I ſhould be the miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt to the Gentiles, miniſtring the goſpel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being ſanctified by the holy Ghoſt.

17 I have therefore whereof I may glory through Jeſus Chriſt, in thoſe things which pertain to God.

18 For I will not dare to ſpeak of any of thoſe things which Chriſt hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed,

19 Through mighty ſigns and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God; ſo that from Jeruſalem and round about unto Illyricum I have fully preached the Goſpel of Chriſt.

20 Yea, ſo have I ſtrived to preach the goſpel, not where Chriſt was named, leſt I ſhould build upon another mans foundation:

21 But as it is written, To whom he was not ſpoken of, they ſhall ſee: and they that have not heard, ſhall underſtand.

22 For which cauſe alſo I have been much hinder'd from coming to you:

23 But now having no more places in theſe parts, and having a great deſire theſe many years to come unto you;

NOTES.

16 (*r*) *Offering.* See *Iſa.* 66. 20.

17 (*s*) Τὰ πρὸς τὸν, *Things that pertain to God.* The ſame Phraſe we have *Heb.* 5. 1. where it ſignifies the things that were offered to God in the Temple Miniſtration. St. *Paul* by way of Alluſion ſpeaks of the Gentiles in the foregoing verſe, as an Offering to be made to God; and of himſelf, as the Prieſt by whom the Sacrifice or Offering was to be prepared and offered; and then he here tells them, that he had Matter of Glorying in this Offering, *i. e.* that he had had Succeſs in converting the Gentiles, and bringing them to be a living, holy and acceptable Sacrifice to God; an account whereof he gives them in the four following Verſes.

20 (*t*) See 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. 2 *Cor.* 10. 16.

21 (*u*) *Iſa.* 52. 15.

when

TEXT.

24 Whenſoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you: for I truſt to ſee you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if firſt I be ſomewhat filled with your company.

25 But now I go unto Jeruſalem to miniſter unto the ſaints.

26 For it hath pleaſed them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor ſaints which are at Jeruſalem.

27 It hath pleaſed them verily, and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their ſpiritual things, their duty is alſo to miniſter unto them in carnal things.

28 When therefore I have performed this, and have ſealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.

29 And I am ſure that when I come unto you, I ſhall come in the fulneſs of the bleſſing of the goſpel of Chriſt.

30 Now I beſeech you brethren, for the Lord Jeſus Chriſts ſake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye ſtrive together with me in your prayers to God for me;

31 That I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea; and that my ſervice which I have for Jeruſalem may be accepted of the ſaints:

32 That I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreſhed.

34 Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

PARAPHRASE.

when I take my Journey to *Spain*, take you in my way: For I hope then to ſee you, and to be brought on my way thither-ward by you, when I have for ſome time enjoy'd your Company, and pretty well ſatisfy'd my Longing upon that account. But at preſent I am ſetting out for *Jeruſalem*, going to miniſter to the Saints there. For it hath pleaſed thoſe of *Macedonia* and *Achaia*, to make a Contribution for the Poor among the Saints at *Jeruſalem*. It hath pleaſed them to do ſo, and they are indeed their Debtors. For if the Gentiles have been made Partakers of their Spiritual Things, they are bound on their ſide to miniſter to them for the Support of this Temporal Life. When therefore I have diſpatch'd this Buſineſs; and put this Fruit of my Labours into their Hands, I will come to you in my way to *Spain*. And I know that when I come unto you, I ſhall bring with me to you full Satisfaction concerning the Bleſſedneſs which you receive by the Goſpel (*w*) of Chriſt. Now I beſeech you, Brethren, by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and by the Love which comes from the Spirit of God, to joyn with me in earneſt Prayers to God for me, That I may be deliver'd from the Unbelievers in *Judea*; and that the Service I am doing the Saints there, may be acceptable to them. That if it be the Will of God, I may come to you with Joy, and may be refreſhed together with you. Now the God of Peace be with you all. Amen.

24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33.

NOTES.

29 (*w*) He may be underſtood to mean here, that he ſhould be able to ſatisfie them, that by the Goſpel the Forgiveneſs of Sins was to be obtained. For that he ſhews, *ch.* 4. 6——9. And they had as much Title to it by the Goſpel as the Jews themſelves; which was the thing he had been making out to them in this Epiſtle.

SECT. XV.

CHAP. XVI. 1—27.

CONTENTS.

THE foregoing Epiſtle furniſhes us with Reaſons to conclude, that the Diviſions and Offences that were in the Roman Church were between the Jewiſh and Gentile Converts, whilſt the one, over-zealous for the Rituals of the Law, endeavour'd to impoſe Circumciſion and other Moſaical Rites, as neceſſary to be obſerved by all that profeſſed Chriſtianity: And the other, without due Regard to the Weakneſs of the Jews, ſhew'd a too open Neglect of thoſe their Obſervances, which were of ſo great Account with them. St. *Paul* was ſo ſenſible how much the Churches of Chriſt ſuffer'd on this Occaſion, and ſo careful to prevent this which was a Diſturbance almoſt every where (as may be ſeen in the Hiſtory of the *Acts*, and collected out of the Epiſtles) that after he had finiſhed his Diſcourſe to them, (which we may obſerve ſolemnly cloſed in the end of the foregoing Chapter) he here in the middle of his Salutations, cannot forbear to caution them againſt the Authors and Fomenters of theſe Diviſions, and that very pathetically. *ver.* 17—20. All the reſt of this Chapter is ſpent almoſt wholly in Salutations. Only the four laſt Verſes contain a Concluſion after St. *Paul*'s manner.

PARAPHRASE.

1. I Commend to you *Phebe* our Siſter, who is a Servant
2. of the Church which is at *Kenchrea* (*x*), that you receive her for Chriſt's ſake, as becomes Chriſtians, and that you aſſiſt (*y*) her in whatever Buſineſs ſhe has need of you, for ſhe has aſſiſted many, and me in particular.
3. Salute *Priſcilla* and *Aquila*, my Fellow-Labourers in the
4. Goſpel (Who have for my Life expoſed their own to Danger, unto whom not only I give Thanks, but alſo
5. all the Churches of the Gentiles). Greet alſo the Church that is in their Houſe. Salute my well-beloved *Epenetus*, who is the Firſt-fruits of *Achaia* unto

TEXT.

I Commend unto you 1
Phebe our Siſter,
which is a Servant of the
Church which is at Cen-
chrea.

That ye receive her in 2
the Lord, as becometh
ſaints, and that ye aſſiſt
her in whatſoever buſi-
neſs ſhe hath need of you:
for ſhe hath been a ſuc-
courer of many, and of
my ſelf alſo.

Greet Priſcilla and A- 3
quila my helpers in
Chriſt Jeſus:

(Who have for my life 4
laid down their own
necks: unto whom not
only I give thanks, but
alſo all the Churches of
the Gentiles)

Likewiſe greet the 5
church that is in their
houſe. Salute my well
beloved Epenetus, who is
the firſt fruits of Achaia
unto Chriſt.

NOTES.

1 (*x*) *Kenchrea* was the Port to *Corinth*.

2 (*y*) Προστάτις, *Succourer*, ſeems here to ſignifie *Hoſteſs*, not in a common Inn, for there was no ſuch thing as our Inns in that Country; but one whoſe Houſe was the place of Lodging and Entertainment of thoſe who were received by the Church as their Gueſts, and theſe ſhe took Care of. And to that προστάτις, may he very well applied. But whether St. *Paul* was induced to make uſe of it here as ſomewhat correſponding to παραστῆτε, which he uſed in her Behalf juſt before in this Verſe, I leave to thoſe who nicely obſerve St. *Paul*'s Stile.

Chriſt.

TEXT.

6 Greet Mary, who beſtowed much labour on us.
7 Salute Andronicus and Junia my Kinſmen and my fellow-priſoners, who are of note among the apoſtles, who alſo were in Chriſt before me.
8 Greet Amplias my beloved in the Lord.
9 Salute Urban our helper in Chriſt, and Stachys my beloved.
10 Salute Apelles approved in Chriſt. Salute them which are of Ariſtobulus houſhold.
11 Salute Herodian my kinſman. Greet them that be of the houſhold of Narciſſus, which are in the Lord.
12 Salute Tryphena and Tryphoſa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Perſis, which laboured much in the Lord.
13 Salute Ruſus choſen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.
14 Salute Aſyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.
15 Salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his ſiſter, and Olympas, and all the ſaints which are with them.
16 Salute one another with an holy kiſs; the churches of Chriſt ſalute you.
17 Now I beſeech you, brethren, mark them which cauſe diviſions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.
18 For they that are ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own belly; and by good words and fair ſpeeches, deceive the hearts of the ſimple.
19 For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad therefore on your behalf: but yet I would have you wiſe unto that which is good; and ſimple concerning evil.

PARAPHRASE.

Chriſt. Greet *Marie*, who took a great deal of Pains for our ſakes. Salute *Andronicus* and *Junia* my Kinſfolk and Fellow-Priſoners, who are of Note among the Apoſtles, who alſo were Chriſtians before me. Greet *Amplius* my Beloved in the Lord. Salute *Urbane* our Helper in Chriſt, and *Stachys* my Beloved. Salute *Apelles* approved in Chriſt. Salute thoſe who are of the Houſhold of *Ariſtobulus*. Salute *Herodion* my Kinſman. Salute all thoſe of the Houſhold of *Narciſſus*, who have embraced the Goſpel. Salute *Tryphena* and *Tryphoſa*, who take Pains in the Goſpel. Salute the beloved *Perſis*, who labour'd much in the Lord. Salute *Ruſus*, choſen or ſelected to be a Diſciple of the Lord; and his mother and mine. Salute *Aſyncritus*, *Phlegon*, *Hermas*, *Patrobas*, *Hermes*, and the Brethren who are with them. Salute *Philologus*, and *Julia*, *Nereus* and his Siſter and all the Saints who are with them. Salute one another with an holy Kiſs. The Churches of Chriſt ſalute you.

Now I beſeech you, Brethren, mark thoſe who cauſe Diviſions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them. For they ſerve (z) not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own Bellies, and by good Words and fair Speeches, inſinuating themſelves, deceive well-meaning ſimple Men. Your Converſion and ready Compliance with the Doctrine of the Goſpel, when it was brought to you, is known in the World (*a*), and generally talked of: I am glad for your ſakes that you ſo forwardly obeyed the Goſpel. But give me leave to adviſe you to be wiſe and cautious in preſerving your ſelves ſteady in what is wiſe and good (*b*); but imploy no Thought or Skill how to circumvent or injure another: Be in this regard very plain

6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19.

NOTES.

18 (z) Such as theſe we have a Deſcription of, *Tit.* 1. 10, 11.
19 (*a*) See *ch.* 1. 8.
(*b*) A Direction much like this you have, 1 *Cor.* 14. 20. and *Eph.* 4. 13——15.

PARAPHRASE.

20. and ſimple. For God (*c*) who is the Giver and Lover of Peace will ſoon rid (*d*) you of theſe Miniſters of Satan, the Diſturbers of your Peace, who make Diviſions amongſt you. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you. Amen.

21. *Timothy* my Work-fellow, and *Lucius* and *Jaſon*, and
22. *Soſipater* my Kinſmen ſalute you. I *Tertius* who wrote
23. this Epiſtle, ſalute you in the Lord. *Gaius* mine Hoſt, and of the whole Church, ſaluteth you. *Eraſtus* the Chamberlain of the City ſaluteth you; and *Quartus* a
24. Brother. The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be with you all. Amen.

25. Now to him that is able to ſettle and eſtabliſh you in an Adherence to my (*e*) Goſpel, and to that which I deliver concerning Jeſus Chriſt in my Preaching, conformable to the Revelation of the (*f*) Myſtery which
26. lay unexplain'd in the (*g*) ſecular times; But now is laid open, and by the Writings of the Prophets made known (according to the Commandment of the Everlaſting God) to the Gentiles of all Nations, for the bringing them

TEXT.

And the God of peace 20
ſhall bruiſe ſatan under
your feet ſhortly. The
Grace of our Lord Jeſus
Chriſt be with you. A-
men.

Timotheus my work- 21
fellow, and Lucius, and
Jaſon, and Soſipater, my
kinſmen ſalute you.

I Tertius, who wrote 22
this epiſtle, ſalute you in
the Lord.

Gaius mine hoſt, and 23
of the whole church, ſa-
luteth you. Eraſtus the
chamberlain of the city
ſaluteth you, and Quartus
a brother.

The grace of our Lord 24
Jeſus Chriſt be with you
all. Amen.

Now to him that is of 25
power to ſtabliſh you ac-
cording to my goſpel, and
the preaching of Jeſus
Chriſt, (according to the
revelation of the myſtery
which was kept ſecret
ſince the world began.

But now is made ma- 26
niſeſt, and by the ſcrip-
tures of the prophets ac-
cording to the command-
ment of the everlaſting
God, made known to all

NOTES.

20 (*c*) So thoſe who made Diviſions in the Church of *Corinth* are called, 2 *Cor.* 11. 15.

(*d*) *Shall bruiſe Satan*, i. e. ſhall break the Force and Attempts of Satan upon your Peace by theſe his Inſtruments, who would engage you in Quarrels and Diſcords.

25 (*e*) *My Goſpel.* St. *Paul* cannot be ſuppoſed to have uſed ſuch an Expreſſion as this, unleſs he knew that what he preach'd had ſomething in it that diſtinguiſhed it from what was preached by others; which was plainly the Myſtery, as he every where calls it, of God's Purpoſe of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Meſſiah, and that without ſubjecting them to Circumciſion, or the Law of *Moſes*. This is that which he calls here τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *the preaching of Jeſus Chriſt*; For without this, he did not think that Chriſt was preached to the Gentiles as he ought to be: And therefore in ſeveral places of his Epiſtle to the Galatians, he calls it, *the Truth*, and, *the Truth of the Goſpel*; and uſes the like Expreſſions to the Epheſians and Coloſſians. This is that Myſtery which he is ſo much concern'd, that the Epheſians ſhould underſtand and ſtick firm to, which was revealed to him according to that Goſpel, whereof he was made the Miniſter; as may be ſeen at large in that Epiſtle, particularly *ch.* 3. 6, 7. The ſame thing he declares to the Coloſſians, in his Epiſtle to them, particularly *ch.* 1. 27——29. and 11. 6——8. For that he in a peculiar manner preached this Doctrine, ſo as none of the other Apoſtles did, may be ſeen *Acts* 21. 18——25. *Acts* 15. 6, 7. For though the other Apoſtles and Elders of the Church at *Jeruſalem* had determin'd, that the Gentiles ſhould only keep themſelves from things offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from ſtrangled, and from Fornication: Yet it is plain enough from what they ſay, *Acts* 21. 20——24. That they taught not, nay, probably did not think what St. *Paul* openly declares to the Epheſians, that the Law of *Moſes* was aboliſhed by the Death of Chriſt, *Eph.* 11. 15. Which if St. *Peter* and St. *James* had been as clear in, as was St. *Paul*, St. *Peter* would not have incurr'd his Reproof, as he did by his Carriage, mentioned *Gal.* 2. 12. But in all this may be ſeen the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God to both Jews and Gentiles. See Note, *Eph.* 2. 15.

(*f*) That the *Myſtery* he here ſpeaks of, is the Calling of the Gentiles, may be ſeen in the following words; which is that which in many of his Epiſtles he calls *Myſtery*. See *Eph.* 1. 9. and 3. 3——9. *Col.* 1. 25——27.

(*g*) Χρόνοις αἰωνίοις, *in the ſecular Times*, or in the Times under the Law. Why the Times under the Law were called χρόνοι αἰώνιοι, we may find a Reaſon in their Jubilees, which

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
nations for the obedience of faith) 27 To God only wiſe, be glory through Jeſus Chriſt for ever. Amen.	them in to the Obedience of the Law of Faith. To the only wiſe God be Glory, through Jeſus Chriſt, for ever. Amen.	27.

NOTES.

which were αἰῶνες, *Sæcula*, or Ages, by which all the Time under the Law was meaſured: And ſo χρόνοι αἰώνιοι is uſed 2 *Tim.* 1. 9. *Tit.* 1. 2. And ſo αἰῶνες are put for the Times of the Law, or the Jubilees, *Luke* 1. 70. *Acts* 3. 21. 1 *Cor.* 2. 7. and 10. 2. *Eph.* 3. 9. *Col.* 1. 26. *Heb.* 9. 26. And ſo God is called the Rock עולמים αἰώνων, of *Ages*, *Iſa.* 26. 4. in the ſame Senſe that he is called *the Rock of Iſrael*, Iſa. 30. 29. *i. e.* the Strength and Support of the Jewiſh State: For 'tis of the Jews the Prophet here ſpeaks. So *Exod.* 21. 6. לעולם, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ſignifies not as we tranſlate it *for ever*, but to the Jubilee; which will appear if we compare *Lev.* 25. 39——41. and *Exod.* 21. 2. See *Burthogg's Chriſtianity a Revealed Myſtery*, p. 17, 18. Now that the Times of the Law were the Times ſpoken of here by St. *Paul*, ſeems plain from that which he declares to have continued a Myſtery during all thoſe times; to wit, God's Purpoſe of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Meſſiah: For this could not be ſaid to be a Myſtery at any other time, but during the time that the Jews were the peculiar People of God, ſeparated to him from among the Nations of the Earth. Before that time there was no ſuch Name or Notion of Diſtinction as Gentiles. Before the Days of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, the calling of the Iſraelites to be God's peculiar People, was as much a Myſtery, as the calling of others out of other Nations was a Myſtery afterwards. All that St. *Paul* inſiſts on here, and in all the places where he mentions this Myſtery, is to ſhew, that though God has declared this his Purpoſe to the Jews, by the Predictions of his Prophets amongſt them; yet it lay concealed from their Knowledge, 'twas a Myſtery to them, they underſtood no ſuch thing; there was not any where the leaſt Suſpicion or Thought of it, till the Meſſiah being come, it was openly declared by St. *Paul* to the Jews and Gentiles, and made out by the Writings of the Prophets, which were now underſtood.

A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Epiſtle of St. PAUL

TO THE

EPHESIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

OUR Saviour had ſo openly and expreſly declared to his Diſciples the Deſtruction of the Temple, that they could by no means doubt of it, nor of this Conſequence of it, *viz.* that the ἔθη, Cuſtoms or Rites of the Moſaical Law, as they are called, *Acts* 6. 14. and 21. 21. were to ceaſe with it. And this St. *Stephen*, by what is laid to his Charge, *Acts* 6. 13, 14. ſeems to have taught. And upon this Ground it might very well be, that the Apoſtles and Church of *Jeruſalem* required no more of the Convert Gentiles, than the Obſervance of ſuch things as were ſufficient to ſatisfie the Jews that they were not ſtill Heathens and Idolaters. But as for the reſt of the Moſaical Rites, they required not the Convert Gentiles (to whom the Moſaical Law was not given) to obſerve them. This being a very natural and obvious Conſequence, which they could not but ſee, that if by the Deſtruction of the Temple and Worſhip of the Jews thoſe Rites were ſpeedily to be taken away, they were not Obſervances neceſſary to the People of God, and of perpetual Obligation.

Thus

Thus far it is plain the other Apoſtles were inſtructed and ſatisfied of the Freedom of the Gentile-Converts from complying with the Ritual Law. But whether it was revealed to them with the ſame Clearneſs as it was to St. *Paul*, that the Jews too as well as the Gentiles, who were Converted to the Chriſtian Faith, were diſcharged from their former Obligation to the Ritual Law of *Moſes*, and freed from thoſe Obſervances, may be doubted: Becauſe as we ſee they had not at all inſtructed their Converts of the Circumciſion, of their being ſet at Liberty from that Yoke, which it is very likely they ſhould not have forborn to have done, if they had been convinced of it themſelves. For in all that Diſcourſe concerning this Queſtion, *Acts* 15. 1—21. there is not one Syllable ſaid of the Jews being diſcharged, by Faith in the Meſſiah, from the Obſervance of any of the Moſaical Rites. Nor does it appear that the Apoſtles of the Circumciſion ever taught their Diſciples, or ſuggeſted to them any ſuch thing, which one can ſcarce imagin they could have neglected, if it had been revealed to them, and ſo given them in charge. It is certain their Converts had never been taught any ſuch thing. For St. *James* himſelf acquaints us, *Acts* 21. 10. that the *many thouſands that believed were all zealous of the Law*. And what his own Opinion of thoſe Rites were, may be ſeen *ver.* 24. where he calls keeping this part of the Law, *walking orderly:* and he is concerned to have St. *Paul* thought a ſtrict Obſerver thereof. All which could not have been, if it had been revealed to him as poſitively and expreſly as it was to St. *Paul*, That all Believers in the Meſſiah, Jews as well as Gentiles, were abſolved from the Law of *Moſes*, and were under no Obligation to obſerve thoſe Ceremonies any longer, they being now no longer neceſſary to the People of God in this his new Kingdom erected under the Meſſiah, nor indeed was it neceſſary that this particular Point ſhould have been from the beginning revealed to the other Apoſtles, who were ſufficiently inſtructed for their Miſſion, and the Converſion of their Brethren the Jews, by the Holy Ghoſt's bringing to their Minds (as was promiſed) all that our Saviour had ſaid unto them in his Life-time here amongſt them, in the true Senſe of it. But the ſending them to the Jews with this Meſſage, that the Law was aboliſhed, was to croſs the very Deſign of ſending them; it was to beſpeak an Averſion to their Doctrine; and to ſtop the Ears of the Jews, and turn their Hearts from them. But St. *Paul*, receiving his whole Knowledge of the Goſpel immediately from Heaven by Revelation, ſeems to have this particular Inſtruction added, to fit him for the Miſſion he was choſen to, and make him an effectual Meſſenger of the Goſpel, by furniſhing him preſently with this neceſſary Truth concerning the Ceſſation of the Law, the Knowledge whereof could not but come in time to the other Apoſtles, when it ſhould be ſeaſonable. Whether this be not ſo, I leave it to be conſidered.

This at leaſt is certain, that St. *Paul* alone, more than all the reſt of the Apoſtles, was taken notice of to have preached that the Coming of Chriſt put an end to the Law, and that in the Kingdom of God erected under the Meſſiah, the Obſervation of the Law was neither required, nor availed ought, Faith in Chriſt was the only Condition of Admittance both for Jew and Gentile, all who believed being now equally the People of God, whether circumciſed or uncircumciſed. This was that which the Jews, zealous of the Law, which they took to be the irrevocable, unalterable Charter of the People of God, and the ſtanding Rule of his Kingdom, could by no means bear. And therefore, provoked by this Report of St. *Paul*, the Jews, both Converts as well as others, looked upon him as a dangerous Innovator, and an Enemy to the true Religion, and as ſuch ſeized on him in the Temple, *Acts* 21. upon occaſion whereof it was that he was a Priſoner at *Rome* when he writ this Epiſtle, where he ſeems to be concerned, leſt now he that was the Apoſtle of the Gentiles, from whom alone the Doctrine of their Exemption from the Law had its Riſe and Support, was in Bonds upon that very account, it might give an Opportunity to thoſe Judaizing Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, who contended that the Gentiles, unleſs they were circumciſed after the manner of *Moſes*, could not

be

be ſaved, to unſettle the Minds, and ſhake the Faith of thoſe whom he had converted. This being the Controverſie from whence roſe the great Trouble and Danger that in the time of our Apoſtle diſturb'd the Churches collected from among the Gentiles. That which chiefly diſquieted the Minds, and ſhook the Faith of thoſe, who from Heathenism were converted to Chriſtianity, was this Doctrine, that except the Converts from Paganiſm were circumciſed, and thereby ſubjected themſelves to the Law and the Jewiſh Rites, they could have no Benefit by the Goſpel, as may be ſeen all through the *Acts*, and in almoſt all St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles. Wherefore when he heard that the *Epheſians* ſtood firm in the Faith, whereby he means their Confidence of their Title to the Privileges and Benefits of the Goſpel, without Submiſſion to the Law (for the introducing the legal Obſervances into the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, he declared to be a Subverſion of the Goſpel, and contrary to the great and glorious Deſign of that Kingdom) He thanks God for them, and, ſetting forth the gracious and glorious Deſign of God towards them, prays that they may be enlighten'd, ſo as to be able to ſee the mighty things done for them, and the immenſe Advantages they receive by it. In all which he diſplays the glorious State of that Kingdom, not in the ordinary way of Argumentation and formal Reaſoning, which had no place in an Epiſtle writ as this is, all as it were in a Rapture, and in a Stile far above the plain Didactical way, he pretends not to teach them any thing, but couches all that he would drop into their Minds, in Thankſgivings and Prayers, which affording a greater Liberty and Flight to his Thoughts, he gives Utterance to them in noble and ſublime Expreſſions, ſuitable to the unſearchable Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God, ſhewn to the World in the Work of Redemption. This tho' perhaps at firſt ſight it may render his Meaning a little obſcure, and his Expreſſions the harder to be underſtood, yet by the Aſſiſtance of the two following Epiſtles, which were both writ whilſt he was in the ſame Circumſtances, upon the ſame Occaſion, and to the ſame Purpoſe, the Senſe and Doctrine of the Apoſtle here may be ſo clearly ſeen, and ſo perfectly comprehended; that there can be hardly any doubt left about it to any one who will examine them diligently, and carefully compare them together. The Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* ſeems to be writ the very ſame time, in the ſame Run and Warmth of Thoughts, ſo that the very ſame Expreſſions yet freſh in his Mind, are repeated in many Places; the Form, Phraſe, Matter and all the Parts quite through of theſe two Epiſtles, do ſo perfectly correſpond, that one cannot be miſtaken in thinking one of them very fit to give light to the other. And that to the *Philippians*, writ alſo by St. *Paul* during his Bonds at *Rome*, when attentively looked into, will be found to have the ſame Aim with the other two; ſo that in theſe three Epiſtles taken together, one may ſee the great Deſign of the Goſpel laid down as far ſurpaſſing the Law, both in Glory, Greatneſs, Comprehenſion, Grace and Bounty, and therefore they were Oppoſers, not Promoters of the true Doctrine of the Goſpel, and the Kingdom of God under the Meſſiah, who would confine it to the narrow and beggarly Elements of this World, as St. *Paul* calls the poſitive Ordinances of the Moſaical Inſtitution. To confirm the Gentile Churches, whom he had converted, in this Faith which he had inſtructed them in; and keep them from ſubmitting to the Moſaical Rites in the Kingdom of Chriſt, by giving them a nobler and more glorious View of the Goſpel, is the Deſign of this and the two following Epiſtles. For the better underſtanding theſe Epiſtles, it might be worth while to ſhew their Harmony all through, but this Synopſis is not a place for it, the following Paraphraſe and Notes will give an Opportunity to point out ſeveral Paſſages wherein their Agreement will appear.

The latter End of this Epiſtle, according to St. *Paul*'s uſual Method, contains practical Directions and Exhortations.

He that desires to inform himself in what is left upon Record in Sacred Scripture, concerning the Church of the *Ephesians*, which was the Metropolis of *Asia*, strictly so called, may read the *19th* and *20th* of the *Acts*.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

CONTENTS.

Ch. 1. THESE two Verses contain St. *Paul*'s Inscription or Introduction of this Epistle; what there is in it remarkable for its Difference from what is to be found in his other Epistles, we shall take notice of in the Notes.

PARAPHRASE.

1. PAUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the declared Will and special Appointment of God to the Professors of the Gospel (*a*), who are in *Ephesus*, Converts who stand firm in the Faith (*b*) of Christ Jesus:
2. Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

TEXT.

PAul an Apostle of Jesus 1
Christ by the will of
God, to the saints which
are at Ephesus, and to the
faithful in Christ Jesus:
Grace be to you, and 2
peace from God our Father,
and from the Lord Jesus
Christ.

NOTES.

1 (*a*) Τοῖς ἁγίοις, Tho' rightly translated Saints, yet it does not mean any other than a national Sanctification, such as the Jews had by being separated from the Gentiles, and appropriated to God as his peculiar People, not that every one that was of the holy Nation of the Jews heretofore, or of the holy Church of Christ, under the Gospel, were Saints in that Sense that the word is usually taken now among Christians, *viz.* such Persons as were every one of them actually in a State of Salvation.

(*b*) Πιστοῖς, *Faithful.* We have observed above, that this Epistle, and that to the *Colossians*, have all through a very great Resemblance; their Lineaments do so correspond; that I think they may be Twin-Epistles, conceived and brought forth together, so that the very Expressions of the one occur'd fresh in St. *Paul*'s Memory, and were made use of in the other. Their being sent by the same Messenger *Tychicus*, is a farther Probability that they were writ at the same time. Πιστοῖς therefore being found in the Introduction of both Epistles, and no one other of St. *Paul*'s, there is just Reason to think that it was a Term suited to the present Notion he had of those he was writing to, with Reference to the Business he was writing about. I take it therefore, that by *faithful in Christ Jesus*, he means here such as stood firm to Jesus Christ, which he did not count them to do, who made Circumcision necessary to Salvation, and an Observance of Jewish Rites a requisite Part of the Christian Religion. This is plain from his express Words, *Gal.* 5. 1, 2. *Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not intangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. Behold I* Paul *say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing*, &c. And those that contended for Submission to the Law, he calls *Perverters of the Gospel of Christ*, Gal. 1. 7. And more to the same Purpose may be seen in that Epistle: We shall have an occasion to confirm this Interpretation of the word πιστὸς, *faithful*, here, when we come to consider the Import of the word πίστις, *Faith*, *ver.* 15. They that would have ἁγ, *and*, not exegetical here, but used only to join under the Title of *faithful in Christ Jesus*, the Converts in *Asia*, I shall desire, besides *Col.* 1. 2. to read also 1 *Cor.* 2. 1. and thereby judge in what Sense they are to understand, *And to the faithful in Christ Jesus* here.

SECT.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 3——14.

CONTENTS.

IN this Section St. *Paul* thanks God for his Grace and Bounty to the Gentiles, wherein he ſo ſets forth both God's gracious Purpoſe of bringing the Gentiles into his Kingdom under the Meſſiah, and his actual beſtowing on them Bleſſings of all kinds in Jeſus Chriſt, for a compleat re-inſtating them in that his heavenly Kingdom, that there could be nothing ſtronger ſuggeſted to make the *Epheſians* and other Gentile Converts not to think any more of the Law, and that much inferior Kingdom of his, eſtabliſhed upon the Moſaical Inſtitution, and adapted to a little Canton of the Earth, and a ſmall Tribe of Men, as now neceſſary to be retained under this more ſpiritual Inſtitution, and celeſtial Kingdom erected under Jeſus Chriſt, intended to comprehend Men of all Nations, and extend it ſelf to the utmoſt Bounds of the Earth for the greater Honour of God, or, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, to the Praiſe of the Glory of God.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*
3 BLeſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath bleſſed us with all ſpiritual bleſſings in heavenly places in Chriſt:	BLeſſed and magnified be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who has, in and by Jeſus Chriſt (*c*), furniſhed us (*d*) Gentiles with all ſorts of Bleſſings that may fit us to be Partakers of his heavenly Kingdom, without need of any Aſſiſtance from the 3.

NOTES.

3 (*c*) Ἐν Χριστῷ, *In Chriſt*; I take to be put here emphatically, and to ſignifie the ſame with *filleth all in all*, *v.* 23. which is more fully explain'd, *Col.* 3. *where there is neither Greek, nor Jew, Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond or Free, but Chriſt is all, and in all.*

(*d*) *Us.* The right underſtanding of this Section, and indeed of this whole Epiſtle, depends very much on underſtanding a-right who are more eſpecially comprehended under the Terms, *Us* and *We*, from *v.* 3. to 12. For it muſt ſignifie either, 1. St. *Paul* himſelf perſonally; but that the viſible Tenour of the Diſcourſe at firſt ſight plainly deſtroys: Beſides it ſuits not St. *Paul*'s Modeſty to attribute ſo much in particular to himſelf, as is ſpoke of *Us* and *We* in this Section; or if we could think he would give himſelf that Liberty; yet *v.* 12. overturns it all; for ἡμᾶς τοὺς προηλπικότας, *We who firſt truſted in Chriſt*, can by no means be admitted to be ſpoken by St. *Paul* perſonally of himſelf. Add to this, that in this very Chapter, no farther off than *v.* 15. St. *Paul* ſpeaking of himſelf, ſays, I, in the ſingular Number; and ſo he does *chap.* 3. *ver.* 7, 8. Or,

2. It muſt ſignifie Believers in general; but that προηλπικότας join'd to it will not admit, for *We*, the firſt Believers, cannot ſignifie we all that are Believers, but reſtrains the Perſons to ſome ſort of Men that then began to believe, *i. e.* the Gentiles: And then the next Words, *v.* 13. have an eaſie and natural Connection; We other Gentiles who firſt believed in Chriſt, in whom alſo ye, the Gentiles alſo of *Epheſus*, after ye heard, believed. Or,

3. It muſt ſignifie the Convert Jews. But would it not be ſomewhat prepoſterous for St. *Paul* ſo much to magnify God's Goodneſs and Bounty to the Jews in particular, in an Epiſtle writ to a Church of converted Gentiles? Wherein he addreſſes himſelf to the Gentiles, in Contra-diſtinction to the Jews, and tells them they were to be made Co-partners with them in the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, which was opened to them by aboliſhing of the Law of *Moſes*, intimated plainly in this very Section, *v.* 7——10. Wherein he magnifies the Riches of the Favour of God, to the Perſons he is ſpeaking of under the Denomination *Us*, in gathering again *all things*, i. e. Men of all ſorts, under Chriſt the Head; which could not mean the Jews alone: But of this he ſpeaks more openly afterwards. Farther, *We* here, and *We*, *ch.* 2. 3. muſt be the ſame, and denote the ſame Perſons; but the *We*, ch. 2. 3. can neither be St. *Paul*

PARAPHRASE.

4. the Law, According as he chose us Gentiles upon Christ's Account alone (*e*), before the Law was, even before the Foundation of the World, to be his People (*f*) under Jesus the Messiah, and to live unblameable Lives (*g*) before him in all Love and Affection (*h*) to all the Saints or Believers, of what Nation
5. soever; Having pre-determined to take us Gentiles

TEXT.

According as he hath 4
chosen us in him before the foundation of the World, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love:

Having predestinated 5
us unto the adoption of

NOTES.

alone, nor Believers in general, nor Jewish Converts in particular, as the obvious Sense of the place demonstrates: For neither St. *Paul* can be called *we all*, nor is it true that *all* the Convert Jews *had their Conversation among the Gentiles*, as our Bible renders the Greek; which, if otherwise to be understood, is more directly against signifying the Jews. These therefore being excluded from being meant by *we* and *us* here, who can remain to be signify'd thereby but the Convert Gentiles in general? That St. *Paul*, who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, did often in an obliging manner join himself with the Gentile Converts under the Terms Us and We, as if he had been one of them, there are so many Instances, that it cannot seem strange that he should do so in this Section, *Rom.* 5. 1——11. where it is plain all along under the Term Us, he speaks of the Gentile Converts. And many other Passages might be brought out of this Epistle to evince it, *Ch.* 1. 11. he saith, *We* have obtain'd an Inheritance. Those *We*, 'tis plain, *ch.* 3. 6. were Gentiles. So *ch.* 2. 5. when *We*, i. e. Converts of the Gentiles, were dead in Sins: For I do not remember that the Jews are any where said by St. *Paul* to be dead in Sins; that is one of the distinguishing Characters of the Gentiles: And there we see in the same Verse *we* is changed into *ye*: And so *v.* 6, and 7. having spoke of the Gentiles in the first Person *us*, in the beginning of the next Verse 'tis changed into *ye*, i. e. *ye* Ephesians, a part of those Gentiles. To this I shall add one place more out of the parallel Epistle to the *Colossians*, ch. 1. 12, 13. where he uses ἡμᾶς, *us*, for the convert Gentiles, changing the *ye* in the 10*th* Verse to *us* in the 12*th*; the matter of giving Thanks being the same all along from *v.* 3. where it begins, and is repeated here again, *v.* 12. i. e. The removing of the Gentiles out of the Kingdom of the Devil and Darkness, into the Kingdom of his beloved Son: or as he expresses it, *Eph.* 1. 6. *Wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved.* And in the same Sense he uses ἡμῶν, *us*, *Col.* 2. 14. For those that the Hand-writing of Ordinances was against and contrary to, were the Gentiles, as he declares, *Eph.* 2. 14, 15. who were kept off from coming to be the People of God by those Ordinances, which were that wherein the Enmity between the Jews and Gentiles consisted, and and was kept up; which therefore Christ abolished, to make way for their Union into one Body under Christ their Head. Other Passages, tending to the clearing of this, we shall have occasion to take notice of as they occur in the Sequel of this Epistle.

4 (*e*) Ἐν αὐτῷ, in him, *i. e.* Christ: In the former Verse it is εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν Χριστῷ. Καθὼς ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ. All which together make up this Sense; "As it was in consideration of Christ alone, that God heretofore, before the Foun-"dation of the World, designed us Gentiles to be his People; so now the Messiah is come, all "the Blessings and Benefits we are to receive in his heavenly Kingdom, are laid up in him, "and to be had only by our Faith and Dependance on him, without any respect to the Law, "or any other Consideration.

(*f*) Ἅγιοι, *Saints* in St. *Paul*'s Epistles is known to signify Christians, *i. e.* such as made Profession of the Gospel, for those were now the People of God.

(*g*) See *Col.* 1. 22. this Verse explained, where comparing it with the immediate preceding Words, *v.* 21. one may find a farther reason to take *us* here to signifie the Gentile Converts, the same thing being applied there solely to the Gentile Converts of *Colossus*.

(*h*) *Affection to all the Saints.* That this is the meaning, may be seen, *v.* 15. where to their true Faith in Christ, which he was rejoyc'd with, he joyn'd, τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, *Love unto all the Saints.* The very same thing which he takes notice of in the Colossians in the very same words, *Col.* 1. 4. Why Love is so often mention'd in this Epistle, as *ch.* 3. 17. and 4. 2, 15, 16. and 5. 2. and 6. 23. we may find a reason, *ch.* 2. 11——22. wherein there is an Account given of the Enmity between the Jews and Gentiles which Christ had taken away the Cause of; and therefore the ceasing of it was one great Mark of Men's being right in the Faith, and of their having true and worthy Notions of Christ, who had broke down the Wall of Partition, and open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to all equally who believed in him, without any the least Distinction of Nation, Blood, Profession, or Religion that they were of before, all that being now done away, and superseded by the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ the Righteous, to make way for a more enlarged and glorious Kingdom solely by Faith in him, which now made the only Distinction among Men; so that all who agreed in that, were thereby all brought to the same level, to be all Brethren and Fellow-Members in Christ, and the People or Sons of God, as he says in the next Verse.

by

TEXT.

children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will,

6 To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved:

7 In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his Grace;

8 Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence,

9 Having made known unto us the mystery of his will according to his good

PARAPHRASE.

by Jesus Christ (*i*), to be his Sons (*k*) and People according to the good Pleasure of his Will (*l*), To the end that the Gentiles too might praise him for his Grace and Mercy to them, and all Mankind magnifie his Glory for his abundant Goodness to them, by receiving them freely into the Kingdom of the Messiah, to be his People again in a State of Peace with him (*m*), barely for the sake of him that is his Beloved (*n*): In whom *we* (*o*) have Redemption by his Blood, *viz.* the Forgiveness of Transgressions, according to the Greatness of his Grace and Favour, Which he has overflowed in towards us, in bestowing on us so full a Knowledge and Comprehension of the Extent and Design of the Gospel (*p*), and Prudence to comply with it, as becomes you (*q*); In that he hath made known to you the good Pleasure of his Will 6. 7. 8. 9.

NOTES.

5 (*i*) 'Twas not by the Observances of the Law, but by Faith alone in Jesus Christ, that God predetermined to take the Gentiles into the State of Sonship or Adoption. This was another Particular for which St. *Paul* blesses God in the Name of the Gentiles: the consideration whereof was fit to raise the Ephesians Thoughts above the Law, and keep them in firm Adherence to the Liberty of the Gospel.

(*k*) Υιοθεσία, Adoption or Sonship belong'd only to the Jews before the coming of the Messiah, *Rom.* 9. 4. For after the Nations of the Earth had revolted from God their Lord and Maker, and became Servants and Worshippers of the Devil, God abandoned them to the Vassalage they had chosen, and owned none of them for his but the Israelites, whom he had adopted to be his Children and People. See *Exod.* 4. 22. *Jer.* 21. 9. *Luke* 1. 54. Which Adoption is expressed to *Abraham* in these words, *Gen.* 17. 7. *I will be a God to thee, and to thy Seed after thee, and to the Israelites.* Exod. 7. 71. *I will take you to me for a People. and I will be your God*; and so *Lev.* 26. 12. *I will walk amongst you, and be your God, and ye shall be my People:* And so we see that those whom, *Exod.* 4. he calls his Sons, he calls in several other Places his People, as standing both when spoken Nationally for one and the same thing.

(*l*) *According to the good Pleasure of his Will*; spoken here in the same Sense with what is said, *Rom.* 9. 18, 23, 24. God under the Law took the Nation of *Israel* to be his People, without any Merit in them; and so 'tis of his meer good Pleasure that he even then purposed to enlarge his Kingdom under the Gospel, by admitting all that of all the Nations whatsoever would come in and submit themselves, not to the Law of *Moses*; but to the Rule and Dominion of his Son Jesus Christ; and this, as he says in the next words, for the Praise of the Glory of his Grace.

6 (*m*) See *ch.* 2. 12——14. *Acts* 15. 41.

(*n*) I do not think that any thing of greater Force can be imagined to raise the Minds of the Ephesians above the Jewish Rituals, and keep them steady in the Freedom of the Gospel, than what St. *Paul* says here, *viz.* That God before the Foundation of the World freely determined within himself to admit the Gentiles into his Kingdom to be his People, for the Manifestation of his free Grace all the World over, that all Nations might glorify him; and this for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ, who was his Beloved, and so was chiefly regarded in all this; and therefore 'twas to mistake or pervert the End of the Gospel, and debase this glorious Dispensation, to make it subservient to the Jewish Ritual, or to suppose that the Law of *Moses* was to support, or to be supported by the Kingdom of the Messiah, which was to be of a larger Extent, and settled upon another Foundation, whereof the Mosaical Institution was but a narrow, feint and Typical Representation.

7 (*o*) *We*, does as plainly here stand for the Gentile Converts, as 'tis manifest it does in the parallel place, *Col.* 1. 13, 14.

8 (*p*) That by πάσῃ σοφίᾳ, St. *Paul* means a Comprehension of the revealed Will of God in the Gospel, more particularly the Mystery of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles, and making out of them a People and Inheritance to himself in his Kingdom under the Messiah, may be perceived by reading and comparing *ch.* 1. 8. *Col.* 1. 9, 10, 28. and 2. 2, 3. which Verses, read with Attention to the Context, plainly shew what St. *Paul* means here.

(*q*) That this is the meaning of this Verse, I refer my Reader to *Col.* 1. 9, 10.

and

PARAPHRASE.

and Purpoſe, which was a (r) Myſtery that he had
10. purpoſed in himſelf (s), Until the Coming of the due time of that Diſpenſation wherein he had predetermined to reduce all things again both in Heaven
11. and Earth under one Head (t) in Chriſt; In whom we

TEXT.

pleaſure, which he hath purpoſed in himſelf:
That in the diſpenſa- 10
tion of the fulneſs of times he might gather together in one all things in Chriſt, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him:
In whom alſo we have 11

NOTES.

9 (r) I cannot think that God's Purpoſe of calling the Gentiles, ſo often term'd a Myſtery, and ſo emphatically declar'd to be concealed from Ages, and particularly revealed to himſelf; and as we find in this Epiſtle, where it is ſo called by St. *Paul* five times, and four times in that to the *Coloſſians*, is by Chance, or without ſome particular Reaſon. The Queſtion was, whether the converted Gentiles ſhould hearken to the Jews, who would perſuade them it was neceſſary for them to ſubmit to Circumciſion and the Law, or to St. *Paul*, who had taught them otherwiſe. Now there could be nothing of more Force to deſtroy the Authority of the Jews in the Caſe, than the ſhewing them that the Jews knew nothing of the Matter, that it was a perfect Myſtery to them, concealed from their Knowledge, and made manifeſt in God's good time, at the coming of the Meſſiah, and moſt particularly diſcovered to St. *Paul* by immediate Revelation, to be communicated by him to the Gentiles, who therefore had reaſon to ſtick firm to this great Truth, and not to be led away from the Goſpel which he had taught them.

(s) See *ch.* 3. 9.

10 (t) Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, properly ſignifies to recapitulate or recollect, and put together the Heads of a Diſcourſe. But ſince that cannot poſſibly be the Meaning of this Word here, we muſt ſearch for the Meaning which St. *Paul* gives it here in the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and not in the Propriety of the Greek.

'Tis plain in Sacred Scripture, that Chriſt at firſt had the Rule and Supremacy over all, and was Head over all. See *Col.* 1. 15——17. *Heb.* 1. 8.

2. There are alſo manifeſt Indications in Scripture, that a principal Angel, with great Numbers of Angels his Followers joining with him, revolted from this Kingdom of God, and, ſtanding out in Rebellion, erected to themſelves a Kingdom of their own, in Oppoſition to the Kingdom of God, *Luke* 10. 17——20. and had all the Heathen World Vaſſals and Subjects of that their Kingdom, *Luke* 4. 5——8. *Mat.* 12. 26——30. *John* 12. 31. and 14. 30. and 16. 11. *Eph.* 6. 12. *Col.* 1. 13. *Rom.* 1. 18. *Acts* 26. 18, &c.

3. That Chriſt recovered this Kingdom, and was re-inſtated in the Supremacy and Headſhip, in the Fulneſs of Time (when he came to deſtroy the Kingdom of Darkneſs, as St. *Paul* calls it here) at his Death and Reſurrection: Hence, juſt before his Suffering, he ſays, *John* 12. 31. *Now is the Judgment of this World; now ſhall the Prince of this World be caſt out.* From whence may be ſeen the Force of Chriſt's Argument, *Mat.* 12. 28. *If I caſt out Devils by the Spirit of God, then the Kingdom of God is come upon you:* For the Jews acknowledged that the Spirit of God, which had been withdrawn from them, was not to be given out again till the coming of the Meſſiah, under whom the Kingdom of God was to be erected. See alſo *Luke* 10. 18, 19.

4. What was the State of his Power and Dominion from the Defection of the Angels, and ſetting up the Kingdom of Darkneſs, till his being re-inſtated in the Fulneſs of Time, there is little revealed in Sacred Scripture, as not ſo much pertaining to the Recovery of Men from their Apoſtaſy, and re-inſtating them in the Kingdom of God. 'Tis true God gather'd to himſelf a People, and ſet up a Kingdom here on Earth, which he maintain'd in the little Nation of the Jews till the ſetting up the Kingdom of his Son, *Acts* 1. 3. and 2. 36. which was to take place as God's only Kingdom here on Earth for the future. At the Head of this, which is called the Church, he ſets Jeſus Chriſt his Son; but that is not all, but he, having by his Death and Reſurrection conquer'd Satan, *John* 12. 13. and 16. 11. *Col.* 2. 15. *Heb.* 2. 14. *Epheſ.* 4. 8. has all Power given him in Heaven and Earth, and is made the Head over all things for the Church, [*Mat.* 28. 18. and 11. 27. *John* 3. 35. and 31. 3. *Epheſ.* 1. 20——22. *Heb.* 1. 2——4. and 2. 9. † *Cor.* 15. 25. 27. *Phil.* 2. 8——11. *Col.* 2. 10. *Heb.* 10. 12, 13. *Acts* 2. 23. and *v.* 31. In both which places it ſhould be tranſlated, *to the right hand of God.*] Which re-inſtating him again in the ſupream Power, and reſtoring him, after the Conqueſt of the Devil, to that compleat Headſhip which he had over all things, being now revealed under the Goſpel, as may be ſeen in the Texts here quoted, and in other places; I leave to the Reader to judge, whether St. *Paul* might not probably have an Eye to that in this Verſe, and in his Uſe of the word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι. But to ſearch throughly into this Matter (which I have not in my ſmall Reading found any where ſufficiently taken notice of) would require a Treatiſe.

It

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.
obtained an inheritance, being predeſtinated according to the purpoſe of him who worketh all things after the counſel of his own will :	we became his Poſſeſſion (*u*), and the Lot of his Inheritance, being predetermined thereunto according to the Purpoſe of him, who never fails to bring to paſs what he hath purpoſed within himſelf (*w*) : That
12 That we ſhould be to the praiſe of his glory, who firſt truſted in Chriſt.	we of the Gentiles, who firſt through Chriſt entertain'd Hope (*x*), might bring Praiſe and Glory to God. 12.

NOTES.

It may ſuffice at preſent, to take notice that this Exaltation of his is expreſſed, *Phil.* 2. 9. 10. by all Things in Heaven and Earth bowing the Knee at his Name; which we may ſee farther explain'd, *Rev.* 5. 13. Which Acknowledgment of his Honour and Power, was that perhaps which the proud Angel that fell, refuſing, thereupon rebelled.

If our Tranſlators have render'd the ſenſe of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι right, by *gather together into one*, it will give Countenance to thoſe who are inclin'd to underſtand, by *things in Heaven*, and *things on Earth*, the Jewiſh and Gentile World : For of them St. *John* plainly ſays, *John* 11. 52. *That Jeſus ſhould die, not for the Nation of the Jews only ; but that alſo* συναγάγῃ εἰς ἕν, *he ſhould gather together in one the Children of God that were ſcatter'd abroad*, i. e. the Gentiles that were to believe, and were by Faith to become the Children of God ; whereof Chriſt himſelf ſpeaks thus, *John* 10. 16. *Other Sheep I have which are not of this Fold, them alſo I muſt bring, and they ſhall hear my Voice, and there ſhall be one Fold, and one Shepherd.* This is the gathering together into one that our Saviour ſpeaks of, and is that which very well ſuits with the Apoſtle's Deſign here, where he ſays in expreſs Words, that Chriſt makes τὰ ἀμφότερα ἕν, makes both Jews and Gentiles one, *Epheſ.* 2. 14. Now that St. *Paul* ſhould uſe Heaven and Earth for Jews and Gentiles, will not be thought ſo very ſtrange, if we conſider that *Daniel* himſelf expreſſes the Nation of the Jews by the Name of *Heaven*, *Dan.* 8. 10. Nor does he want an Example of it in our Saviour himſelf, who, *Luke* 21. 26. by *Powers of Heaven*, plainly ſignifies the great Men of the Jewiſh Nation : Nor is this the only place in this Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Epheſians*, which will bear this Interpretation of *Heaven* and *Earth* ; he who ſhall read the fifteen firſt Verſes of *ch.* 3. and careſully weigh the Expreſſions, and obſerve the Driſt of the Apoſtle in them, will not find that he does manifeſt Violence to St. *Paul*'s Senſe, if he underſtands by *the Family in Heaven and Earth*, v. 15. the united Body of Chriſtians, made up of Jews and Gentiles, living ſtill promiſcuouſly among thoſe two ſorts of People, who continued in their Unbelief. However this Interpretation I am not poſitive in, but offer it as Matter of Enquiry, to ſuch who think an impartial Search into the true Meaning of the Sacred Scripture the beſt Imployment of all the Time they have.

11 (*u*) So the Greek word ἐκληρώθημεν will ſignify, if taken, as I think it may, in the Paſſive Voice, *i. e.* we Gentiles, who were formerly in the Poſſeſſion of the Devil, are now by Chriſt brought into the Kingdom, Dominion and Poſſeſſion of God again. This Senſe ſeems very well to agree with the Deſign of the Place, *viz.* That the Gentile World had now in Chriſt a Way open'd for their Returning into the Poſſeſſion of God under their proper Head Jeſus Chriſt. To which ſuit the Words that ſollow, *that we, who firſt amongſt the Gentiles* entertain'd Terms of Reconciliation by Chriſt, *might be to the Praiſe of his Glory*, i. e. ſo that we of the Gentiles who firſt believed, did, as it were, open a new Scene of Praiſe and Glory to God, by being reſtored to be his People, and become again a Part of his Poſſeſſion ; a thing not before underſtood nor look'd for. See *Acts* 11. 18. and 15. 3, 14—19. The Apoſtle's Deſign here being to ſatisfy the Epheſians, that the Gentiles were, by Faith in Chriſt, reſtored to all the Privileges of the People of God, as far forth as the Jews themſelves. See *ch.* 2. 11——22. particularly *v.* 19. ἐκληρώθημεν, it may, I humbly conceive, do no Violence to the Place, to ſuggeſt this Senſe, *we became the Inheritance*, inſtead of *we have obtained an Inheritance* ; that being the Way wherein God ſpeaks of his People the Iſraelites, of whom he ſays, *Deut.* 32. 9. *The Lord's Portion is his People, Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance.* See alſo *Deut.* 4. 20. 1 *Kings* 8. 51. and other Places. And the Inheritance, which the Gentiles were to obtain, was to be obtained, we ſee *Col.* 1. 12, 13. by their being tranſlated out of the Kingdom of Satan into the Kingdom of Chriſt : So that take it either way, that *we have obtain'd an Inheritance*, or we *are become his People and Inheritance* ; it in effect amounts to the ſame thing, and ſo I leave it to the Reader.

(*w*) *i. e.* God had purpoſed, even before the taking the *Iſraelites* to be his People, to take in the Gentiles by Faith in Chriſt to be his People again : And what he purpoſes he will do, without asking the Counſel or Conſent of any one, and therefore you may be ſure of this your Inheritance, whether the Jews conſent to it or no.

12 (*x*) 'Twas a part of the Character of the Gentiles, to be *without Hope* ; ſee *ch.* 2. 12. But when they received the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, then they ceaſed to be Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*, and became the People of God, and had Hope as well as the Jews ; or as St. *Paul* expreſſes it in the Name of the converted Romans, *Rom.* 5. 2. *We rejoice in hope of the Glory of God.* This is another Evidence that ἡμᾶς, *we*, here ſtands for the Gentile-Converts. That the Jews were not without Hope, or without God in the World, appears from that very

Text,

PARAPHRASE.

13. God. And ye *Ephesians* are also in Jesus Christ become God's People and Inheritance (*y*), having heard the Word of Truth, the good Tidings of your Salvation, and, having believed in him, have been sealed by the
14. Holy Ghost; Which was promised, and is the Pledge and Evidence of being the People of God (*z*), his Inheritance given out (*a*) for the Redemption (*b*) of the purchased Possession, that ye also might bring Praise and Glory to God (*c*).

TEXT.

In whom ye also trust- 13
ed after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise,

Which is the earnest of 14
our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.

NOTES.

Text, *Eph.* 2. 12. where the Gentiles are set apart under a discriminating Description properly belonging to them, the Sacred Scripture no where speaks of the Hebrew Nation, that People of God, as without God, or without Hope, the contrary appears every where. See *Rom.* 2. 17. and 12. *Acts* 24. 15. and 26. 6, 7. and 28. 20. And therefore the Apostle might well say, that those of the Gentiles who first entertain'd Hopes in Christ, were *to the Praise of the Glory of God.* All Mankind having thereby now a new and greater Subject of Praising and Glorifying God for this great and unspeakable Grace and Goodness to them, of which before they had no Knowledge, no Thought, no Expectation.

13 (*y*) Ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς, seems in the Tenor and Scheme of the Words to refer to ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν, *ver.* 11. St. *Paul* making a Parallel here between those of the Gentiles that first believed, and the Ephesians, tells them, that as those, who heard and received the Gospel before them, became the People of God, &c. to the Praise and Glory of his Name; so they the Ephesians by believing, became the People of God, &c. to the Praise and Glory of his Name, only in this Verse there is an Ellipsis of ἐκληρώθητε.

14 (*z*) The Holy Ghost was neither promised nor given to the Heathen, who were Apostates from God, and Enemies; but only to the People of God, and therefore the Convert Ephesians having received it, might be assured thereby that they were now the People of God, and rest satisfied in this Pledge of it.

(*a*) The giving out of the Holy Ghost, and the Gift of Miracles, was the great Means whereby the Gentiles were brought to receive the Gospel, and become the People of God.

(*b*) *Redemption* in Sacred Scripture signifies not always strictly paying a Ransom for a Slave deliver'd from Bondage, but Deliverance from a slavish Estate into Liberty: So God declares to the Children of *Israel* in *Egypt*, Exod. 6. 6. I will *redeem you with a stretched out Arm.* What is meant by it is clear from the former part of the Verse, in these Words, *I will bring you out from under the Burden of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their Bondage.* And in the next Verse he adds, *And I will take you to me for my People, and I will be to you a God:* The very Case here. As God in the place cited promised to deliver his People out of Bondage under the word *redeem*; so *Deut.* 7. 8. he telleth them that he *had brought them out with a mighty hand, and redeemed them out of the House of Bondage, from the hand of* Pharaoh *King of* Egypt: Which Redemption was performed by God, who is called the Lord of Host their Redeemer, without the Payment of any Ransom. But here there was περιποίησις, *a Purchase*; and what the Thing purchased was, we may see, *Acts* 20. 28. *viz.* the *Church of God*, ἣν περιεποιήσατο, which *he purchased with his own Blood*, to be a People that should be the Lord's Portion, and the Lot of his Inheritance, as *Moses* speaks of the Children of *Israel*, *Deut.* 32. 9. And hence St. *Peter* calls the Christians, 1 *Pet.* 11..9. λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν, which in the Margent of our Bible is rightly translated *a purchased People:* But if any one takes ἐκληρώθημεν, *v.* 11. to signify *we obtain'd an Inheritance*, then κληρονομία, in this Verse, will signify that Inheritance, and εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως, *until the Redemption of that purchased Inheritance*, *i.* e. until the Redemption of our Bodies, *viz.* Resurrection unto Eternal Life. But besides that this seems to have a more harsh and forced Sense, the other Interpretation is more consonant to the Stile and Current of the Sacred Scripture, and (which weighs more with me) answers St. *Paul*'s Design here, which is to establish the Ephesians in a settled Persuasion, that they, and all the other Gentiles that believed in Christ, were as much the People of God, his Lot, and his Inheritance, as the Jews themselves, and equally Partakers with them of all the Privileges and Advantages belonging thereunto, as is visible by the Tenour of the 2d Chapter. And this is the Use St. *Paul* mentions of God's setting his Seal, 2 *Tim.* 2. 19. that it might mark who are his: And according we find it apply'd, *Rev.* 7. 3. to the Foreheads of his Servants, that they might be known to be his, *ch.* 4. 1. For so did those who purchased Servants, as it were take Possession of them, by setting their Marks on their Foreheads.

14 (*c*) As he had declared, *ver.* 6, and 12. that the other Gentiles, by believing and becoming the People of God, enhanced thereby the Praise and Glory of his Grace and Goodness; so here, *ver.* 14. he pronounces the same thing of the Ephesians in particular, to whom he is writing, to possess their Minds with the Sense of the happy Estate they were now in by being Christians; for which he thanks God, *ver.* 3. and here again in the next Words.

SECT.

SECT. III.

CHAP. I. 15——II. 10.

CONTENTS.

HAving in the foregoing Section thanked God for the great Favours and Mercies which from the Beginning he had purpoſed for the Gentiles under the Meſſiah, in ſuch a Deſcription of that Deſign of the Almighty, as was fit to raiſe their Thoughts above the Law, and as St. *Paul* calls them beggarly Elements of the Jewiſh Conſtitution, which was nothing in compariſon of the great and glorious Deſign of the Goſpel, taking Notice of their ſtanding firm in the Faith he had taught them, and thanking God for it, he here in this prays God that he would enlighten the Minds of the *Epheſian* Converts, to ſee fully the great Things that were actually done for them, and the glorious Eſtate they were in under the Goſpel, of which in this Section he gives ſuch a Draught, as in every Part of it ſhews, that in the Kingdom of Chriſt they are ſet far above the Moſaical Rites, and enjoy the ſpiritual and incomprehenſible Benefits of it, not by the Tenure of a few outward Ceremonies; but by their Faith alone in Jeſus Chriſt, to whom they are united, and of whom they are Members, who is exalted to the Top of all Dignity, Dominion and Power, and they with him their Head.

TEXT.	*PARAPHRASE.*	
15 WHerefore I alſo, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jeſus, and	WHerefore I alſo here in my Confinement having heard (*d*) of the Continuance of your Faith in	15.

NOTES.

15 (*d*) Ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, *Wherefore I alſo after I heard of your Faith in the Lord Jeſus.* St. *Paul*'s hearing of their Faith here mention'd, cannot ſignify his being informed that they had received the Goſpel, and believed in Chriſt, this would have looked impertinent for him to have told them, ſince he himſelf had converted them, and had lived a long time amongſt them, as has been already obſerved. We muſt therefore ſeek another Reaſon of his mentioning his hearing of their Faith, which muſt ſignifie ſomething elſe than his being barely acquainted that they were Chriſtians, and this we may find in theſe Words, *Ch.* 3. 13. *Wherefore I deſire that ye faint not at my Tribulations for you.* He, as Apoſtle of the Gentiles, had alone preached up Freedom from the Law, which the other Apoſtles who had not that Province (ſee *Gal.* 2. 9.) in their converting the Jews, ſeem to have ſaid nothing of, as is plain from *Acts* 21. 20, 21. 'Twas upon account of his preaching, that the Chriſtian Converts were not under any Subjection to the Obſervances of the Law, and that the Law was aboliſhed by the Death of Chriſt, that he was ſeized at *Jeruſalem*, and ſent as a Criminal to *Rome* to be tried for his Life, where he was now a Priſoner. He being therefore afraid that the Epheſians, and other Convert Gentiles, ſeeing him thus under Perſecution, in Hold, and in Danger of Death, upon the Score of his being the Preacher, and zealous Propagater and Miniſter of this great Article of the Chriſtian Faith, which ſeem'd to have had its Riſe and Defence wholly from him, might give it up, and not ſtand firm in the Faith which he had taught them, was rejoyced when in his Confinement he heard that they perſiſted ſtedfaſt in that Faith, and in their Love to all the Saints, *i. e.* as well the Convert Gentiles that did not, as thoſe Jews that did, conform to the Jewiſh Rites. This I take to be the Meaning of his hearing of their Faith here mentioned, and conformably hereunto, *Ch.* 6. 19, 20. he deſires their Prayers, that he may with Boldneſs preach the Myſtery of the Goſpel, of which he is the Ambaſſador in Bonds. This *Myſtery of the Goſpel*, 'tis plain from *Ch.* 1. 9, *&c.* and *Ch.* 3. 3——7. and other Places, was God's gracious Purpoſe of taking the Gentiles, as Gentiles, to be his People under the Goſpel. St. *Paul*, whilſt he was a Priſoner at *Rome*, writ to two other Churches, that at *Philippi*, and that at *Coloſs*: To the Coloſſians, *Ch.* 1. 4. he uſes almoſt *verbatim*

PARAPHRASE.

in Christ Jesus, and your Love to all the Saints, (e)
16. Cease not to give Thanks for you, making Mention
17. of you in my Prayers; That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, (f) would endow

TEXT.

love unto all the saints,
Cease not to give thanks 16
for you, making mention
of you in my prayers;
That the God of our 17
Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom

NOTES.

hatim the same Expression that he does here, *Having heard of your Faith in Christ Jesus, and of your Love which ye have to all the Saints*; He gives Thanks to God for their knowing and sticking to the Grace of God in Truth, which had been taught them by *Epaphras*, who had informed St. *Paul* of this, and their Affection to him, whereupon he expresses his great Concern that they should continue in that Faith, and not be drawn away to Judaizing, which may be seen from *ver.* 14. of this Chapter, to the End of the second. So that the hearing of their Faith, which he says both to the *Ephesians* and *Colossians*, is not his being told that they were Christians, but their continuing in the Faith they were converted to and instructed in, *viz.* That they became the People of God, and were admitted into his Kingdom only by Faith in Christ, without submitting to the Mosaical Institution, and legal Observances, which was the thing he was afraid they should be drawn to, either through any Despondency in themselves, or Importunity of others, now that he was removed from them, and in Bonds, and thereby give up that Truth and Freedom of the Gospel which he had preach'd to them.

To the same Purpose he writes to the *Philippians*, Ch. 1. 3——5. telling them that he gave Thanks to God, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν, upon every Mention was made of them, upon every Account he receiv'd of their continuing in the Fellowship and Profession of the Gospel, as it had been taught them by him, without changing or wavering at all, which is the same with *hearing of their Faith*, and that thereupon he prays, amongst other things, chiefly that they might be kept from Judaizing: As appears, *ver.* 27, 28. where the Thing he desired to hear of them was, that *they stood firm in one Spirit, and one Mind, jointly contending for the Faith of the Gospel, in nothing startled by those who are Opposers*; so the Words are, and not *their Adversaries*. Now there was no Party at that Time, who were in Opposition to the Gospel which St. *Paul* preach'd, and with whom the Convert Gentiles had any Dispute, but those who were for keeping up Circumcision, and the Jewish Rites under the Gospel. These were they whom St. *Paul* apprehended alone as likely to affright the Convert Gentiles, and make them start out of the Way from the Gospel, which is the proper Import of πτυρόμενοι. Tho' this Passage clearly enough indicate what it was that he was and should always be glad to hear of them, yet he more plainly shews his Apprehension of Danger to them, to be from the Contenders for Judaism, in the express Warning he gives them against that Sort of Men, *Chap.* 3. 2, 3. So that this *Hearing* which he mentions, is the Hearing of these three Churches persisting firmly in the Faith of the Gospel which he had taught them, without being drawn at all towards Judaizing. 'Twas that for which St. *Paul* gave Thanks, and it may reasonably be presumed, that if he had writ to any other Churches of converted Gentiles, whilst he was a Prisoner at *Rome*, upon the like Carriage of their's, something of the same Kind would have been said to them. So that the great Business of these three Epistles, written during his being a Prisoner at *Rome*, was to explain the Nature of the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, from which the Gentiles were now no longer shut out by the Ordinances of the Law; and confirm the Churches in the Belief of it. St. *Paul*, being chosen and sent by God to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, had in all his Preaching set forth the Largeness and Freedom of the Kingdom of God now laid open to the Gentiles, by taking away the Wall of Partition that kept them out. This made the Jews his Enemies, and upon this Account they had seized him, and he was now a Prisoner at *Rome*. Fearing that the Gentiles might be wrought upon to submit to the Law now that he was thus removed, or suffering for this Gospel, he tells these three Churches, that he rejoyces at their standing firm in the Faith, and thereupon writes to them to explain and confirm to them the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, into which all Men now had an Entrance by Faith in Christ, without any Regard to the Terms whereby the Jews were formerly admitted. The setting-forth the Largeness and free Admittance into this Kingdom, which was so much for the Glory of God, and so much shew'd his Mercy and Bounty to Mankind, that he makes it as it were a new Creation, is, I say, plainly the Business of these threo Epistles, which tend all visibly to the same thing, that any one that reads them cannot mistake the Apostle's Meaning, they giving such a clear Light one to another.

15 *(e) All the Saints.* One finds in the very reading of these Words, that the Word *All* is emphatical here, and put in for some particular Reason. I can, I confess, see no other but this, *viz.* That they were not by the Judaizers in the least drawn away from their Esteem and Love of those who were not circumcised, nor observed the Jewish Rites; which was a Proof to him that they stood firm in the Faith and Freedom of the Gospel, which he had instructed them in.

17 *(f) Father of Glory:* An Hebrew Expression which cannot well be changed, since it signifies his being glorious himself, being the Fountain from whence all Glory is deriv'd, and to whom all Glory is to be given. In all which Senses it may be taken here, where there is nothing that appropriates it in peculiar to any of them.

your

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and revelation, in the knowledge of him:
18 The eyes of your understanding being enlightned; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints,
19 And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power;
20 Which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places,
21 Far above all Princi-

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your Spirits with Wisdom, (*g*) and Revelation, (*b*) whereby you may know him; And enlighten the 18.
Eyes of our Understandings, that you may see what Hopes his calling you to be Christians carries with it, and what an abundant Glory it is to the Saints to become his People, and the Lot of his Inheritance; And what an exceeding great Power he has employ'd 19.
upon us: (*i*) Who believe a Power corresponding to 20.
that mighty Power which he exerted in the raising Christ from the Dead, and in setting him next to himself over all Things relating to his heavenly Kingdom, (*k*) Far above all Principality, and Power, 21.

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(*g*) *Wisdom*, is visibly used here for a right Conception and Understanding of the Gospel. See Note, *ver.* 8.

(*b*) *Revelation*, is used by St. *Paul*, not always for immediate Inspiration, but as it is meant here, and in most other Places, for such Truths which could not have been found out by humane Reason, but had their first Discovery from Revelation, though Men afterwards come to the Knowledge of those Truths by reading them in the Sacred Scripture, where they are set down for their Information.

19 (*i*) *Us* here, and *you*, Ch. 2. 1. and *us*, Ch. 2. 5. 'tis plain signify the same, who being dead, partook of the Energy of that great Power that raised Christ from the Dead, *i. e.* the Convert Gentiles, and all those glorious Things he, in *ver.* 18——23. intimates to them, by praying they may see them, he here in this 19th Verse tells, is bestow'd on them as Believers, and not as Observers of the Mosaical Rites.

20 (*k*) Ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, *in heavenly Places*, says our Translation, and so *ver.* 3. but possibly the Marginal reading, *things*, will be thought the better, if we compare *ver.* 22. *He set him at his right Hand*, i. e. transferr'd on him his Power; ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, *i. e.* in his heavenly Kingdom; that is to say, set him at the Head of his heavenly Kingdom, see *ver.* 22. This Kingdom in the Gospel is call'd indifferently βασιλεία Θεοῦ, *the Kingdom of God*; and βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, *the Kingdom of Heaven*. God had before a Kingdom and People in this World, *viz.* that Kingdom which he erected to himself of the Jews, selected and brought back to himself out of the apostatized Mass of revolted and rebellious Mankind: With this his People he dwelt, among them he had his Habitation, and ruled as their King in a peculiar Kingdom; and therefore we see that our Saviour calls the Jews, *Mat.* 8. 12. *The Children of the Kingdom.* But that Kingdom, though God's, was not yet βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν, *the Kingdom of Heaven*, that came with Christ: See *Mat.* 3. 2. and 10. 7. That was but ἐπίγειος, of the Earth, compared to this ἐπουράνιος, heavenly Kingdom, which was to be erected under Jesus Christ; and with that Sort of Distinction our Saviour seems to speak and use those Words ἐπίγεια *earthly*, and ἐπουράνια, *heavenly*, John 3. 12. In his Discourse there with *Nicodemus*, he tells him, unless a Man were born again he could not see the Kingdom of God. This being *born again* stuck with *Nicodemus*, which Christ reproaches him with, since, being a Teacher in *Israel*, he understood not that which belong'd to the Jewish Constitution, wherein to be baptiz'd, for Admittance into that Kingdom, was called and counted to be born again; and therefore says, if, having spoken to you ἐπίγεια, things relating to your own *earthly* Constitution, you comprehend me not, how shall you receive what I say, if I speak to you, τὰ ἐπουράνια, *heavenly things*, i. e. of that Kingdom which is purely heavenly? And according to this St. *Paul*'s Words here, *Eph.* 1. 10. τὰ τε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, (which occur again, *Ch.* 3. 15. *Col.* 1. 16, 20.) may perhaps not unfitly be interpreted of the spiritual heavenly Kingdom of God, and that also of the more earthly one of the Jews, whose Rites and positive Institutions St. *Paul* calls *Elements of the World*, Gal. 4. 3. Col. 2. 8. 2. which were both at the coming of the *Messiah* consolidated into one, and together re-established under one Head, *Christ Jesus*. The whole Drift of this, and the two following Chapters, being to declare the Union of Jews and Gentiles into one Body, under Christ the Head of the heavenly Kingdom. And he, that sedately compares *Eph.* 2. 16. with *Col.* 1. 20. (in both which Places 'tis evident the Apostle speaks of the same thing, *viz.* God's reconciling of both *Jews* and *Gentiles* by the Cross of Christ) will scarce be able to avoid thinking, that things in Heaven, and things on Earth, signify the People of the one and the other of these Kingdoms.

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and Might, and Dominion, (*l*) and any other, either Man or Angel, of greater Dignity and Excellency, that we may come to be acquainted with, or hear the Names of either in this World, or the World
22. to come. And hath put all Things in Subjection to him, and him, inveſted with a Power over all Things,
23. he hath conſtituted Head of the Church, Which is his Body, which is compleated by him alone, (*m*) from whom comes all that gives any thing of Excellency and Perfection to any of the Members of the Church: Where to be a Jew or a Greek, circumciſed, or uncircumciſed, a Barbarian, or a Scythian, a Slave, or a Freeman, matters not; but to be united to him to partake of his Influence and Spirit, is all in all.

1. And (*n*) you, alſo being dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, in which you Gentiles, before you were converted

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pality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come:

22 And hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church,

23 Which is his body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all.

1 And you hath he quickned who were dead in treſpaſſes and ſins,

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21 (*l*) Theſe abſtract Names are frequently uſed in the New Teſtament according to the Stile of the Eaſtern Languages, for thoſe veſted with *Power* and *Dominion*, &c. and that not only here on Earth among Men, but in Heaven among ſuperiour Beings: And ſo often are taken to expreſs Ranks and Degrees of Angels: And though they are generally agreed to do ſo here; yet there is no Reaſon to exclude earthly Potentates out of this Text, when πάσης neceſſarily includes them; for that Men in Power are one Sort of ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι, in a Scripture-ſenſe, our Saviour's own Words ſhew, *Luke* 12. 11. *and* 20. 2. Beſides the Apoſtle's chief Aim here being to ſatisfie the Epheſians, that they were not to be ſubjected to the Law of *Moſes*, and the Government of thoſe who rul'd by it, but they were called to be of the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah:* It is not to be ſuppoſed, that here, where he ſpeaks of Chriſt's Exaltation to a Power and Dominion paramount to all other, he ſhould not have an Eye to that *little* and low Government of the Jews, which it was beneath the Subjects of ſo glorious a Kingdom as that of Jeſus Chriſt to ſubmit themſelves to: And this the next Words do farther enforce.

23 (*m*) Πλήρωμα, *Fulneſs*, here is taken in a Paſſive Senſe, for a Thing to be filled or compleated, as appears by the following Words, *of him that filleth all in all*, i. e. It is Chriſt the Head who perfecteth the Church, by ſupplying and furniſhing all Things to all the Members, to make them what they are and ought to be in that Body. See *Ch.* 5. 18. *Col.* 2. 10. and 3. 10, 11.

1 (*n*) Καὶ, *And*, gives us here the Thread of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe, which is impoſſible to be underſtood without ſeeing the Train of it; without that View it would be like a Rope of Gold Duſt, all the Parts would be excellent, and of Value, but would ſeem heaped together, without Order or Connection. This *And* here, 'tis true, ties the Parts together, and points out the Connection and Coherence of St. *Paul*'s Diſcourſe; but yet it ſtands ſo far from ἐκάθισεν, *ſet:* in *v.* 20. of the foregoing Chapter; and συνεζωοποίησε, *quickned*, v. 5. of this Chapter, which are the two Verbs it copulates together; that by one not acquainted with St. *Paul*'s Stile, it would ſcarce be obſerv'd or admitted, and therefore it may not be amiſs to lay it in its due Light, ſo as to be viſible to an ordinary Reader. St. *Paul*, v. 18—20. prays that the Epheſians may be ſo enlighten'd, as to ſee the great Advantages they receiv'd by the Goſpel: Thoſe that he ſpecifies are theſe; 1. What great Hopes it gave them. 2. What an exceeding Glory accompanied the Inheritance of the Saints. 3. The mighty Power exerted by God on their Behalf, which bore ſome Proportion to that which he employ'd in the raiſing Chriſt from the Dead, and placing him at his Right Hand: Upon the Mention of which, his Mind, being full of that glorious Image, he lets his Pen run into a Deſcription of the Exaltation of Chriſt; which laſts to the End of that Chapter, and then re-aſſumes the Thread of his Diſcourſe; which in ſhort ſtands thus: "I pray God that the Eyes of your "Underſtandings may be enlighten'd, that you may ſee the exceeding great Power of God, "which is employ'd upon us who believe: [κατὰ τὴν] correſponding to that Energy where-"with he raiſed Chriſt from the Dead, and ſeated him at his Right Hand; for ſo alſo has "he raiſed you, who were dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins: *Us*, I ſay, who were dead in Treſpaſſes "and Sins has he quickned, and raiſed together with Chriſt, and ſeated together with him in "his heavenly Kingdom." This is, in ſhort, the Train and Connection of his Diſcourſe from *Ch.* 1. 18. to 2. 5. though it be interrupted by many incident Thoughts; which, as his Manner is, he enlarges upon by the way, and then returns to the Thread of his Diſcourſe. For here again in this firſt Verſe of the ſecond Chapter, we muſt obſerve, that having

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2 Wherein in time paſt ye walked according to the courſe of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the ſpirit that now worketh in the children of diſobedience.

3 Among whom alſo we

verted to the Goſpel, walked according to the State and Conſtitution of this World, (*o*) Conforming your ſelves to the Will and Pleaſure of the Prince of the Power of the Air, (*p*) the Spirit that now yet poſſeſſes and works (*q*) in the Children of Diſobedience. (*r*) Of which Number even we all having for- 2. 3.

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having mentioned their being dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, he enlarges upon that forlorn Eſtate of the Gentiles before their Converſion; and then comes to what he deſign'd, that God out of his great Goodneſs, quickned, raiſed, and placed them together with Chriſt in his heavenly Kingdom. In all which it is plain he had more Regard to the Things he declared to them, than to a nice Grammatical Conſtruction of his Words: For 'tis manifeſt ὑμᾶς *And* v. 1. and καὶ *And*, v. 5. copulate συνεζωοποίησε *quicken'd*, with ἐκάθισεν *ſet*, v. 20. of the foregoing Chapter, which the two following Words, *v.* 6. καὶ συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, and hath *raiſed up together*, and *hath made ſit together in heavenly Places*, St. *Paul*, to diſplay the great Power and Energy of God ſhew'd toward the Gentiles, in bringing them into his heavenly Kingdom, declares it to be καὶ τὴν ἐνεργείαν, proportionable to that Power wherewith he raiſed Jeſus from the Dead, and ſeated him at his Right Hand: To expreſs the Parallel, he keeps to the parallel Terms concerning Chriſt; he ſays, *Ch.* 1. 20. ἐγείρας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, *raiſing him from the Dead, and ſet him at his own Right Hand in heavenly Places.* Concerning the Gentile Converts his Words are, *Ch.* 2. *v.* 5, 6 καὶ ὄντας ὑμᾶς νεκροὺς τοῖς παραπτώμασι συνεζωοποίησε τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ συνήγειρε καὶ συνεκάθισεν ἐν ἐπουρανίοις, *And us being dead in Treſpaſſes, he hath quickened together with Chriſt, and hath raiſed us up together, and made us ſit together in heavenly Places.* It is alſo viſible that ὑμᾶς *you*, *v.* 1. and ἡμᾶς *us*, *v.* 5. are both governed by the Verb συνεζωοποίησε, *quicken'd together*, v. 5. though the Grammatical Conſtruction be ſomewhat broken, but is repaired in the Senſe, which lies thus, "God by his mighty Power "raiſed Chriſt from the Dead; by the like mighty Power, you Gentiles of *Epheſus* being dead "in Treſpaſſes and Sins; What do I ſay, you of *Epheſus*? nay, us all Converts of the Gentiles "being dead in Treſpaſſes, has he quicken'd and raiſed from the Dead. You Epheſians were "dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, in which you walked according to the Courſe of this World, ac- "cording to the Prince of the Power of the Air, the Spirit that yet worketh in the Children "of Diſobedience, and ſo were we, all the reſt of us who are converted from Gentiliſm, we, all "of us, of the ſame Stamp and Strain, involved in the ſame Converſation, living heretofore ac- "cording to the Luſts of our Fleſh, to which we were perfectly obedient, doing what our car- "nal Wills and blinded Minds directed us, being then no leſs Children of Wrath, no leſs liable "to Wrath and Puniſhment, than thoſe that remained ſtill Children of Diſobedience, *i. e.* uncon- "verted; but God, rich in Mercy, for his great Love wherewith he loved us, hath quicken'd us "all, being dead in Treſpaſſes, (for 'tis by Grace *ye* are ſaved) and raiſed us, *&c.*" This is St. *Paul's* Senſe drawn out more at length, which, in his compendious Way of Writing, wherein he crouds many Idea's together, as they abounded in his Mind, could not eaſily be ranged under Rules of Grammar. The promiſcuous Uſe St. *Paul* here makes of *we* and *you*, and his ſo eaſy changing one into the other, plainly ſhews, as we have already obſerv'd, that they both ſtand for the ſame Sort of Perſons, *i. e.* Chriſtians, that were formerly Pagans, whoſe State and Life, whilſt they were ſuch, he here expreſly deſcribes.

2 (*o*) Αἰών may be obſerv'd in the New Teſtament to ſignify the laſting State and Conſtitution of Things, in the great Tribes or Collections of Men, conſider'd in reference to the Kingdom of God; whereof there were two moſt eminent, and principally intended, if I miſtake not, by the Word αἰῶνες, when that is uſed alone, and that is ὁ νῦν αἰών, *this preſent World*, which is taken for that State of the World wherein the Children of *Iſrael* were his People, and made up his Kingdom upon Earth, the Gentiles, *i. e.* all the other Nations of the World being in a State of Apoſtacy and Revolt from him, the profeſſed Vaſſals and Subjects of the Devil, to whom they paid Homage, Obedience and Worſhip: And αἰὼν μέλλων, *the World to come*, i. e. the Time of the Goſpel, wherein God by Chriſt broke down the Partition-Wall between Jew and Gentile, and opened a Way for reconciling the reſt of Mankind, and taking the Gentiles again into his Kingdom under Jeſus Chriſt, under whoſe Rule he had put it.

(*p*) In theſe Words St. *Paul* points out the Devil, the Prince of the revolted Part of the Creation, and Head of that Kingdom which ſtood in Oppoſition to, and was at War with, the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

(*q*) Ἐνεργοῦντι is the proper Term whereby in the Greek is ſignified the Poſſeſſion and Acting of any Perſon by an evil Spirit.

(*r*) *Children of Diſobedience* are thoſe of the Gentiles, who continued ſtill in their Apoſtacy under the Dominion of Satan, who ruled and acted them, and return'd not from their Revolt deſcribed, *Rom.* 18. *&c.* into the Kingdom of God, now that Jeſus Chriſt had open'd an Entrance into it to all thoſe who diſobey'd not his Call, and thus they are called, *Chap* 5. 6.

merly

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merly been, (s) lived in the Lusts of our Flesh, fulfilling the Desires thereof, and of our blinded perverted Minds. (t) But (u) God who is rich in Mercy, (w) through his great Love wherewith he loved us, Even us Gentiles who were dead (x) in Trespasses hath he quicken'd, (y) together with Christ (by Grace ye are saved) And hath raised (z) us up together with Christ, and make us Partakers in and with Jesus Christ, of the Glory and Power of his heavenly Kingdom, which God has put into his Hands, and put under his Rule: That in the Ages (a) to come he might shew the exceeding Riches of his

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all had our conversation in times past, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.

But God who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,

Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickned us together with Christ, (by grace ye are saved)

And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

That in the Ages to come he might shew the exceed-

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3 (s) Ἐν οἷς cannot signifie, *Amongst whom we also all had our Conversation:* For if ἡμεῖς *we*, stands for either the converted Jews, or Converts in general, it is not true. If *we* stands (as is evident it doth) for the converted Gentiles, of what Force or Tendency is it for the Apostle to say, we the converted Gentiles heretofore lived among the unconverted Gentiles? But it is of great Force, and to his Purpose, in magnifying the free Grace of God to them, to say, we of the Gentiles, who are now admitted to the Kingdom of God, were formerly of that very Sort of Men, in whom the Prince of the Power of the Air ruled, leading Lives in the Lusts of our Flesh, obeying the Will and Inclinations thereof, and so as much exposed to the Wrath of God, as those who still remain in their Apostacy under the Dominion of the Devil.

(t) This was the State that the Gentile World were given up to. See *Rom.* 1. 21, 24. Parallel to this 3d Verse of this 2d Chapter, we have a Passage in *Ch.* 4. 17—20. of this same Epistle, where καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη, *even as the other Gentiles*, plainly answers ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ, *even as the others* here; and ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, *in the Vanity of their Minds, having their Understandings darkened*, answers, ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ποιοῦντες τὰ θελήματα τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διανοιῶν, *in the Lusts of our Flesh, fulfilling the Desires of the Flesh and of the Mind.* He that compares these Places, and considers that what is said in the 4th Chapter contains the Character of the Gentile World, of whom it is spoken; I say, he that reads and considers these two Places well together, and the Correspondency between them, cannot doubt of the Sense I understand this Verse in; and that St. *Paul* here under the Terms *we* and *our* speaks of the Gentile Converts.

4 (u) Ὁ δὲ, *But*, connects this Verse admirably well with the immediately preceding, which makes the Parts of that incident Discourse cohere, which ending in this Verse, St *Paul* in the beginning of *v.* 5. takes up the Thread of his Discourse again, as if nothing had come between, though ὁ δὲ *but*, in the beginning of this 4th Verse, rather breaks than continues the Sense of the whole. See Note, *ver.* 1.

(w) *Rich in Mercy.* The Design of the Apostle being in this Epistle to set forth the exceeding great Mercy and Bounty of God to the Gentiles under the Gospel, as is manifest at large, *Ch.* 3. It is plain that ἡμᾶς *us*, here in this Verse, must mean the Gentile Converts.

5 (x) *Dead in Trespasses*, does not mean here, under the Condemnation of Death, or obnoxious to Death for our Transgressions, but so under the Power and Dominion of Sin, so helpless in that State, into which for our Apostacy we were deliver'd up by the just Judgment of God, that we had no more Thought, nor Hope, nor Ability to get out of it, than Men dead and buried have to get out of the Grave. This State of Death he declares to be the State of Gentilism, *Col.* 2. 13. in these Words; *And you being dead in Trespasses, and the Uncircumcision of your Flesh, hath God* quicken'd together with him, *i. e.* Christ.

(y) *Quicken'd.* This Quickening was by the Spirit of God given to those who by Faith in Christ were united to him, became Members of Christ, and Sons of God, partaking of the Adoption, by which Spirit they were put into a State of Life; see *Rom.* 8. 5——15. and made capable, if they would, to live to God, and not to obey Sin in the Lusts thereof, nor to yield their Members Instruments of Sin unto Iniquity; but to give up themselves to God, as Men alive from the Dead, and their Members to God as Instruments of Righteousness; as our Apostle exhorts the converted Romans to do, *Rom.* 6. 11—13.

6 (z) Wherein this *raising* consists may be seen, *Rom.* 6. 1—10.

7 (a) The great Favour and Goodness of God manifests it self in the Salvation of Sinners in all Ages: But that which most eminently sets forth the Glory of his Grace, was those who were

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ing riches of his grace in his kindneſs towards us, through Chriſt Jeſus.
8 For by grace are ye ſaved, through faith; and that not of your ſelves: it is the gift of God:
9 Not of works, leſt any man ſhould boaſt:

Grace in his Kindneſs towards us through Chriſt Jeſus. For by God's Free Grace it is that ye (*b*) are 8.
through Faith in Chriſt (*c*) ſaved and brought into the Kingdom of God, and made his People, not by any thing you did your ſelves to deſerve it; it is the Free Gift of God, who might, if he had ſo pleaſed, with Juſtice have left you in that forlorn Eſtate. That no Man might have any Pretence of Boaſting 9.
of

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were firſt of all converted from Heatheniſm to Chriſtianity, and brought out of the Kingdom of Darkneſs, in which they were as dead Men, without Life, Hope, or ſo much as a Thought of Salvation, or a better State, into the Kingdom of God. Hence it is that he ſays, *Ch.* 1. 12. *That we ſhould be to the Praiſe of his Glory who firſt believed.* To which he ſeems to have an Eye in this Verſe; the firſt Converſion of the Gentiles being a ſurprizing and wonderful Effect and Inſtance of God's exceeding Goodneſs to them, which, to the Glory of his Grace, ſhould be admired and acknowledged by all future Ages; and ſo *Paul* and *Barnabas* ſpeak of it, *Acts* 14. 27. *They rehearſed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the Door of Faith to the Gentiles.* And ſo *James* and the Elders at *Jeruſalem*, when they heard what Things God had wrought by St. *Paul*'s Miniſtry amongſt the Gentiles, *they glorified the Lord.* Acts 21. 19, 20.

8 (*b*) *Ye.* The Change of *we* in the foregoing Verſe, to *ye* here, and the like Change obſervable, *v.* 1, and 5. plainly ſhews, that the Perſons ſpoken of under theſe two Denominations, are of the ſame Kind, *i. e.* Gentile Converts; only St. *Paul* every now and then, the more effectually to move thoſe he is writing to, changes *we* into *ye*, and *vice verſâ*; and ſo makes, as it were, a little ſort of Diſtinction, that he may the more emphatically apply himſelf to them.

(*c*) *Saved.* He that reads St. *Paul* with Attention, cannot but obſerve, that ſpeaking of the Gentiles, he calls their being brought back again from their Apoſtacy into the Kingdom of God, their being *ſaved.* Before they were thus brought to be the People of God again under the *Meſſiah*, they were, as they are here deſcrib'd, Aliens, Enemies, without Hope, without God, dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins; and therefore when by Faith in Chriſt they came to be reconciled, and to be in Covenant again with God, as his Subjects and liege People, they were in the Way of Salvation, and if they perſevered, could not miſs attaining of it, though they were not yet in actual Poſſeſſion. The Apoſtle, whoſe Aim it is in this Epiſtle to give them an high Senſe of God's extraordinary Grace and Favour to them, and to raiſe their Thoughts above the mean Obſervances of the Law, ſhews them that there was nothing in them; no Deeds or Works of their's, nothing that they could do to prepare or recommend themſelves, contributed ought to the bringing them into the Kingdom of God under the Goſpel; that it was all purely the Work of Grace, for they were all dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, and could do nothing, not make one Step, or the leaſt Motion towards it. Faith, which alone gain'd them Admittance, and alone open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers, was the ſole Gift of God; Men by their natural Faculties could not attain to it. 'Tis Faith which is the Source and Beginning of this new Life; and the Gentile World, who were without Senſe, without Hope of any ſuch Thing, could no more help themſelves, or do any thing to procure it themſelves, than a dead Man can do any thing to procure himſelf Life. 'Tis God here does all; by Revelation of what they could never diſcover by their own natural Faculties, he beſtows on them the Knowledge of the *Meſſiah*, and the *Faith* of the Goſpel; which as ſoon as they have received, they are in the Kingdom of God, in a new State of Life; and being thus quicken'd by the Spirit, may, as Men alive, work if they will. Hence St. *Paul* ſays, *Rom.* 10. *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God*, having in the foregoing Verſes declared, there is no believing without hearing, and no hearing without a Preacher, and no Preacher unleſs he be ſent, *i. e.* the good Tidings of Salvation by the Meſſiah, and the Doctrine of Faith was not, nor could be, known to any, but to thoſe to whom God communicated it, by the preaching of Prophets and Apoſtles, to whom he revealed it, and whom he ſent on this Errand with this Diſcovery. And thus God now gave *Faith* to the Epheſians, and the other Gentiles, to whom he ſent St. *Paul*, and others his Fellow-Labourers to beſtow on them the Knowledge of Salvation, Reconciliation, and Reſtoration into his Kingdom of the Meſſiah. All which, tho' revealed by the Spirit of God in the Writings of the Old Teſtament, yet the Gentile World was kept wholly Strangers from the Knowledge of, by the Ceremonial Law of *Moſes*, which was the Wall of Partition that kept the Gentiles at a Diſtance, Aliens and Enemies; which Wall God, according to his gracious Purpoſe before the erecting of it, having now broke down, communicated to them the Doctrine of Faith, and admitted them upon their Acceptance of it, to all the Advantages and Privileges of his Kingdom; all which was done of his free Grace, without any Merit or Procurement of their's, *he was found of them who ſought him not, and was made manifeſt to them that asked not after him.* I deſire him, that would clearly underſtand this *Chap.* 2. of the Epheſians, to read careſully with it, *Rom.* 10. and

1 *Cor.*

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10. of himſelf, or his own Works or Merit. So that in this new State in the Kingdom of God, we are and ought to look upon our ſelves not as deriving any thing from our ſelves, but as the mere Work-

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For we are his work- 10
manſhip, created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good works, which God hath before

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1 *Cor.* 2. 9.—16. where he will ſee, that Faith is wholly owing to the Revelation of the Spirit of God, and the Communication of that Revelation by Men ſent by God, who attained this Knowledge, not by the Aſſiſtance of their own natural Part, but from the Revelation of the Spirit of God. Thus *Faith* we ſee is the Gift of God, and with it, when Men by Baptiſm are admitted into the Kingdom of God, comes the Spirit of God, which brings Life with it: For the attaining this Gift of Faith, Men do or can do nothing, Grace hitherto does all, and Works are wholly excluded; God himſelf creates them to do good Works, but when by him they are made living Creatures in this new Creation, it is then expected, that being quickned, they ſhould act; and from henceforwards Works are required, not as the meritorious Cauſe of Salvation; but as a neceſſary, indiſpenſible Qualification of the Subjects of God's Kingdom under his Son Jeſus Chriſt; it being impoſſible that any one ſhould at the ſame time be a Rebel and a Subject too: And though none can be Subjects of the Kingdom of God, but thoſe who, continuing in the Faith that has been once beſtow'd on them, ſincerely endeavour to conform themſelves to the Laws of their Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt; and God gives eternal Life to all thoſe, and thoſe only that do ſo; yet eternal Life is the Gift of God, the Gift of Free Grace, ſince their Works of ſincere Obedience afford no manner of Title to it; their Righteouſneſs is imperfect, *i. e.* they are all unrighteous, and ſo deſerve Death; but God gives them Life upon the account of his Righteouſneſs, *vid. Rom.* 1. 17. The Righteouſneſs of Faith which is by Jeſus Chriſt; and ſo they are ſtill ſaved by Grace.

Now when God hath, by calling them into the Kingdom of his Son, thus quicken'd Men, and they are by his free Grace created in Chriſt Jeſus unto good Works, that then Works are required of them, we ſee in this that they are called on, and preſſed to *walk worthy of God, who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory*, 1 Theſſ. 2. 12. And to the ſame Purpoſe here, *Chap.* 4. 1. *Phil.* 1. 27. *Col.* 1. 10——12. So that of thoſe, who are in the Kingdom of God, who are actually under the Covenant of Grace, good Works are ſtrictly required, under the Penalty of the Loſs of Eternal Life; *If ye live after the Fleſh, ye ſhall die, but if through the Spirit ye mortify the Deeds of the Body, ye ſhall live*, Rom. 8. 13. And ſo *Rom.* 6. 11, 13. they are commanded to obey God as living Men. This is the Tenour of the whole New Teſtament: The Apoſtate Heathen World were dead, and were of their ſelves in that State not capable of doing any thing to procure their Tranſlation into the Kingdom of God, that was purely the Work of Grace: But when they received the Goſpel, they were then made alive by Faith, and by the Spirit of God; and then they were in a State of Life, and working and Works were expected of them. Thus Grace and Works conſiſt without any Difficulty; that which has caus'd the Perplexity and ſeeming Contradiction, has been Mens Miſtake concerning the Kingdom of God: God in the Fulneſs of Time ſet up his Kingdom in this World under his Son; into which he admitted all thoſe who believed on him, and received Jeſus the Meſſiah for their Lord. Thus by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt Men became the People of God, and Subjects of his Kingdom; and being by Baptiſm admitted into it, were from henceforth, during their continuing in the Faith, and Profeſſion of the Goſpel, accounted Saints, the Beloved of God, the Faithful in Chriſt Jeſus, the People of God ſaved, *&c.* for in theſe Terms, and the like, the Sacred Scripture ſpeaks of them. And indeed thoſe, who were thus tranſlated into the Kingdom of the Son of God, were no longer in the dead State of the Gentiles; but having paſſed from Death to Life, were in the State of the Living, in the Way to eternal Life; which they were ſure to attain, if they perſevered in that Life which the Goſpel required, *viz.* Faith and ſincere Obedience. But yet this was not an actual Poſſeſſion of eternal Life in the Kingdom of God in the World to come; for by Apoſtacy or Diſobedience, this, though ſometimes called Salvation, might be forfeited and loſt; whereas he that is once poſſeſſed of the other, hath actually an eternal Inheritance in the Heavens, which fadeth not away. Theſe two Conſiderations of the Kingdom of Heaven ſome Men have confounded and made one; ſo that a Man being brought into the firſt of theſe, wholly by Grace without Works, Faith being all that was required to inſtate a Man in it, they have concluded that for the attaining eternal Life, or the Kingdom of God in the World to come, Faith alone, and not good Works, are required, contrary to expreſs Words of Scripture, and the whole Tenour of the Goſpel: But yet not being admitted into that State of eternal Life for our good Works, 'tis by Grace here too that we are ſaved, our Righteouſneſs after all being imperfect, and we by our Sins liable to Condemnation and Death: But 'tis by Grace we are made Partakers of both theſe Kingdoms; 'tis only into the Kingdom of God in this World we are admitted by Faith alone without Works; but for our Admittance into the other, both Faith and Obedience, in a ſincere Endeavour to perform thoſe Duties, all thoſe good Works which are incumbent on us, and come in our Way to be performed by us, from the Time of our believing till our Death.

manſhip

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

ordained that we ſhould walk in them.

manſhip of God created (*d*) in Chriſt Jeſus, to the end we ſhould do good Works, for which he had prepared and fitted us to live in them (*e*).

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10 (*d*) *Workmanſhip of God created.* 'Tis not by Virtue of any Works of the Law, nor in Conſideration of our ſubmitting to the Moſaical Inſtitution, or having any Alliance with the Jewiſh Nation, that we Gentiles are brought into the Kingdom of Chriſt; we are in this entirely the Workmanſhip of God, and are, as it were, created therein, framed and fitted by him, to the Performance of thoſe good Works which we were from thence to live in; and ſo owe nothing of this our new Being, in this new State, to any Preparation or Fitting we received from the Jewiſh Church, or any Relation we ſtood in thereunto. That this is the Meaning of the new Creation under the Goſpel, is evident from St. *Paul*'s own explaining of it himſelf, 2 *Cor.* 5. 16——18. *viz.* That being in Chriſt was all one as if he were in a new Creation; and therefore from henceforth he knew no body after the Fleſh, *i. e.* he pretended to no Privilege for being of a Jewiſh Race, or an Obſerver of their Rites; all theſe old things were done away; all things under the Goſpel are new, and of God alone.

(*e*) This is conformable to what he ſays, *v.* 5, 6. That God quickened and raiſed the Gentiles, that were dead in Treſpaſſes and Sins, with Chriſt, being by Faith united to him, and partaking of the ſame Spirit of Life which raiſed him from the Dead; whereby, as Men brought to Life, they were enabled (if they would not reſiſt nor quench that Spirit) to live unto God in Righteouſneſs and Holineſs, as before they were under the abſolute Dominion of Satan and their own Luſts.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. II. 11——22.

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FRom this Doctrine of his in the foregoing Section, that God of his Free Grace, according to his Purpoſe from the beginning, had quickned and raiſed the Convert Gentiles, together with Chriſt, and ſeated them with Chriſt in his heavenly Kingdom, St. *Paul* here in this Section draws this Inference to keep them from Judaizing, that though they (as was the State of the Heathen World) were heretofore, by being uncircumciſed, ſhut out from the Kingdom of God, Strangers from the Covenants of Promiſe, without Hope and without God in the World; yet they were by Chriſt, who had taken away the Ceremonial Law, that Wall of Partition, that kept them in that State of Diſtance and Oppoſition, now received without any ſubjecting them to the Law of *Moſes*, to be the People of God, and had the ſame Admittance into the Kingdom of God with the Jews themſelves, with whom they were now created into one new Man or Body of Men, ſo that they were no longer to look on themſelves any more as Aliens, or remoter off from the Kingdom of God than the Jews themſelves.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

11 WHerefore remember that ye being in time paſſed Gentiles in the fleſh, who are called uncircumciſion by that which is called the circumciſion in the fleſh made by hands;

WHerefore remember that ye who were heretofore Gentiles, diſtinguiſh'd and ſeparated from the Jews, who are circumciſed by a Circumciſion made with Hands in their Fleſh, by your not being 11.

PARAPHRASE.

12. circumciſed in your Fleſh (*f*), were at that time without all Knowledge of the Meſſiah, or any Expectation of Deliverance or Salvation by him (*g*), Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Iſrael* (*h*), and Strangers to the Covenants of Promiſe (*i*), not having any Hope of any ſuch thing, and living in the World without having the true God for their God
13. (*k*), or they being his People. But now you, that were formerly remote and at a diſtance, are by Je-
14. ſus Chriſt brought near by his Death (*l*). For it is he that reconcileth us (*m*) to the Jews, and hath brought us and them, who were before at an irreconcilable Diſtance, into Unity one with another, by removing the middle Wall of Partition (*n*), that
15. kept us at a Diſtance, Having taken away the Cauſe of Enmity (*o*), or Diſtance between us, by aboliſhing (*p*) that part of the Law which conſiſted in poſitive

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That at that time ye 12
were without Chriſt, being aliens from the commonwealth of Iſrael, and ſtrangers from the covenant of promiſe, having no hope, and without God in the world:

But now in Chriſt Je- 13
ſus, ye who ſometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Chriſt.

For he is our peace, 14
who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us;

Having aboliſhed in his 15
fleſh the enmity, even the law of commandments

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11 (*f*) This Separation was ſo great, that to a Jew the uncircumciſed Gentiles were counted ſo polluted and unclean, that they were not ſhut out barely from their holy Places and Service; but from their Tables and ordinary Converſation.

12 (*g*) That this is the Meaning of being *without Chriſt* here, is evident from this, that what St. *Paul* ſays here, is to ſhew the different State of the Gentiles from that of the Jews, before the coming of our Saviour.

(*h*) Who were alone then the People of God.

(*i*) *Covenants.* God more than once renewed his Promiſe to *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, and the Children of *Iſrael*, that upon the Conditions propoſed he would be their God, and they ſhould be his People.

(*k*) 'Tis in this Senſe that the Gentiles are called ἄθεοι; for there were few of them Atheiſts in our Senſe of the word, *i. e.* denying ſuperiour Powers; and many of them acknowledge one ſupreme Eternal God; but as St. *Paul* ſays, *Rom.* 1. 21. When they knew God, they glorified him not as God, they owned him not alone, but turn'd away from him the inviſible God, to the Worſhip of Images, and the falſe Gods of their Countries.

13 (*l*) How this was done the following words explain, and *Col.* 2. 14.

14 (*m*) Ἡμῶν, *Our*, in this verſe, muſt ſignifie Perſons in the ſame Condition with thoſe he ſpeaks to under the Pronoun ὑμεῖς, *ye*, in the foregoing verſe, or elſe the Apoſtle's Argument here would be wide, and not concluſive; but *ye* in the foregoing verſe inconteſtably ſignifies the Convert Gentiles, and ſo therefore muſt ἡμῶν in this verſe.

(*n*) See *Col.* 1. 20.

15 (*o*) It was the Ritual Law of the Jews, that kept them and the Gentiles at an irreconcilable Diſtance; ſo that they could come to no Terms of a fair Correſpondence, the Force whereof was ſo great, that even after Chriſt was come, and had put an End to the Obligation of that Law; yet it was almoſt impoſſible to bring them together; and this was that which in the beginning moſt obſtructed the progreſs of the Goſpel, and diſturbed the Gentile Converts.

(*p*) *By aboliſhing.* I do not remember that the Law of *Moſes*, or any Part of it, is by an actual Repeal any where abrogated; and yet we are told here, and in other places of the New Teſtament, that it is *aboliſhed*. The want of a right underſtanding of what this *aboliſhing* was, and how it was brought about, has, I ſuſpect, given Occaſion to the miſunderſtanding of ſeveral Texts of Sacred Scripture; I beg leave therefore to offer what the Sacred Scripture ſeems to me to ſuggeſt concerning this Matter, till a more thorough Enquiry by ſome abler Hand ſhall be made into it. After the general Revolt and Apoſtacy of Mankind, from the Acknowledgment and Worſhip of the one only true inviſible God their Maker, the Children of *Iſrael*, by a voluntary Submiſſion to him, and Acknowledgment of him to be their God and ſupreme Lord, came to be his People, and he, by a peculiar Covenant, to be their King; and thus erected to himſelf a Kingdom in this World out of that People, to whom he gave a Law by *Moſes*, which was to be the Law of the *Iſraelites*, his People, with a Purpoſe at the ſame time, that he would in due ſeaſon tranſfer this his Kingdom in this World into the hands of the Meſſiah, whom he intended to ſend into the World, to be the Prince and Ruler of his People, as he had foretold and promiſed to the Jews. Into which Kingdom of his under his Son, he purpoſed alſo, and foretold that he would admit and incorporate the other Nations of

contained in ordinances, for to make in himſelf, of poſitive Commands and Ordinances, that ſo he might make

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of the Earth, as well as thoſe of the Poſterity of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, who were to come into this his enlarged Kingdom upon new Terms that he ſhould then propoſe; and that thoſe, and thoſe only, ſhould from henceforth be his People. And thus it came to paſs, that tho' the Law which was given by *Moſes* to the Iſraelites was never repealed, and ſo ceaſed not to be the Law of that Nation; yet it ceaſed to be the Law of the People and Kingdom of God in this World, becauſe the Jews not receiving him to be their King, whom God had ſent to be the King and ſole Ruler of his Kingdom for the future, ceaſed to be the People of God, and the Subjects of God's Kingdom. And thus Jeſus Chriſt by his Death entering into his Kingdom, having then fulfilled all that was required of him for the obtaining of it, put an End to the Law of *Moſes*, opening another way to all People, both Jews and Gentiles, into the Kingdom of God, quite different from the Law of Ordinances given by *Moſes*, viz. Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, by which, and which alone, every one that would, had now Admittance into the Kingdom of God, by the one plain and eaſy ſimple Ceremony of Baptiſm. This was that which, though it was alſo foretold, the Jews underſtood not, having a very great Opinion of themſelves, becauſe they were the choſen People of God; and of their Law, becauſe God was the Author of it; and ſo concluded that both they were to remain the People of God for ever, and alſo that they were to remain ſo under that ſame Law, which was never to be alter'd; and ſo never underſtood what was foretold them of the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, in reſpect of the ceaſing of their Law of Ordinances, and the Admittance of the Gentiles upon the ſame Terms with them into the Kingdom of the Meſſiah; which therefore St. *Paul* calls over and over again a Myſtery, and a Myſtery hidden from Ages.

Now he that will look a little farther into this Kingdom of God, under theſe two different Diſpenſations of the Law and the Goſpel, will find that it was erected by God, and Men were recall'd into it out of the general Apoſtacy from their Lord and Maker, for the unſpeakable Good and Benefit of thoſe who, by entering into it, return'd to their Allegiance, that thereby they might be brought into a Way and Capacity of being reſtor'd to that happy State of Eternal Life, which they had all loſt in *Adam*, which it was impoſſible they could ever recover whilſt they remain'd Worſhipers and Vaſſals of the Devil, and ſo Out-laws and Enemies to God, in the Kingdom, and under the Dominion of Satan; ſince the moſt biaſs'd and partial Inclination of an intelligent Being, could never expect that God ſhould reward Rebellion and Apoſtacy with eternal Happineſs, and take Men that were actually Vaſſals and Adorers of his Arch-Enemy the Devil, and immediately give them eternal Bliſs, with the Enjoyment of Pleaſures in his Preſence, and at his Right-hand for evermore. The Kingdom of God therefore in this World, was, as it were, the Entrance to the Kingdom of God in the other World, and the Receptacle and Place of Preparation of thoſe who aim'd at a Share in that eternal inheritance. And hence the People of the Jews were called holy, choſen, and Sons of God; as were afterward the Chriſtians called Saints, Elect, Beloved, and Children of God, *&c.* But there is this remarkable Difference to be obſerv'd in what is ſaid of the Subjects of this Kingdom, under the two different Diſpenſations of the Law and the Goſpel, that the Converts to Chriſtianity, and Profeſſors of the Goſpel, are often termed and ſpoke of as *ſaved*, which I do not remember that the Jews or Proſelytes, Members of the Common-wealth, any where are: The Reaſon whereof is, that the Conditions of that Covenant whereby they were made the People of God, under that Conſtitution of God's Kingdom in this World, was, *Do this and live*; but he, that continues not in all theſe things to do them, ſhall die. But the Condition of the Covenant whereby they become the People of God, in the Conſtitution of his Kingdom under the Meſſiah, is, Believe and repent, and thou ſhalt be ſaved, *i. e.* Take Chriſt for thy Lord, and do ſincerely but what thou canſt to keep his Law, and thou ſhalt be ſaved; in the one of which, which is therefore called the Covenant of Works, thoſe who were actually in that Kingdom could not attain the everlaſting Inheritance: And in the other called the Covenant of Grace, thoſe, who if they would but continue as they began, *i. e.* in the State of Faith and Repentance, *i. e.* in a Submiſſion to and owning of Chriſt, and a ſteady unrelenting Reſolution of not offending againſt his Law, could not miſs it, and ſo might truly be ſaid to be ſaved, they being in an unerring way to Salvation. And thus we ſee how the Law of *Moſes* is by Chriſt aboliſhed under the Goſpel, not by any actual Repeal of it, but is ſet aſide, by ceaſing to be the Law of the Kingdom of God tranſlated into the hands of the Meſſiah, and ſet up under him; which Kingdom ſo erected, contains all that God now does or will own to be his People in this World. This way of *aboliſhing* of the Law, did not make thoſe Obſervances unlawful to thoſe who before their Converſion to the Goſpel were circumciſed, and under the Law, they were indifferent things, which the converted Jews might, or might not obſerve, as they found convenient: That which was unlawful and contrary to the Goſpel, was the making thoſe ritual Obſervances neceſſary to be join'd with Faith in Believers for Juſtification, as we ſee they did, who, *Acts* 15. taught the Brethren, that unleſs they were circumciſed after the Manner of *Moſes*, they could not be ſaved; ſo that the nailing it to Chriſt's Croſs, *Col.* 2. 14. was the taking away from thenceforth all Obligation for any one to be circumciſed, and to put himſelf under the Obſervances of the Law, to become one of the People of God, but was no Prohibition to any one who was circumciſed before Converſion to obſerve them. And accordingly we ſee, *Gal.* 2. 11. that what St. *Paul*

PARAPHRASE.

make (*q*) or frame the two, *viz.* Jews and Gentiles, into one new Society or Body of God's People, in a new Conſtitution under himſelf (*r*), ſo making Peace between them. And might reconcile them both to God, being thus united into one Body in him by the Croſs, whereby he deſtroy'd that Enmity or Incompatibility that was between them, by nailing to his Croſs the Law of Ordinances that kept them at a Diſtance. And being come, preach'd the good Tidings of Peace to you Gentiles that were far off from the Kingdom of Heaven, and to the Jews that were near, and in the very Precincts of it. For it is by him that we, both Jews and Gentiles, have Acceſs to the Father by one and the ſame Spirit. Therefore ye *Epheſians*, though heretofore Gentiles, now Believers in Chriſt, you are no more Strangers and Foreigners, but without any more a-do Fellow-Citizens of the Saints, and Domeſticks of God's own Family: Built upon the Foundation laid by the Apoſtles and Prophets, whereof Jeſus Chriſt is the Corner-

TEXT.

twain, one new man, ſo making peace;

And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the croſs, having ſlain the enmity thereby.

And came, and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

For through him we both have an acceſs by one Spirit unto the Father.

Now therefore ye are no more ſtrangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the ſaints, and of the houſhold of God;

And are built upon the foundation of the apoſtles and prophets, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner-ſtone.

NOTES.

blames in St. *Peter*, was compelling the Gentiles to live as the Jews do: Had not that been in the Caſe, he would no more have blam'd his Carriage at *Antioch*, than he did his obſerving the Law at *Jeruſalem*.

The Apoſtle here tells us what part of the Moſaical Law it was that Chriſt put an end to by his Death, *viz.* τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι, *the Law of Commandments in Ordinances*; i. e. the poſitive Injunctions of the Law of *Moſes* concerning things in their own nature indifferent, which became obligatory meerly by Virtue of a direct poſitive Command; and are called by St. *Paul* in the parallel place, *Col.* 2. 14. χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασι, *the Hand-writing of Ordinances*. There were, beſides theſe, contained in the Book of the Law of *Moſes*, the Law of Nature, or, as it is commonly called, the Moral Law, that unmoveable Rule of Right which is of perpetual Obligation: This Jeſus Chriſt is ſo far from abrogating, that he has promulgated it a-new under the Goſpel, fuller and clearer than it was in the Moſaical Conſtitution, or any where elſe; and, by adding to its Precepts the Sanction of his own Divine Authority, has made the Knowledge of that Law more eaſie and certain than it was before; ſo that the Subjects of his Kingdom whereof this is now the Law, can be at no doubt or loſs about their Duty, if they will but read and conſider the Rules of Morality, which our Saviour and his Apoſtles have deliver'd in very plain words in the holy Scriptures of the New Teſtament.

15 (*q*) *Make*; the Greek word is κτίσῃ, which does not always ſignifie Creation in a ſtrict Senſe.

(*r*) This, as I take it, being the Meaning, it may not be amiſs perhaps to look into the Reaſon why St. *Paul* expreſſes it in this more figurative manner, *viz. to make in himſelf of twain one new Man*, which, I humbly conceive, was more ſuitable to the Ideas he had, and ſo were, in fewer words, more lively and expreſs to his Purpoſe: He always has Jeſus Chriſt in his Mind, as the Head of the Church, which was his Body, from and by whom alone, by being united to him, the whole Body and every Member of it receiv'd Life, Vigour and Strength, and all the Benefits of that State; which admirably well ſhews, that whoever were united to this Head, muſt needs be united to one another, and alſo that all the Privileges and Advantages they enjoy'd, were wholly owing to their Union with, and adhering to, him their Head; which were the two things that he was here inculcating to the Convert Gentiles of *Epheſus*, to ſhew them, that now under the Goſpel Men became the People of God, meerly by Faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and having him for their Head, and not at all by keeping the Ritual Law of *Moſes*, which Chriſt had aboliſhed, and ſo had made Way for the Jews and Gentiles to become one in Chriſt, ſince now Faith in him alone united them into one Body under that Head, with the Obſervance of the Law; which is the Meaning of *ſo making Peace*. I hope this ſingle Note here may lead ordinary Readers into an underſtanding of St. *Paul*'s Stile, and by making them obſerve the Reaſon, give them an eaſier Entrance into the Meaning of St. *Paul*'s figurative Expreſſions.

If the Nation of the Jews had owned and received Jeſus the Meſſiah, they had continued on as the People of God; but after that they had Nationally rejected him, and refuſed to have him rule over them, and put him to Death, and ſo had revolted from their Allegiance, and with-

TEXT.

21 In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord:
22 In whom you alſo are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.

PARAPHRASE.

Corner-ſtone: In whom all the Building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord: 21.
In which even the Gentiles alſo are built up together with the believing Jews, for an Habitation of God, through the Spirit (*s*). 22.

NOTES.

withdrawn themſelves from the Kingdom of God, which he had now put into the Hands of his Son, they were no longer the People of God; and therefore all thoſe of the Jewiſh Nation, who after that would return to their Allegiance, had Need of Reconciliation to be re-admitted into the Kingdom of God, as Part of his People, who were now received into Peace and Covenant with him upon other Terms, and under other Laws, than being the Poſterity of *Jacob*, or Obſervers of the Law of *Moſes*.

22 (*s*) The Senſe of which Allegory I take to be this: It is plain from the Atteſtation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, that the Gentiles who believe in Chriſt are thereby made Members of his Kingdom, united together under him their Head into ſuch a well-framed Body, wherein each Perſon has his proper Place, Rank and Function to which he is fitted, that God will accept and delight in them as his People, and live amongſt them, as in a well-framed Building dedicated and ſet apart to him, whereof the Gentiles make a Part, and without any Difference put between you, are framed in Equality, and promiſcuouſly with the believing Jews, by the Spirit of God to be one People, amongſt whom he will dwell, and be their God, and they ſhall be his People.

SECT. V.

CHAP. III. 1——21.

CONTENTS.

THis Section gives a great Light to thoſe foregoing, and more clearly opens the Deſign of this Epiſtle: For here St. *Paul* in plain words tells them, it is for preaching this Doctrine that was a Myſtery, till now being hid from former Ages, (*viz.*) that the Gentiles ſhould be Co-heirs with the believing Jews, and, making one Body or People with them, ſhould be equally Partakers of the Promiſes under the Meſſiah, of which Myſtery he by particular Favour and Appointment was ordain'd the Preacher. Whereupon he exhorts them not be diſmay'd, or flinch in the leaſt from the Belief or Profeſſion of this Truth, upon his being perſecuted and in Bonds upon that Account. For his ſuffering for it, who was the Preacher and Propagater of it, was ſo far from being a juſt Diſcouragement to them, from ſtanding firmly in the Belief of it, that it ought to be to them a Glory, and a Confirmation of this eminent Truth of the Goſpel, which he peculiarly taught, and thereupon he tells them, he makes it his Prayer to God, that they may be ſtrengthen'd herein, and be able to comprehend the Largeneſs of the Love of God in Chriſt, not confined to the Jewiſh Nation and Conſtitution, as the Jews conceited; but far ſurpaſſing the Thoughts of thoſe who, preſuming themſelves knowing, would confine it to ſuch only who were Members of the Jewiſh Church, and Obſervers of their Ceremonies.

For

PARAPHRASE.

1. FOR my Preaching of this (*t*), I *Paul* am a Prisoner, upon account of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for the Sake and Service of you Gentiles (*u*):
2. Which you cannot doubt of, since (*w*) ye have heard of the Dispensation of the Grace of God, which was
3. given to me in Reference to you Gentiles: How that by especial Revelation he made known unto me in particular (*x*) the Mystery (*y*) (as I hinted to you
4. above, *viz.* ch. 1. 9. By the bare reading whereof ye may be assured of my Knowledge in this formerly conceal'd and unknown part of the Gospel of Christ
5. (*z*): Which in former Ages was not made known to the Sons of Men, as it is now revealed to his holy
6. Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit, *viz.* That the Gentiles should be Fellow-Heirs, be united into one Body, and partake of his Promise (*a*) in Christ, joyntly with the Jews (*b*), in the time (*c*) of the Gospel;

TEXT.

1 FOR this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles;
2 If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward:
3 How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, (as I wrote afore in few words,
4 Whereby when ye read ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ)
5 Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit;
6 That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel:

NOTES.

1 (*t*) See *Col.* 4. 3. 2 *Tim.* 2. 9, 10.

(*u*) See *Phil.* 1. 7. *Col.* 1. 24.

2 (*w*) Εἴγε, is sometimes an affirmative Particle, and signifies in Greek the same that *siquidem* does in Latin, and so the Sense requires it to be understood here; for it could not be supposed but the Ephesians, among whom St. *Paul* had lived so long, must have heard that he was by express Commission from God made Apostle of the Gentiles, and by immediate Revelation instructed in the Doctrine he was to teach them, whereof this of their Admittance into the Kingdom of God purely by Faith in Christ, without Circumcision or other legal Observances, was one great and necessary Point, whereof St. *Paul* was so little shy, that we see the World rung of it, *Acts* 21. 28. And if his Preaching and Writing were of a piece, as we need not doubt this Mystery of God's Purpose to the Gentiles, which was communicated to him by Revelation, and we hear of so often in his Epistles, was not concealed from them he preach'd to.

3 (*x*) Though St. *Peter* was by a Vision from God sent to *Cornelius* a Gentile, *Acts* 10. yet we do not find that this Purpose of God's calling the Gentiles to be his People equally with the Jews, without any Regard to Circumcision, or the Mosaical Rites, as revealed to him, or to any other of the Apostles, as a Doctrine which they were to preach and publish to the World: Neither indeed was it needful that it should be any part of their Commission, who were Apostles only of the Circumcision, to mix that in their Message to the Jews, which should make them stop their Ears and refuse to hearken to the other Parts of the Gospel, which they were more concerned to know and be instructed in.

(*y*) See *Col.* 1. 26.

4 (*z*) One may be ready to ask, to what Purpose is this, which this Parenthesis contains here concerning himself? And indeed without having an Eye on the Design of this Epistle, it is pretty hard to give an Account of it, but that being carried in View, there is nothing plainer, nor more pertinent and persuasive than this here; for what can be of more Force to make them stand firm to the Doctrine which he had taught them, of their being exempt from Circumcision, and the Observances of the Law? If you have heard, and I assure you in my Epistle, that this Mystery of the Gospel was revealed in a particular manner to me from Heaven: The very reading of this is enough to satisfy you, that I am well instructed in that Truth, and that you may safely depend upon what I have taught you concerning this Point, notwithstanding I am in Prison for it, which is a thing you ought to glory in, since I suffer for a Truth wherein you are so nearly concern'd; see *ch.* 6. 19.

6 (*a*) The Promise here intended, is the Promise of the Spirit; see *Gal.* 3. 14. which was not given to any but to the People and Children of God; and therefore the Gentiles receiv'd not the Spirit till they became the People of God, by Faith in Christ, in the Times of the Gospel.

(*b*) Though the Jews are not expresly named here; yet it is plain from the foregoing Chapter, *v.* 11, &c. that 'tis of the Union of the Gentiles with the Jews, and making with them one Body of God's People, equally sharing in all the Privileges and Benefits of the Gospel, that he is here speaking, the same which he teaches, *Gal.* 3. 26——29.

(*c*) Διὰ τῆ οἰκονομίας, signifies here, In the time of the Gospel, as δι' ἀκροβυστίας signifies,

In

TEXT.

7 Whereof I was made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power.

8 Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;

9 And to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ:

10 To the intent that now

PARAPHRASE.

Gospel; Of which Doctrine I in particular was made the Minister (*d*) according to the free and gracious Gift of God, given unto me by the effectual Working of his Power, in his so wonderful converting the Gentiles by my Preaching (*e*); Unto me, I say, who am less than the least of all Saints, is this Favour given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable Riches of Christ (*f*); And make all Men (*g*) perceive how this Mystery comes now to be communicated (*h*) to the World, which has been concealed from all past Ages, lying hid in the secret Purpose of God, who frames and manages this whole new Creation by Jesus Christ (*i*); To the intent that now

7. 8. 9. 10.

NOTES.

In the time of Uncircumcision, *Rom.* 4. 11. see Note on *Rom.* 7. 5. The same thing being intended here, which, *ch.* 1. 10. is thus expressed; *That in the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times*, i. e. in the time of the Gospel, *all things might be gathered together*, or united, *in Christ*, or by Christ.

7 *(d)* Though he does not in express words deny others to be made Ministers of it, for it neither suited his Modesty, nor the respect he had for the other Apostles, so to do; yet his Expression here will be found strongly to imply it, especially if we read and consider well the two following Verses, for this was a necessary Instruction to one who was sent to convert the Gentiles, though those who were sent to their Brethren the Jews were not appointed to promulgate it. This one Apostle of the Gentiles, by the Success of his preaching to the Gentiles the Attestation of Miracles, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost, join'd to what *Peter* had done by special Direction in the Case of *Cornelius*, would be enough in its due Season to convince the other Apostles of this Truth, as we may see it did, *Acts* 15. and *Gal.* 2. 6 ——— 9. And of what Consequence, and how much St. *Paul* thought the preaching of this Doctrine his peculiar Business, we may see by what he says, *ch.* 6. 19, 20. where any one may see by the different Treatment he received from the rest of the Apostles, being in *Bonds* upon that account, that his preaching herein differ'd from their's, and he was thereupon, as he tells us himself, treated *as an evil Doer*, 2 Tim. 2. 9. The History whereof we have, *Acts* 21. 17. *&c.* as we have elsewhere observed. And it is upon the account of his preaching this Doctrine, and displaying to the World this concealed Truth, which he calls every where a hidden Mystery, that he gives to what he had preach'd the distinguishing Title of *my Gospel*, Rom. 16. 25. which he is concerned that God should establish them in, that being the chief Design of his Epistle to the *Romans*, as here to the *Ephesians*. The insisting so much on this, that it was the special Favour and Commission of God to him in particular, to preach this Doctrine of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles to the Word, was not out of Vanity or Boasting, but was here of great Use to his present Purpose, as carrying a strong Reason with it, why the Ephesians should rather believe him, to whom, as their Apostle, it was made manifest, and committed to be preached, than the Jews, from whom it had been conceal'd, and was kept as a Mystery, and was in it self ἀνεξιχνίαστον, inscrutable by Men, though of the best natural Parts and Endowments.

(e) This seems to be the Energy of the Power of God, which he here speaks of, as appears by what he says of St. *Peter*, and of himself, *Gal.* 2. 8. Ὁ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς, ἐνήργησε καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, *He that* wrought effectually *in Peter to the Apostleship of the Circumcision, the same was mighty, or wrought effectually in me*, as ἐνέργεια, is here translated, of which his very great Modesty could not hinder him from speaking, thus 1 *Cor.* 15. 9, 10. *I am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God: But by the Grace of God I am what I am, and his Grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the Grace of God that was with me:* A Passage very suitable to what he says in this and the next Verse.

8 *(f)* *i. e.* That abundant Treasure of Mercy, Grace and Favour, laid up in Jesus Christ, not only to the Jews; but to the whole Heathen World, which was beyond the Reach of humane Sagacity to discover, and could be known only by Revelation.

(g) All Men, *i. e.* Men of all Sorts and Nations, Gentiles as well as Jews.

9 *(h)* Τίς ἡ κοινωνία, *what is the Communication*, i. e. that they may have light from me, to see and look into the Reason and Ground of the Discovery or Communication of this Mystery to them now by Jesus Christ, who is now exhibited to the World, into whose hands God has put the Management of this whole Dispensation.

(i) To open our way to a right Sense of these words, τῷ τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ, it will

PARAPHRASE.

now under the Gospel the manifold Wisdom of God, in the ordering and management of his heavenly Kingdom, might be made known to Principalities and Powers by the Church (*k*), According to that

TEXT.

unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God,

NOTES.

will be necessary in the first place to consider the Terms of it, and how they are used by St. *Paul*.

1. As to κτίσαντι, *created*, it is to be acknowledged, that it is the word used in Sacred Scripture to express *Creation* in the Scriptural Sense of *Creation*, i. e. making out of nothing; yet that it is not always used in that Sense by St. *Paul*, is visible from the 15*th* Verse of the foregoing Chapter, where our Translators have rightly render'd κτίσιν *make*, and it would contain a manifest Absurdity to render it there *create*, in the Theological Sense of the word *create*.

2. It is to be observed that St. *Paul* often chooses to speak of the Work of Redemption by Christ as a Creation. Whether it were because this was the chief End of the Creation, or whether it were because there was no less seen of the Wisdom, Power and Goodness of God, in this than in the first Creation, and the Change of lost and revolted Man from being dead in Sins to Newness of Life, was as great, and by as great a Power, as at first making out of nothing, or whether it was because the ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, under Jesus Christ the Head, mentioned, *ch.* 1. 10. was a Restitution of the Creation to its primitive State and Order, which, *Acts* 3. 21. is called ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, *the Restitution of all things*, which was begun with the Preaching of St. *John Baptist*, (who was the *Elias* that restored all things, *Mat.* 17. 11. *i. e.* opened the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers of all Nations, *Luke* 16. 16.) and is compleated in Christ's coming with his Saints in the Glory of his Father at the last Day. But whether some or all of these Conjectures which I have mentioned be the Reason of it, this is certain, that St. *Paul* speaks of the Work of Redemption under the name of Creation. So 2 *Cor.* 5. 17. *If any one be in Christ*, καινὴ κτίσις, *he is a new Creature*, or *it is a new Creation*. And *Gal.* 6. 15. *In Christ Jesus neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision, but* καινὴ κτίσις, *the new Creation*.

'Tis then to be consider'd of which Creation τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι, *who created all things*, is here to be understood. The Business St. *Paul* is upon in this place, is to shew that God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Gospel, was a Mystery unknown in former Ages, and now under the Kingdom of the Messiah committed to him to be preach'd to the World.

This is so manifestly the Design of St. *Paul* here, that no body can mistake it. Now if the Creation of the material World, of this visible Frame of Sun, Moon, and Stars, and heavenly Bodies that are over us, and of the Earth we inhabit, hath no immediate Relation, as certainly it hath not to this Mystery, this Design of God's to call the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, it is to make St. *Paul* a very loose Writer and weak Arguer, in the middle of a Discourse which he seems to lay much Stress on, and to press earnestly on the *Ephesians* (for he urges it more than once) to bring in things not at all to his Purpose, and of no Use to the Business in hand. We cannot therefore avoid taking the Creation, and things created here, to be those of the new Creation, (*viz.*) those of which the Kingdom of Christ, which was this new Creation, was to be made up, and in that Sense, τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *who created all things by Jesus Christ*, is a Reason to shew why God kept his Purpose of making the Gentiles meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints, or as he expresseth it, *ch.* 2. 10. that they *should be his Workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good Works*, concealed from former Ages, *viz.* because this new Creation was in Jesus Christ, and so proper to be preached and publish'd when he was come, which is strongly confirm'd by the Words of the following Verse, *viz. that NOW* in its due time, by this new piece of Workmanship of his, *viz. the Church, might be made known the manifold Wisdom of God*. This taking in the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, and after that the re-assuming again of the Jews, who had been rejected, St. *Paul* looks on as so great an Instance, and Display of the Wisdom of God, that it makes him cry out, *Rom.* 11. 33. *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out!*

10 (*k*) There be two things in this Verse that to me make it hard to determine the precise Sense of it; the first is, what is meant by ἀρχαῖς and ἐξουσίαις, Terms that sometimes in Sacred Scripture signify Temporal Magistrates, and so our Saviour uses them, *Luke* 12. 11. and St. *Paul*, Tit. 3. 1. Sometimes for those who are vested with any Power, whether Men or Angels, so 1 *Cor.* 15. 24. Sometimes for evil Angels, so they are understood, *ch.* 6. 12. Sometimes they are understood of good Angels, so *Col.* 1. 19. Now to which of these to determine the Sense here, I confess my self not sufficiently enlighten'd. Indeed ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, in the things of his heavenly Kingdom, would do something towards it, were it undoubtedly certain, whether those words were in Construction to be join'd to ἀρχαῖς and ἐξουσίαις, or to σοφία; *i. e.* Whether we are to understand it of Principalities and Powers in the Kingdom of Heaven,

or

TEXT.

11 According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord:
12 In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him.
13 Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory.
14 For this cause I bow my knees unto the father of our Lord Jesus Christ,

PARAPHRASE.

that Predisposition (*l*) of the Ages, or several Dispensations which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord; By whom *we* have Boldness and Access to God the Father, with Confidence by Faith (*m*) in him. Wherefore my Desire is, that ye be not dismay'd by my present Affliction, which I suffer for your Sake, and is in Truth a Glory to you, that ought to raise your Hearts, and strengthen your Resolutions. Upon this Account I bend my Knees in Prayer to the Father of

11 12 13 14

NOTES.

or of the Wisdom of God in the ordering of that Kingdom: If the first of these, then 'tis evident they would signify the heavenly Host of good Angels employ'd in the Guard and Promotion of the Kingdom of Christ. But the Knowledge spoken of here, as communicated to these Principalities and Powers, being only in consequence of St. *Paul*'s preaching, 'tis not easy to conceive, that the Revelation and Commission given to St. *Paul*, for the declaring the Mystery of God's Purpose to take the Gentiles into the Church, was to the Intent the Angels, either good or bad, should be instructed in this great and important Truth, wherein the Wisdom of God so much shewed it self, and that they should have no Knowledge of it before nor otherwise. This is so great a Difficulty, that it seems strongly to persuade, that the Principalities and Powers here mentioned are of this World, but against this there lies this obvious Objection, That the Magistrates of the Heathen World did not much concern themselves in what St. *Paul* preached, nor, upon his declaring that the Gentiles under the Messiah were to be taken in to be the People of God, did in effect gather from the Church thus constituted, any Arguments of the Wisdom of God. If therefore I may venture my Conjecture, for I dare not be positive in a Place that I confess my self not fully to understand, I should take this to be the Meaning of it. The High-Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who are the Rulers of the Jewish Nation, and alone pretend to any Authority in these Matters, deny the Converted Heathens to be the People of God, because they neglect the Law and Circumcision, and those other Rites, whereby God has appointed those who are his People to be separated from the rest of the World, and made holy to himself. And so far most of the Converted Jews agree with them, that they will not allow the Converted Gentiles to be Members and Subjects of the Kingdom of the Messiah without being circumcised, and submitting to the Laws and Ceremonies of the Jews, as the only Religion and Way of Worship wherein they can be allowed to be God's People, or be accepted by him. Now, says St. *Paul*, God of his special Grace has commission'd me to preach to the World this his hidden Purpose of taking the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, that so by the Church, consisting of Members who are God's People, without being circumcised, or observing the other Mosaical Rites, might, which the Jews could by no Means conceive, now be made known, and declared to the Leaders and Chief of that Nation the manifold Wisdom of God, which is not, as the Jews imagine, tied up to their own Way, but can bring about his Purposes by sundry Manners, and in Ways that they thought not of. This seems suitable to the Apostle's Meaning here, for though the Jews were not hereby converted, yet, when urg'd by the converted Gentiles, it served to stop their Mouths, and thereby to confirm the Gentiles in the Liberty of the Gospel. And thus by the Church, to whom St. *Paul* says, *Col.* 1. 24. and 2. 2. God would now have made it manifest by his Preaching, is this Mystery made known to Principalities and Powers, *i. e.* the Rulers and Teachers of the Jewish Nation, the Saints, who were apprised of it by St. *Paul*'s preaching, urging, and manifesting it to them. And to this Sense of this Passage these two Words, νῦν *now*, and πολυποίκιλ@ *manifold*, seem wholly accommodated, *i. e. Now* that the uncircumcised Gentiles believe in Christ, and are by Baptism admitted into the Church, the Wisdom of God is made known to the Jews, not to be tied up to one invariable Way and Form, as they persuade themselves; but displays it self in sundry Manners, as he thinks fit.

11 (*l*) Whether by αἰῶνες *Ages*, here, the several Dispensations Mankind was under from first to last, or whether the two great Dispensations of the Law and the Gospel (for that αἰῶνες are used in the Sacred Scripture to denote these, I think an attentive Reader cannot doubt) be here meant, this seems visibly the Sense of the Place, that all these Dispensations in the several Ages of the Church, were all by the Pre-ordination of God's Purpose regulated and constituted in Christ Jesus our Lord; that is, with Regard to Christ, was designed and appointed Lord and Head over all; which seems to me to answer τὰ πάντα κτίσαντι διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *Who created all things by Jesus Christ*, v. 9.

12 (*m*) Πίστις αὐτοῦ, *Faith of him*, the Genitive Case of the Object, as well as of the Agent, is so frequent in Sacred Scripture, that there needs nothing to be said of it.

PARAPHRASE.

15. our Lord Jesus Christ. (*n*) From whom the whole Family or Lineage both in Heaven and Earth have their Denomination, (*viz.*) Jesus Christ, that is already in Heaven, and Believers that are still on Earth, have all God for their Father, are all the Sons of God.
16. That he would grant you, according to the great Glory he designed to you Gentiles, who should receive the Gospel under the Messiah, (*o*) to be strengthened with Might by his Spirit in the inward
17. Man; (*p*) That Christ may dwell in your Hearts by Faith; that you, being settled and established in the Sense of the Love of God to you in Jesus Christ,
18. may be able together with all Christians to comprehend the Length, and Breadth, and Height, and Depth of this Mystery of God's Purpose of calling and taking in the Gentiles to be his People in the
19. Kingdom of his Son: (*q*) And to understand the exceeding (*r*) Love of God, in bringing us to the Knowledge of Christ: That you may be filled with that Knowledge, and all other Gifts, with God's Plenty, or to that Degree of Fulness which is suitable to his Purpose of Munificence and Bounty to-
20. wards you. (*s*) Now to him that worketh in us by a Power (*t*) whereby he is able to do exceedingly be-

TEXT.

Of whom the whole 15
family in heaven and
earth is named.

That he would grant 16
you according to the rich-
es of his glory, to be
strengthen'd with might
by his Spirit in the inner
man;

That Christ may dwell 17
in your hearts by faith;
that ye being rooted and
grounded in love,

May be able to compre- 18
hend with all saints, what
is the breadth, and length,
and depth, and height;

And to know the love 19
of Christ, which passeth
knowledge, that ye might
be filled with all the ful-
ness of God.

Now unto him that is 20
able to do exceeding a-
bundantly above all that
we ask or think, accord-
ing to the power that
worketh in us,

NOTES.

14 (*n*) *The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*, set down as it is in the beginning of this Verse, join'd to the Design of the Apostle in this Place, makes me think, that the Sense of it is so plainly that which I have given of it, that I do not see any Difficulty can be made about it. In the foregoing Chapter, *v.* 19. he tells the Convert Gentiles of *Ephesus*, that now they believe in Christ, they are no longer Strangers and Foreigners, but Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houshold of God; here he goes on, and tells them they are of the Family and Lineage of God, being jointly with Jesus Christ, who is already in Heaven, the Sons of God: What could be of greater Force to continue them stedfast in the Doctrine he had preach'd to them, and which he makes it his whole Business here to confirm them in, (*viz.*) That they need not be circumcised and submit to the Law of *Moses*, they being already by Faith in Christ the Sons of God, and of the same Lineage and Family with Christ himself, who was already by that Title possess'd of his Inheritance in Glory?

16 (*o*) See this Sense of this Passage as given, *Col.* 1. 27. and not much different, *Ch.* 1. 17, &c.

(*p*) What the *inward Man* signifies, see *Rom.* 7. 22. 2 *Cor.* 4. 16.

18 (*q*) This Mystery being the Subject St. *Paul* is here upon, and which he endeavours to magnify to them, and establish in their Minds the Height and Breadth, *&c.* which he mentions in these Words, being not apply'd to any thing else, cannot, in good Sense, be understood of any thing else.

19 (*r*) ὑπερβαλλουσαν, *exceeding*, seems to be here a comparative Term, join'd to the Love of God, in communicating the Knowledge of Christ, and declaring it superior to some other Thing, if you desire to know what, he himself tells you on the same Occasion, *Phil.* 3. 8. *viz.* To Circumcision, and the other Ritual Institutions of the Law, which the Jews look'd on as the Marks of the highest Degree of God's Love to them, whereby they were sanctified and separated to him from the rest of the World, and secured of his Favour. To which, if any one will add what St. *Paul* says on the same Subject, *Col.* 2. 2. *&c.* (for his Business is the very same in these three Epistles) he will not want Light to guide him in the Sense of this Place here.

(*s*) Εἰς πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *To all the Fulness of God*; *the Fulness of God* is such Fulness as God is wont to bestow, *i. e.* wherein there is nothing wanting to any one, but every one is filled to the utmost of his Capacity. This I take to be the Meaning of εἰς τὸ πλήρωμα Θεοῦ, and then πᾶν πλήρωμα may be understood, to shew that it is not a Fulness of one Thing, and an Emptiness of another, but it is a Fulness of all those Gifts which any one shall need, and may be useful to him or the Church.

20 (*t*) What Power that is, see *Chap.* 1. 19, 20.

yond

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
21 Unto him be glory in the church by Chriſt Jeſus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.	yond all that we can ask or think; Unto him be Glory in the Church by Chriſt Jeſus, throughout all Ages, World without end. Amen.	21.

SECT. VI.

CHAP. IV. 1—16.

CONTENTS.

ST. *Paul* having concluded the ſpecial Part of his Epiſtle with the foregoing Chapter, he comes in this, as his manner is, to practical Exhortations. He begins with Unity, Love and Concord, which he preſſes upon them, upon a Conſideration that he makes uſe of in more of his Epiſtles than one, *i. e.* their being all Members of one and the ſame Body, whereof Chriſt is the Head.

TEXT.	PARAPHRASE.	
1 I Therefore the priſoner of the Lord, beſeech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,	I Therefore, who am in Bonds upon account of the Goſpel, beſeech you to walk worthy of the Calling wherewith ye are called,	1.
2 With all lowlineſs and meekneſs, with long-ſuffering forbearing one another in love;	with Lowlineſs and Meekneſs, with Long-ſuffering, bearing with one another in Love;	2.
3 Endeavouring to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace.	Taking care to preſerve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace,	3.
4 There is one body, and one ſpirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling;	Conſidering your ſelves as being one Body, enliven'd and acted by one Spirit, as alſo was your Calling in one Hope:	4.
5 One Lord, one faith, one baptiſm,	There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm,	5.
6 One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.	One God and Father of you all, who is above all, in the midſt amongſt you all, and in every one of you.	6.
7 But unto every one of us is given grace according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt.	And to every one of us is made a free Donation, according to that Proportion of Gifts which Chriſt has allotted to every one.	7.
8 Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men.	Wherefore the Pſalmiſt ſaith, (*u*) *When he aſcended up on high, he led Captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men.*	8.

NOTES.

8 (*u*) *Pſal.* 68. 18.

PARAPHRASE.

9. (Now that he aſcended, what is it but that he deſcen-
10. ded firſt into the lower Parts of the Earth? He that deſcended is the ſame alſo that aſcended above all Heavens, that there receiving the Fulneſs of Power,
11. he might be able to fill all his Members (*w*).) And therefore he alone framing the Conſtitution of his new Government, by his own Power, and according to ſuch a Model, and ſuch Rules as he thought beſt, Making ſome Apoſtles, others Evangeliſts, and others
12. Paſtors and Teachers; Putting thus together in a fit Order and Frame the ſeveral Members of his new collected People, that each in its proper Place and Function might contribute to the whole, and help to
13. build up the Body of Chriſt: Till all cementing together in one Faith and Knowledge of the Son of God, to the full State of a grown Man, according to that Meaſure of that Stature which is to make up the
14. Fulneſs of Chriſt: That we ſhould be no longer Children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine by Men verſed in the Slights of Cheating, and their cunning Artifices laid in train
15. to deceive. But being ſteady in true and unfeigned Love, ſhould grow up into a firm Union in all things
16. with Chriſt, who is the Head: From whom the whole Body fitly framed together, and compacted by that which every Joint ſupplies, according to the proper

TEXT.

(Now that he aſcend-9
ed, what is it but that he alſo deſcended firſt into the lower parts of the earth?

He that deſcended, is the10
ſame alſo that aſcended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things)

And he gave ſome, a-11
poſtles: and ſome, prophets: and ſome, evangeliſts: and ſome, paſtors and teachers;

For the perfecting of12
the ſaints, for the work of the miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt:

Till we all come in the13
unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man unto the meaſure of the ſtature of the fulneſs of Chriſt:

That we henceforth be14
no more children toſſed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the ſlight of men, and cunning craftineſs, whereby they lie in wait to deceive:

But ſpeaking the truth15
in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Chriſt:

From whom the whole16
body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint ſupplieth, according to the effectual working in the

NOTES.

9, 10 (*w*) St. *Paul*'s Argumentation in theſe two Verſes is skilfully adapted to the main Deſign of his Epiſtle. The Convert Gentiles were attacked by the Unconverted Jews, who were declared Enemies to the Thoughts of a Meſſiah that died: St. *Paul*, to enervate that Objection of their's, proves by the Paſſage out of the Pſalms, *v.* 8. that he muſt die and be buried. Beſides the unbelieving Jews, ſeveral of them, that were converted to the Goſpel, or at leaſt profeſſed to be ſo, attacked the Gentile Converts on ar other ſide, perſuading them, that they could not be admitted to be the People of God in the Kingdom of the Meſſiah, nor receive any Advantage by him, unleſs they were circumciſed, and put themſelves wholly under the Jewiſh Conſtitution. He had ſaid a great deal in the three firſt Chapters to free them from this Perplexity, but yet takes Occaſion here to offer them a new Argument, by telling them, that Chriſt, the ſame Jeſus that died, and was laid in his Grave, was exalted to the Right Hand of God above all the Heavens, in the higheſt State of Dignity and Power, that he himſelf being filled with the Fulneſs of God, Believers, who were all his Members, might receive immediately from him their Head a Fulneſs of Gifts and Graces, upon no other Terms, but barely as they were his Members.

Force

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of it self in love.

Force and Function of each particular Part, makes an Increase of the whole Body, building it self up in Love, or a mutual Concern of the Parts (x).

NOTES.

16 (x) The Sum of all that St. *Paul* says in this figurative Discourse, is, That Christians, all as Members of one Body whereof Christ is the Head, should each in his proper place, according to the Gifts bestowed upon him, labour with Concern and good Will for the Good and Increase of the whole, till it be grown up to that Fulness which is to compleat it in Christ Jesus. This is in short the Sense of the Exhortation contained in this Section, which carries a strong Insinuation with it, especially if we take in the rest of the Admonitions to the End of the Epistle, that the Mosaical Observances were no Part of the Business or Character of a Christian; but were wholly to be neglected and declined by the Subjects of Christ's Kingdom.

SECT. VII.

CHAP. IV. 17——24.

CONTENTS.

IN this Section the Apostle exhorts them wholly to forsake their former Conversation, which they had passed their Lives in, whilst they were Gentiles, and to take up that which became them, and was proper to them, now they were Christians. Here we may see the Heathen and Christian State and Conversation described, and set in Opposition one to the other.

TEXT. PARAPHRASE.

17 THis I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind,

18 Having the understanding darken'd, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart:

THis I say therefore, and testify to you, from the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as the unconverted Gentiles walk, in the Vanity of their Minds (y), Having their Understandings darken'd, being alienated from that Rule and Course of Life which they own and observe, who are the professed Subjects and Servants of the true God (z), through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness

17. 18.

NOTES.

17 (y) This Vanity of Mind, if we look into *Rom.* 1. 21, &c. we shall find to be the Apostatizing of the Gentiles from the true God to Idolatry, and in Consequence of that, to all that profligate way of Living which followed thereupon, and is there described by St. *Paul.*

18 (z) This Alienation was from owning Subjection to the true God, and the Observance of those Laws which he had given to those of Mankind, that continued and professed to be his People; see *ch.* 2. 12.

of

PARAPHRASE.

19. of their Hearts; Who being paſt feeling, have given themſelves over to Laſciviouſneſs, to the committing of all Uncleanneſs even beyond the Bounds of natu-
20. ral Deſires (*a*). But you, that have been inſtructed in the Religion of Chriſt, have learned other things;
21. If you have been Scholars of his School, and have been taught the Truth, as it is in the Goſpel of Jeſus
22. Chriſt: That you change your former Converſation, abandoning thoſe deceitful Luſts wherewith you were
23. entirely corrupted: And that, being renewed in the
24. Spirit of the Mind, You become new Men (*b*), framed and faſhioned according to the Will of God, in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs.

TEXT.

Who being paſt feeling, 19
have given themſelves o-
ver unto laſciviouſneſs, to
work all uncleanneſs with
greedineſs.

But ye have not ſo 20
learned Chriſt:

If ſo be that ye have 21
heard him, and have been
taught by him, as the
truth is in Jeſus;

That ye put off concer- 22
ning the former conver-
ſation, the old man, which
is corrupt according to
the deceitful luſts:

And be renewed in the 23
ſpirit of your mind;

And that ye put on the 24
new man, which after
God is created in right-
eouſneſs and true holineſs.

NOTES.

19 (*a*) Πλεονεξία, *Covetouſneſs*, in the common Acceptation of the word, is the letting looſe our Deſires to that which by the Law of Juſtice we have no Right to. But St. *Paul* in ſome of his Epiſtles uſes it for intemperate and exorbitant Deſires of carnal Pleaſures, not confined within the Bounds of Nature. He that will compare with this Verſe here, *ch.* 5. 3. *Col.* 3. 5. *Theſſ.* 4. 5. 1 *Cor.* 5. 10, 11. and well conſider the Context, will find Reaſon to take it here in the Senſe I have given of it, or elſe it will be very hard to underſtand theſe Texts of Scripture. In the ſame Senſe the learned Dr. *Hammond* underſtands πλεονεξίας *Rom.* 1. 29. Which tho' perhaps the Greek Idiom will ſcarce juſtifie; yet the Apoſtle's Stile will, who often uſes Greek Terms in the full Latitude of the Hebrew words which they are uſually put for in tranſlating, tho' in the Greek uſe of them, they have nothing at all of that Signification, particularly the Hebrew word בצע, which ſignifies Covetouſneſs, the Septuagint tranſlate μιασμὸς, *Ezek.* 33. 31. In which Senſe the Apoſtle uſes πλεονεξία here. In theſe and the two preceding Verſes, we have a Deſcription of the State of the Gentiles without, and their wretched and ſinful State whilſt unconverted to the Chriſtian Faith, and Strangers from the Kingdom of God; to which may be added what is ſaid of theſe *Sinners of the Gentiles*, ch. 2. 11——13. Col. 1. 21. Theſſ. 4. 5. Col. 3. 5——7. Rom. 9. 30, 31.

24 (*b*) What the παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος, the *old Man* that is to be put off, is, and the καινὸς ἄνθρωπος, the *new Man* that is to be put on, is, may be ſeen in the oppoſite Characters of good and bad Men, in the following Part of this, and in ſeveral other of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 25——V. 2.

CONTENTS.

After the general Exhortation in the Close of the foregoing Section to the *Ephesians*, to renounce the old Course of Life they led when they were Heathens, and to become perfectly new Men, conformed to the holy Rules of the Gospel, St. *Paul* descends to Particulars, and here in this Section presses several Particulars of those great social Virtues, Justice and Charity, *&c.*

TEXT.

25 Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another.
26 Be ye angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath:
27 Neither give place to the devil.
28 Let him that stole, steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.
29 Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers.
30 And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.
31 Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice.
32 And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.
1 Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children;

PARAPHRASE.

Wherefore putting away Lying, let every Man speak Truth to his Neighbour; for we are Members one of another. If you meet with Provocations that move you to Anger, take Care that you indulge it not so far, as to make it sinful: Defer not its Cure till Sleep calm the Mind, but endeavour to recover your self forthwith, and bring your self into Temper; Lest you give an Opportunity to the Devil to produce some Mischief by your Disorder. Let him that hath stole, steal no more, but rather let him labour in some honest Calling, that he may have even wherewithal to relieve others that need it. Let not any filthy Language, or a misbecoming Word come out of your Mouths, but let your Discourse be pertinent to the Occasion, and tending to Edification, and such as may have a becoming Gracefulness in the Ears of the Hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed (*c*) to the Day of Redemption. Let all Bitterness, and Wrath, and Anger, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all Malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Therefore, as becomes Children that are beloved and cherished by God, propose him as an

25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 1.

NOTES.

30 (*c*) *Sealed*, i. e. have God's Mark set upon you that you are his Servants, a Security to you, that you should be admitted into his Kingdom as such, at the Day of Redemption, *i. e.* at the Resurrection, when you shall be put in the actual Possession of a Place in his Kingdom, among those who are his, whereof the Spirit is now an Earnest: See *Note*, *Ch.* 1. 14.

Example

PARAPHRASE.

2. Example to your ſelves, to be imitated; And let Love conduct and influence your whole Converſation, as Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us, an Offering, and an acceptable Sacrifice (*d*) to God.

TEXT.

And walk in love, as 2
Chriſt alſo hath loved us, and hath given himſelf for us, an offering and a ſacrifice to God for a ſweet ſwelling ſavour.

NOTES.

2 (*d*) *Of a ſweet ſmelling Savour*, was, in Scripture-phraſe, ſuch a Sacrifice as God accepted, and was pleaſed with; ſee *Gen.* 8. 21.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. V. 3.—20.

CONTENTS.

THE next Sort of Sins he dehorts them from, are thoſe of Intemperance, eſpecially thoſe of Uncleanneſs, which were ſo familiar, and ſo unſtrain'd amongſt the Heathens.

PARAPHRASE.

3. BUT Fornication and all Uncleanneſs, or exorbitant Deſires in venereal Matters, (*e*) let it not be once

TEXT.

BUT fornication, and 3
all uncleanneſs, or covetouſneſs, let it not be once named amongſt

NOTES.

3 (*e*) The Word in the Greek is πλεονεξία, which properly ſignifies Covetouſneſs, or an intemperate ungovern'd Love of Riches: But the chaſte Stile of the Scripture makes uſe of it to expreſs the letting looſe of the Deſires to irregular venereal Pleaſures, beyond what was fit and right. This one can hardly avoid being convinced of, if one conſiders how it ſtands join'd with theſe Sorts of Sins, in thoſe many Places which Dr. *Hammond* mentions in his Notes on *Rom.* 1. 29. and *Ch.* 4. *v.* 19. of this Epiſtle, and *v.* 5. of this *Ch.* 5. compared with this here, they are enough to ſatisfy one what πλεονεξία, Covetouſneſs, means here; but if that ſhould fail, theſe Words, *Let it not be once named amongſt you, as becometh Saints*, which are ſubjoined to *Covetouſneſs*, put it paſt doubt; for what Indecency or Misbecomingneſs is it amongſt Chriſtians to name *Covetouſneſs?* πλεονεξία therefore muſt ſignify the Title of Sins, that are not fit to be named amongſt Chriſtians, ſo that πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἢ πλεονεξία, ſeem not here to be uſed definitively for ſeveral Sorts of Sins, but as two Names of the ſame Thing explaining one another; and ſo this Verſe will give us a true Notion of the Word πορνεία in the New Teſtament, the Want whereof, and taking it to mean *Fornication* in our Engliſh Acceptation of that Word, as ſtanding for one diſtinct Species of Uncleanneſs, in the natural Mixture of an unmarried Couple, ſeems to me to have perplexed the Meaning of ſeveral Texts of Scripture, whereas taken in that large Senſe which ἀκαθαρσία and πλεονεξία ſeem here to expound it, the Obſcurity which follows from the uſual Notion of Fornication, apply'd to it, will be removed. Some Men have been forward to conclude from the Apoſtle's Letter to the convert Gentiles of *Antioch*, Acts 15. 28. wherein they find Fornication join'd with two or three other Actions; that ſimple Fornication, as they call it, was not much diſtant, if at all, from an indifferent Action, whereby I think they very much confounded the Meaning of the Text. The Jews that were converted

TEXT.

you, as becometh ſaints:
4 Neither filthineſs, nor fooliſh talking, nor jeſting, which are not convenient: but rather giving of thanks.
5 For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean perſon, nor covetous man who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Chriſt, and of God.
6 Let no man deceive you with vain words: for becauſe of theſe things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of diſobedience.
7 Be not ye therefore par-
8 takers with them.
For ye were ſometimes darkneſs, but now are ye

PARAPHRASE.

once named amongſt you, as becometh Saints: Neither Filthineſs nor fooliſh Talking, nor Pleaſantry of Diſcourſe of this kind, which are none of them convenient, but rather giving of Thanks. For this you are throughly inſtructed in, and acquainted with, that no Fornicator, nor unclean Perſon, nor lewd laſcivious Libertine in ſuch Matters, who is in truth an Idolater, ſhall have any Part in the Kingdom of Chriſt, and of God. Let no Man deceive you with vain empty Talk (*f*); theſe Things in themſelves are highly offenſive to God, and are that which he will bring the Heathen World (who will not come in and ſubmit to the Law of Chriſt) to Judgment for (*g*). Be ye not therefore Partakers with them. For ye were heretofore in your Gentile State, perfectly in the dark (*b*), but now by be- 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.

NOTES.

verted to the Goſpel, could by no means admit, that thoſe of the Gentiles who retained any of their ancient Idolatry, tho' they profeſſed Faith in Chriſt, could by any means be received by them into the Communion of the Goſpel, as the People of God under the Meſſiah; and ſo far they were in the right, to make ſure of it, that they had fully renounced Idolatry; the Generality inſiſted on it, that they ſhould be circumciſed, and ſo, by ſubmitting to the Obſervances of the Law, give the ſame Proof that Proſelytes were wont to do, that they were perfectly clear from all Remains of Idolatry. This the Apoſtles thought more than was neceſſary; but eating of things ſacrificed to Idols, and Blood, whether let out of the Animal, or contained in it, being ſtrangled; and Fornication in the large Senſe of the word, as it is put for all ſorts of Uncleanneſs, being the preſumed Marks of Idolatry to the Jews, they forbid the Convert Gentiles, thereby to avoid the Offence of the Jews, and prevent a Separation between the Profeſſors of the Goſpel upon this account. This therefore was not given to the Convert Gentiles by the Apoſtles of the Circumciſion, as a ſtanding Rule of Morality required by the Goſpel; if that had been the Deſign, it muſt have contained a great many other Particulars: what Laws of Morality they were under as Subjects of Jeſus Chriſt, they doubted not but St. *Paul* their Apoſtle taught and inculcated to them: All that they inſtructed them in here, was neceſſary for them to do, ſo as to be admitted into one Fellowſhip and Communion with the Converts of the Jewiſh Nation, who would certainly avoid them, if they found that they made no Scruple of thoſe things, but practiſed any of them. That Fornication, or all ſorts of Uncleanneſs, were the Conſequence and Concomitants of Idolatry, we ſee, *Rom.* 1. 29. and 'tis known were favoured by the Heathen Worſhip; and therefore the Practice of thoſe Sins is every where ſet down, as the Characteriſtical Heathen Mark of the Idolatrous Gentiles, from which Abominations the Jews, both by their Law, Profeſſion, and general Practice, were Strangers; and this was one of thoſe things wherein chiefly God ſevered his People from the Idolatrous Nations, as may be ſeen, *Lev.* 18. 20. And hence I think that πλεονεξία, uſed for licentious Intemperance in unlawful and unnatural Luſts, is in the New Teſtament called Idolatry, and πλεονέκτης, an Idolater; ſee 1 *Cor.* 5. 11. *Col.* 3. 5. *Eph.* 5. 5. as being the ſure and undoubted Mark of an Heathen Idolater.

6 (*f*) One would gueſs by this, that as there were Jews who would perſuade them, that it was neceſſary for all Chriſtians to be circumciſed, and obſerve the Law of *Moſes*; ſo there were others who retained ſo much of their ancient Heatheniſm, as to endeavour to make them believe, that thoſe venereal Abominations and Uncleanneſſes, were no other than what the Gentiles eſteemed them, barely indifferent Actions, not offenſive to God, or inconſiſtent with his Worſhip, but only a Part of the peculiar and poſitive Ceremonial Law of the Jews, whereby they diſtinguiſhed themſelves from other People, and thought themſelves holier than the reſt of the World, as they did by their Diſtinctions of Food into clean and unclean, theſe Actions being in themſelves as indifferent as thoſe Meats, which the Apoſtle confutes in the following words.

(*g*) *Children of Diſobedience*, here, and *ch.* 2. 2. and *Col.* 3. 6. are plainly the Gentiles, who refus'd to come in and ſubmit themſelves to the Goſpel, as will appear to any one who will read theſe Places and the Contexts with Attention.

8 (*b*) St. *Paul*, to expreſs the great Darkneſs the Gentiles were in, calls them Darkneſs it ſelf:

PARAPHRASE.

lieving in Chriſt, and receiving the Goſpel, Light and Knowledge is given to you (*i*), walk as thoſe who are
9. in a State of Light (For the Fruit of the Spirit is in all
10. Goodneſs, Righteouſneſs and Truth (*k*) Practiſing that which upon Examination you find acceptable to the
11. Lord. And do not partake in the fruitleſs Works of Darkneſs (*l*); do not go in the Practice of thoſe ſhameful Actions, as if they were indifferent, but rather re-
12. prove them. For the things that the Gentile-Idolaters (*m*) do in ſecret, are ſo filthy and abominable, that it
13. is a Shame as much as to name them. This you now ſee, which is an Evidence of your being enlighten'd, for all things that are diſcovered to be amiſs are made manifeſt by the Light; for whatſoever ſhews them to
14. be ſuch is Light (*n*). Wherefore he ſaith, Awake thou that ſleepeſt, and ariſe from the dead, and Chriſt
15. ſhall give thee Light. Since then you are in the Light, make uſe of your Eyes to walk exactly in the right Way, not as Fools, rambling at Adventures, but as
16. wiſe, In a ſteady right choſen Courſe, ſecuring your ſelves (*o*) by your prudent Carriage, from the Inconveniences of thoſe difficult Times, which threatened them

TEXT.

light in the Lord: walk as children of light,

(For the fruit of the 9
Spirit is in all goodneſs, and righteouſneſs, and truth)

Proving what is accep- 10
table unto the Lord.

And have no fellow- 11
ſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather reprove them.

For it is a ſhame even 12
to ſpeak of thoſe things which are done of them in ſecret.

But all things that are 13
reproved, are made manifeſt by the light: for whatſoever doth make manifeſt, is light.

Wherefore he ſaith, 14
Awake thou that ſleepeſt, and ariſe from the dead, and Chriſt ſhall give thee light.

See then that ye walk 15
circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe,

Redeeming the time, 16
becauſe the days are evil.

NOTES.

(*i*) Which is thus expreſſed, *Col.* 1. 12, 13. *Giving Thanks to the Father, who hath made us meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of his Saints in Light, who hath delivered us from the Power of Darkneſs, and tranſlated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son.* The Kingdom of Satan over the Gentile World, was a Kingdom of Darkneſs; See *Eph.* 6. 12. And ſo we ſee Jeſus is pronounced by *Simeon, a Light to lighten the Gentiles*, Luke 2. 32.

9 (*k*) This Parentheſis ſerves to give us the literal Senſe of all that is here required by the Apoſtle in this Allegorical Diſcourſe of Light.

11 (*l*) Theſe Deeds of the unconverted Heathen who remain'd in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, are thus expreſſed by St. *Paul*, Rom. 6. 21. *What fruit had you then in thoſe things whereof you are now aſhamed, for the end of thoſe things is Death.*

12 (*m*) That by *them* here are meant the unconverted Gentiles, is ſo viſible, that there needs nothing to be ſaid to juſtify the Interpretation of the word.

13 (*n*) See *John* 3. 20. The Apoſtle's Argument here, to keep the Epheſian Converts from being miſled by thoſe that would perſuade them, that the Gentile Impurities were indifferent Actions, was, to ſhew them that they were now better enlighten'd, to which Purpoſe, *v.* 5. he tells them, that they *know* that no ſuch Perſon hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Chriſt, or of God. This he tells them, *v.* 8, *&c.* was Light which they had received from the Goſpel, which before their Converſion they knew nothing of, but were in perfect Darkneſs and Ignorance of it, but now they were better inſtructed, and ſaw the Difference, which was a Sign of Light, and therefore they ſhould follow that Light which they had received from Chriſt, who had raiſed them from among the Gentiles (who were ſo far dead, as to be wholly inſenſible of the evil Courſe and State they were in) and had given them Light, and a Proſpect into a future State, and the Way to attain everlaſting Happineſs.

15 (*o*) St. *Paul* here intimates, *v.* 6. that the unconverted Heathen they lived among, would be forward to tempt them to their former lewd diſſolute Lives; but to keep them from any Approaches that way, that they have Light now by the Goſpel, to know that ſuch Actions are provoking to God, and will find the Effects of his Wrath in the Judgments of the World to come. All thoſe Pollutions, ſo familiar among the Gentiles, he exhorts them carefully to avoid, but yet to take Care, by their prudent Carriage to the Gentiles they lived amongſt, to give them no Offence, that ſo they might eſcape the Danger and Trouble that otherwiſe might ariſe to them from the Intemperance and Violence of thoſe Heathen Idolaters, whoſe ſhameful Lives

TEXT.

17 Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but underſtanding what the will of the Lord is.
18 And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excеſs; but be filled with the Spirit.
19 Speaking to your ſelves in pſalms and hymns, and ſpiritual ſongs, ſinging and making melody in your heart to the Lord,
20 Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

PARAPHRASE.

them with Danger. Wherefore be ye not unwiſe, but underſtanding what the Will of the Lord is. And be not drunken with Wine, wherein there is Exceſs (p); ſeek not Diverſion in the noiſy and intemperate Jollity of Drinking; But, when you are diſpoſed to a chearful Entertainment of one another, let it be with the Gifts of the holy Spirit that you are filled with, ſinging Hymns, and Pſalms, and ſpiritual Songs among your ſelves, this makes real and ſolid Mirth in the Heart, and is Melody well pleaſing to God himſelf; Giving Thanks always for all things, in the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to God and the Father. 17. 18. 19. 20.

NOTES.

Lives the Chriſtian Practice could not but reprove. This ſeems to be the Meaning of *redeeming the Time* here, which *Col.* 4. 5. the other place where it occurs, ſeems ſo manifeſtly to confirm and give Light to If this be not the Senſe of *redeeming the Time* here, I muſt own my ſelf ignorant of the preciſe Meaning of the Phraſe in this place.

18 (p) St. *Paul* dehorts them from Wine, in a too free Uſe of it, becauſe therein is *Exceſs*; the Greek word is ἀσωτία, which may ſignifie *Luxury* or *Diſſoluteneſs*: i. e. that Drinking is no Friend to Continency and Chaſtity, but gives up the Reins to Luſt and Uncleanneſs, the Vice he had been warning them againſt: Or ἀσωτία may ſignifie *Intemperance* and *Diſorder*, oppoſite to that ſober and prudent Demeanour adviſed in redeeming the Time.

SECT. X.

CHAP. V. 21—VI. 9.

CONTENTS.

IN this Section he gives Rules concerning the Duties ariſing from the ſeveral Relations Men ſtand in one to another in Society, thoſe which he particularly inſiſts on are theſe three, Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Maſters and Servants.

PARAPHRASE.

21. SUbmit (*q*) your ſelves one to another in the Fear of
22. God. As for Example, Wives, ſubmit your ſelves to your own Husbands, or as being Members of the
23. Church you ſubmit your ſelves to the Lord. For the Husband is the Head of the Wife, as Chriſt himſelf is the Head of the Church, and it is he the Head that preſerves that his Body (*r*), ſo ſtands it between Man
24. and Wife. Therefore as the Church is ſubject to Chriſt, ſo let Wives be to their Husbands in every thing.
25. And you Husbands, do you on your ſide love your Wives, even as Chriſt alſo loved the Church, and
26. gave himſelf to Death for it, That he might ſanctify and fit it to himſelf, purifying it by the waſhing of Baptiſm, join'd with the Preaching and Reception of
27. the Goſpel (*s*); That ſo he himſelf (*t*) might preſent it to himſelf an honourable Spouſe, without the leaſt Spot of Uncleanneſs or misbecoming Feature, or any thing amiſs, but that it might be holy, and without all
28. manner of Blemiſh. So ought Men to love their Wives as their own Bodies; he that loveth his Wife,
29. loveth himſelf. For no Man ever hated his own Fleſh, but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it, even as the Lord
30. Chriſt doth the Church: For we are Members of his
31. Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones. For this Cauſe

TEXT.

SUbmitting your ſelves 21
one to another in the fear of God.

Wives, ſubmit your ſelves 22
unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord.

For the husband is the 23
head of the wife, even as Chriſt is the head of the church: and he is the Saviour of the body.

Therefore as the church 24
is ſubject unto Chriſt, ſo let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.

Husbands, love your 25
wives, even as Chriſt alſo loved the church, and gave himſelf for it:

That he might ſanctify 26
and cleanſe it with the waſhing of water, by the word.

That he might preſent 27
it to himſelf a glorious church, not having ſpot or wrinkle, or any ſuch thing; but that it ſhould be holy, and without blemiſh.

So ought men to love 28
their wives, as their own bodies: he that loveth his wife, loveth himſelf.

For no man ever yet 29
hated his own fleſh; but nouriſheth and cheriſheth it, even as the Lord the church:

For we are members of 30
his body, of his fleſh, and of his bones.

For this cauſe ſhall a 31

NOTES.

21 (*q*) This, though in Grammatical Conſtruction it be join'd on to the foregoing Diſcourſe; yet I think it ought to be look'd on as introductory to what follows in this Section, and to be a general Rule given to the Epheſians, to ſubmit to thoſe Duties which the ſeveral Relations they ſtood in to one another required of them.

23 (*r*) 'Tis from the Head that the Body receives its healthy, and vigorous Conſtitution of Health and Life; this St. *Paul* pronounces here of Chriſt, as Head of the Church, that by that Parallel, which he makes uſe of to repreſent the Relation between Husband and Wife, he may both ſhew the Wife the Reaſonableneſs of her Subjection to her Husband, and the Duty incumbent on the Husband to cheriſh and preſerve his Wife, as we ſee he purſues it in the following Verſes.

26 (*s*) Ἐν ῥήματι, *by the Word*. The purifying of Men is aſcribed ſo much throughout the whole New Teſtament to the *Word*, i. e. the preaching of the Goſpel, and Baptiſm, that there needs little to be ſaid to prove it; ſee *John* 15. 3. and 18. 17. 1 *Pet.* 1. 22. *Tit.* 3. 5. *Heb.* 10. 22. *Col.* 2. 12, 13. and as it is at large explain'd in the former part of the 6th Chapter to the *Romans*.

27 (*t*) *He himſelf*, ſo the Alexandrine Copy reads it αὐτὸς, and not αὐτὴν, more ſuitable to the Apoſtle's Meaning here, who, to recommend to Husbands Love and Tenderneſs to their Wives, in Imitation of Chriſt's Affection to the Church, ſhews, that whereas other Brides take care to ſpruce themſelves, and ſet off their Perſons with all manner of Neatneſs and Cleanneſs, to recommend themſelves to their Bridegrooms; Chriſt himſelf, at the Expence of his own Pains and Blood, purified and prepared himſelf for his Spouſe the Church, that he might preſent it to himſelf without Spot or Wrinkle.

ſhall

TEXT.

man leave his father and mother, and ſhall be joined unto his wife, and they two ſhall be one fleſh.

32 This is a great myſtery: but I ſpeak concerning Chriſt and the church.

33 Nevertheleſs, let every one of you in particular, ſo love his wife even as himſelf; and the wife ſee that ſhe reverence her husband.

1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.

2 Honour thy father and mother, (which is the firſt commandment with promiſe)

3 That it may be well with thee, and thou mayeſt live long on the earth.

4 And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

5 Servants, be obedient to them that are your maſters according to the fleſh, with fear and trembling, in ſingleneſs of your heart, as unto Chriſt:

PARAPHRASE.

ſhall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and ſhall be joyned unto his Wife, and they two ſhall be one Fleſh (*u*). Theſe Words contain a very myſtical Senſe in them (*w*), I mean in reference to Chriſt and the Church. But laying that aſide, their literal Senſe lays hold on you, and therefore do you Husbands, every one of you in particular, ſo love his Wife, ſo as his own ſelf, and let the Wife reverence her Husband. Children, obey your Parents, performing it as required thereunto by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; for this is right and conformable to that Command. Honour thy Father and Mother, (which is the firſt Command with Promiſe) That it may be well with thee, and thou may'ſt be long-lived upon the Earth. And on the other ſide, ye Fathers, do not, by the Auſterity of your Carriage, deſpiſe and diſcontent your Children, but bring them up under ſuch a Method of Diſcipline, and give them ſuch Inſtruction, as is ſuitable to the Goſpel. Ye that are Bondmen, be obedient to thoſe who are your Maſters, according to the Conſtitution of humane Affairs, with great Reſpect and Subjection, and with that Sincerity of Heart which ſhould be uſed to Chriſt

32. 33. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

NOTES.

30 and 31 (*u*) Theſe two Verſes may ſeem to ſtand here diſorderly, ſo as to diſturb the Connection, and make the Inferences disjointed, and very looſe, and inconſiſtent, to any one who more minds the Order and Grammatical Conſtruction of St. *Paul*'s Words written down, than the Thoughts that poſſeſs'd his Mind when he was writing. 'Tis plain the Apoſtle had here two things in View; the one was, to preſs Men to love their Wives, by the Example of Chriſt's Love to his Church; and the Force of that Argument lay in this, that a Man and his Wife were one Fleſh, as Chriſt and his Church were one: But this latter being a Truth of the greater Conſequence of the two, he was as intent on ſettling that upon their Minds, though it were but an Incident, as the other, which was the Argument he was upon; and therefore having ſaid, *v.* 29. that every one nouriſheth and cheriſheth his own Fleſh, *as Chriſt doth the Church*, 'twas natural to ſubjoin the Reaſon there, *viz.* Becauſe *we were Members of his Body, of his Fleſh, and of his Bones*: A Propoſition he took as much Care to have believed, as that it was the Duty of Husbands to love their Wives; which Doctrine of Chriſt and the Church being one, when he had ſo ſtrongly aſſerted, in the words of *Adam* concerning *Eve*, Gen. 2. 23. which he, in his conciſe Way of expreſſing himſelf, underſtands both of the Wife and of the Church, he goes on with the words in *Gen.* 2. 24. which makes their being one Fleſh the Reaſon why a Man was more ſtrictly to be united to his Wife than to his Parents, or any other Relation.

32 (*w*) 'Tis plain by *v.* 30. here, and the Application therein of theſe words, *Gen.* 2. 23. to Chriſt and the Church, that the Apoſtles underſtood ſeveral Paſſages in the Old Teſtament in reference to Chriſt and the Goſpel, which evangelical or ſpiritual Senſe was not underſtood, till by the Aſſiſtance of the Spirit of God the Apoſtles ſo explained and revealed it. This is that which St. *Paul*, as we ſee he does here, calls Myſtery. He that has a mind to have a true Notion of this Matter, let him carefully read 1 *Cor.* 2. where St. *Paul* very particularly explains this Matter.

himſelf:

PARAPHRASE.

himſelf: Not with Service only in thoſe outward Actions that come under their Obſervation, aiming at no more but the pleaſing of Men, but as the Servants of Chriſt, doing what God requires of you from your very Hearts, in this with good Will paying your Duty to the Lord, and not unto Men, knowing that whatſoever good thing any one doth to another, he ſhall be conſider'd and rewarded for it by God, whether he be Bond or Free. And ye Maſters have the like Regard and Readineſs to do Good to your Bondſlaves, forbearing the Roughneſs even of unneceſſary Menaces, knowing that even you your ſelves have a Maſter in Heaven above, who will call you as well as them, to an impartial Account for your Carriage one to another, for he is no Reſpecter of Perſons.

TEXT.

Not with eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but as the ſervants of Chriſt, doing the will of God from the heart;

With good will doing ſervice, as to the Lord, and not to men:

Knowing that whatſoever good thing any man doeth, the ſame ſhall be receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

And ye maſters, do the ſame things unto them, forbearing threatning: knowing that your maſter alſo is in heaven, neither is there reſpect of perſons with him.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. VI. 10—20.

CONTENTS.

HE concludes this Epiſtle with a general Exhortation to them, to ſtand firm againſt the Temptations of the Devil in the Exerciſe of Chriſtian Vertues and Graces, which he propoſes to them as ſo many pieces of Chriſtian Armour, fit to arm them *Cap-a-pie*, and preſerve them in the Conflict.

PARAPHRASE.

FInally, my Brethren, go on reſolutely in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel, in Reliance upon that Power, and in the Exerciſe of that Strength, which is ready for your Support in Jeſus Chriſt; Putting on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to reſiſt all the Attacks of the Devil. For our Conflict is not barely with Men, but with Principalities, and with Powers (*x*), with the Rulers of the Darkneſs that is in Men in the preſent Conſtitution of the World, and the ſpiritual Managers of the Oppoſition to the Kingdom of God. Wherefore take unto your ſelves the whole Armour of God, that you may be able to make Reſiſtance in the

TEXT.

FInally, my brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the devil.

For we wreſtle not againſt fleſh and blood, but againſt principalities, againſt powers, againſt the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs in high places.

Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able

NOTES.

12 (*x*) *Principalities* and *Powers*, are put here, 'tis viſible, for thoſe revolted Angels which ſtood in Oppoſition to the Kingdom of God.

evil

TEXT.

to withſtand in the evil day, and having done all to ſtand.

14 Stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breaſt-plate of righteouſneſs:

15 And your feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace;

16 Above all, taking the ſhield of faith, wherewith ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.

17 And take the helmet of ſalvation, and the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God:

18 Praying always with all prayer and ſupplication in the ſpirit, and watching thereunto with all perſeverance, and ſupplication for all ſaints;

19 And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the myſtery of the goſpel:

20 For which I am an ambaſſadour in bonds: that therein I may ſpeak boldly, as I ought to ſpeak.

PARAPHRASE.

evil Day, when you ſhall be attacked, and having acquitted your ſelves in every thing as you ought, to ſtand and keep your Ground: Stand faſt therefore, having your Loins girt with Truth, and having on the Breaſt-plate of Righteouſneſs, And your Feet ſhod with a Readineſs to walk in the Way of the Goſpel of Peace, which you have well ſtudied and conſider'd. Above all taking the Shield of Faith, wherein you may receive, and ſo render ineffectual all the fiery Darts of the wicked one, *i. e.* the Devil.——Take alſo the Hopes of Salvation for an Helmet: and the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God (*y*): Praying at all ſeaſons with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, attending and watching hereunto with all Perſeverance and Supplication for all the Saints; And for me in particular, that I may with Freedom and Plainneſs of Speech preach the Word, to the manifeſting and laying open that Part of the Goſpel that concerns the calling of the Gentiles, which has hitherto as a Myſtery lain concealed, and not been at all underſtood. But I as an Ambaſſador am ſent to make known to the World, and am now in Priſon upon that very Account: But let your Prayers be, that in the Diſcharge of this my Commiſſion, I may ſpeak plainly and boldly, as an Ambaſſador from God ought to ſpeak.

14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.

NOTES.

17 (*y*) In this foregoing Allegory, St. *Paul* providing Armour for his Chriſtian Soldier, to arm him at all points, there is no need curiouſly to explain, wherein the peculiar Correſpondence between thoſe Virtues and thoſe Pieces of Armour conſiſted, it being plain enough what the Apoſtle means, and wherewith he would have Believers be armed for their Warfare.

SECT. XII.

CHAP. IV. 21——24.

EPILOGUS.

TEXT.

21 BUT that ye alſo may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother and faithful miniſter in the

PARAPHRASE.

Tychicus a beloved Brother, and faithful Miniſter of the Lord in the Work of the Goſpel, ſhall acquaint you how Matters ſtand with me, and how I do, and give you a particular Account how all things

21.

PARAPHRASE.

22. things ſtand here. I have ſent him on Purpoſe to you, that you might know the State of our Affairs, and
23. that he might comfort your Hearts. Peace be to the Brethren, and Love with Faith from God the Father,
24. and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Grace be with all thoſe that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in Sincerity (z).

TEXT.

Lord, ſhall make known to you all things:

Whom I have ſent unto you for the ſame purpoſe, that ye might know our affairs, and that he might comfort your hearts. 22

Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith from God the Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. 23

Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in ſincerity. Amen. 24

NOTES.

24 (z) Ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ, *in Sincerity*, ſo our Tranſlation; the Greek word ſignifies, *in Incorruption*. St. *Paul* cloſes all his Epiſtles with this Benediction, *Grace be with you*; but this here is ſo peculiar a Way of expreſſing himſelf, that it may give us ſome Reaſon to enquire what Thoughts ſuggeſted it. It has been remarked more than once, that the main Buſineſs of his Epiſtle, is that which fills his Mind, and guides his Pen in his whole Diſcourſe. In this to the Epheſians he ſets forth the Goſpel, as a Diſpenſation ſo much in every thing ſuperior to the Law; that it was to debaſe, corrupt and deſtroy the Goſpel, to join Circumciſion and the Obſervance of the Law as neceſſary to it. Having writ this Epiſtle to this End, he here in the cloſe having the ſame Thought ſtill upon his Mind, pronounces Favour on all thoſe that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt *in Incorruption*, i. e. without the mixing or joining any thing with him in the Work of our Salvation, that may render the Goſpel uſeleſs and ineffectual. For thus he ſays, *Gal.* 5. 2. *If ye be circumciſed, Chriſt ſhall profit you nothing*. This I ſubmit to the Conſideration of the Judicious Reader.

POST-

POSTHUMOUS

WORKS

OF

Mr. John Locke:

VIZ.

I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
II. An Examination of *P. Malebranche*'s Opinion of *Seeing all things in God.*
III. A Discourse of Miracles.
IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.
V. Memoirs relating to the Life of *Anthony* first Earl of *Shaftsbury.*

To which is added,

VI. His New Method of a Common-Place-Book, written originally in *French*, and now translated into *English.*

Advertiſement
TO THE
READER.

THE enſuing Treatiſes are true and genuine Remains of the deceaſed Author whoſe Name they bear, but for the greateſt part received not his laſt Hand, being in a great meaſure little more than ſudden Views, intended to be afterwards revis'd and farther look'd into, but by Sickneſs, Intervention of Buſineſs, or preferable Enquiries, happen'd to be thruſt aſide, and ſo lay neglected.

The Conduct of the Underſtanding *he always thought to be a Subject very well worth Conſideration. As any Miſcarriages in that Point accidentally came into his Mind, he uſed ſometimes to ſet them down in Writing, with thoſe Remedies that he could then think of. This Method, tho' it makes not that Haſte to the End which one could wiſh, yet perhaps is the only one that can be followed in the Caſe. It being here, as in Phyſick, impoſſible for a Phyſician to deſcribe a Diſeaſe, or ſeek Remedies for it, till he comes to meet with it. Such Particulars of this kind as occurr'd to the Author at a time of Leiſure, he, as is before ſaid, ſat down in Writing; intending, if he had lived, to have reduc'd them into Order and Method, and to have made a complete Treatiſe; whereas now it is only a Collection of caſual Obſervations, ſufficient to make Men ſee ſome Faults in the Conduct of their Underſtanding, and ſuſpect there may be more, and may perhaps ſerve to excite others to enquire farther into it, than the Author hath done.*

The Examination of *P. Malebranche*'s Opinion, Of ſeeing all things in God, *ſhews it to be a very groundleſs Notion, and was not publiſh'd by the Author, becauſe he look'd upon it to be an Opinion that would not ſpread, but was like to die of its ſelf, or at leaſt to do no great Harm.*

The Diſcourſe of Miracles *was writ for his own Satisfaction, and never went beyond the firſt Draught, and was occaſion'd by his reading Mr.* Fleetwood's Eſſay on Miracles, *and the Letter writ to him on that Subject.*

To the Reader.

The fourth Letter for Toleration *is imperfect, was begun by the Author a little before his Death, but never finish'd. It was designed for an Answer to a Book entitled,* A Second Letter to the Author of the three Letters for Toleration, *&c. which was writ against the Author's third Letter for Toleration, about twelve Years after the said third Letter had been publish'd.*

The Memoirs of the late Earl of *Shaftsbury are only certain particular Facts set down in Writing by the Author as they occurr'd to his Memory; if Time and Health would have permitted him, he had gone on farther, and from such Materials had collected and compiled an History of that noble Peer.*

OF THE CONDUCT OF THE UNDERSTANDING.

Quid tam temerarium tamque indignum ſapientis gravitate atque conſtantiâ, quam aut falſum ſentire, aut quod non ſatis exploratè perceptum ſit & cognitum ſine ullâ dubitatione defendere? Cic. de Naturâ Deorum, lib. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

§. 1. THE laſt reſort a Man has recourſe to in the Conduct of himſelf, is his Underſtanding; for though we diſtinguiſh the Faculties of the Mind, and give the ſupreme Command to the Will, as to an Agent; yet the truth is, the Man which is the Agent determines himſelf to this or that voluntary Action, upon ſome precedent Knowledge, or appearance of Knowledge in the Underſtanding. No Man ever ſets himſelf about any thing but upon ſome View or other which ſerves him for a reaſon for what he does: And whatſoever Faculties he employs, the Underſtanding with ſuch Light as it has, well or ill inform'd, conſtantly leads, and by that Light, true or falſe, all his operative Powers are directed. The Will it ſelf, how abſolute and uncontroulable ſoever it may be thought, never fails in its Obedience to the Dictates of the Underſtanding. Temples have their ſacred Images, and we ſee what Influence they have always had over a great part of Mankind. But in truth the Ideas and Images in Mens Minds are the inviſible Powers that conſtantly govern them, and to theſe they All univerſally pay a ready Submiſſion. It is therefore of the higheſt Concernment, that great Care ſhould be taken of the Underſtanding, to conduct it right in the Search of Knowledge, and in the Judgments it makes. *Introduction.*

The Logick now in uſe has ſo long poſſeſſed the Chair, as the only Art taught in the Schools for the Direction of the Mind in the Study of the Arts and Sciences, that it would perhaps be thought an Affectation of Novelty to ſuſpect, that Rules, that have ſerved the learned World theſe two or three thouſand Years, and which without any Complaint of Defects the Learned have

Introduction. have rested in, are not sufficient to guide the Understanding. And I should not doubt but this Attempt would be censured as Vanity or Presumption, did not the great Lord *Verulam*'s Authority justifie it; who, not servilely thinking Learning could not be advanced beyond what it was, because for many Ages it had not been, did not rest in the lazy Approbation and Applause of what was, because it was; but enlarged his Mind to what might be. In his Preface to his *Novum Organum* concerning Logick, he pronounces thus, *Qui summas Dialecticæ partes tribuerunt, atque inde fidissima Scientiis præsidia comparari putârunt, verissimè & optimè viderunt intellectum humanum sibi permissum meritò suspectum esse debere. Verum infirmior omninò est malo medicina; nec ipsa mali expers. Siquidem Dialectica, quæ recepta est, licet ad civilia & artes, quæ in sermone & opinione positæ sunt, rectissimè adhibeatur; naturæ tamen subtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit, & prensando quod non capit, ad errores potius stabiliendos & quasi figendos, quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit.*

"They, *says he*, who attributed so much to Logick, perceived very well "and truly, that it was not safe to trust the Understanding to it self, with- "out the Guard of any Rules. But the Remedy reach'd not the Evil, but "became a part of it: For the Logick which took place, though it might "do well enough in civil Affairs, and the Arts which consisted in Talk "and Opinion; yet comes very far short of Subtilty in the real Performances "of Nature, and catching at what it cannot reach, has served to confirm "and establish Errors, rather than to open a way to Truth. And therefore a little after he says, "That it is absolutely necessary that a better and per- "fecter Use and Employment of the Mind and Understanding should be "introduced. *Necessariò requiritur ut melior & perfectior mentis & intellectûs humani usus & adoperatio introducatur.*

Parts. §. 2. There is, 'tis visible, great Variety in Mens Understandings, and their natural Constitutions put so wide a difference between some Men in this respect, that Art and Industry would never be able to master; and their very Natures seem to want a Foundation to raise on it that which other Men easily attain unto.———Amongst Men of equal Education there is great Inequality of Parts. And the Woods of *America*, as well as the Schools of *Athens*, produce Men of several Abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most Men come very short of what they might attain unto in their several degrees by a Neglect of their Understandings. A few Rules of Logick are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest Improvement; whereas I think there are a great many natural Defects in the Understanding capable of Amendment, which are overlook'd and wholly neglected. And it is easie to perceive that Men are guilty of a great many Faults in the Exercise and Improvement of this Faculty of the Mind, which hinder them in their Progress, and keep them in Ignorance and Error all their Lives. Some of them I shall take notice of, and endeavour to point out proper Remedies for, in the following Discourse.

Reasoning. §. 3. Besides the want of determin'd Ideas, and of Sagacity, and Exercise in finding out, and laying in order intermediate Ideas, there are three Miscarriages that Men are guilty of in reference to their Reason, whereby this Faculty is hinder'd in them from that Service it might do and was design'd for. And he that reflects upon the Actions and Discourses of Mankind, will find their Defects in this kind very frequent, and very observable.

1. The first is of those who seldom reason at all, but do and think according to the Example of others, whether Parents, Neighbours, Ministers, or who else they are pleas'd to make choice of to have an implicit Faith in, for the saving of themselves the Pains and Trouble of thinking and examining for themselves.

2. The second is of those who put Passion in the place of Reason, and being resolv'd that shall govern their Actions and Arguments, neither use their own, nor hearken to other People's Reason, any farther than it suits their Humour, Interest, or Party; and these one may observe commonly content themselves with Words which have no distinct Ideas to them, though, in other Matters that they come with an unbyas'd Indifferency to, they

want

want not Abilities to talk and hear Reaſon, where they have no ſecret Inclination that hinders them from being tractable to it. *Reaſoning.*

3. The third ſort is of thoſe who readily and ſincerely follow Reaſon, but for want of having that which one may call *large, ſound, round about Senſe*, have not a full view of all that relates to the Queſtion, and may be of Moment to decide it. We are all ſhort-ſighted, and very often ſee but one ſide of a matter; our Views are not extended to all that has a Connexion with it. From this Defect I think no Man is free. We ſee but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore 'tis no wonder we conclude not right from our partial Views. This might inſtruct the proudeſt Eſteemer of his own Parts how uſeful it is to talk and conſult with others, even ſuch as came ſhort of him in Capacity, Quickneſs and Penetration: For ſince no one ſees all, and we generally have different Proſpects of the ſame thing, according to our different, as I may ſay, Poſitions to it, 'tis not incongruous to think, nor beneath any Man to try, whether another may not have Notions of things which have eſcaped him, and which his Reaſon would make uſe of if they came into his Mind. The Faculty of Reaſoning ſeldom or never deceives thoſe who truſt to it; its Conſequences from what it builds on are evident and certain, but that which it oftenеſt, if not only, miſleads us in, is, that the Principles from which we conclude, the Grounds upon which we bottom our Reaſoning, are but a part, ſomething is left out which ſhould go into the reckoning to make it juſt and exact. Here we may imagine a vaſt and almoſt infinite advantage that Angels and ſeparate Spirits may have over us; who, in their ſeveral degrees of Elevation above us, may be endowed with more comprehenſive Faculties, and ſome of them perhaps have perfect and exact Views of all finite Beings that come under their Conſideration, can as it were, in the twinkling of an Eye, collect together all their ſcatter'd and almoſt boundleſs Relations. A Mind ſo furniſh'd, what Reaſon has it to acquieſce in the Certainty of its Concluſions!

In this we may ſee the Reaſon why ſome Men of Study and Thought, that reaſon right, and are Lovers of Truth, do make no great Advances in their Diſcoveries of it. Error and Truth are uncertainly blended in their Minds; their Deciſions are lame and defective, and they are very often miſtaken in their Judgments: The Reaſon whereof is, they converſe but with one ſort of Men, they read but one ſort of Books, they will not come in the hearing but of one ſort of Notions; the truth is, they canton out to themſelves a little *Goſhen* in the intellectual World, where Light ſhines, and, as they conclude, Day bleſſes them; but the reſt of that vaſt *Expanſum* they give up to Night and Darkneſs, and ſo avoid coming near it. They have a pretty Traffick with known Correſpondents in ſome little Creek, within that they confine themſelves, and are dextrous Managers enough of the Wares and Products of that Corner with which they content themſelves, but will not venture out into the great Ocean of Knowledge, to ſurvey the Riches that Nature hath ſtored other Parts with, no leſs genuine, no leſs ſolid, no leſs uſeful, than what has fallen to their Lot in the admired Plenty and Sufficiency of their own little Spot, which to them contains whatſoever is good in the Univerſe. Thoſe who live thus mew'd up within their own contracted Territories, and will not look abroad beyond the Boundaries that Chance, Conceit, or Lazineſs has ſet to their Enquiries, but live ſeparate from the Notions, Diſcourſes and Attainments of the reſt of Mankind, may not amiſs be repreſented by the Inhabitants of the *Marian* Iſlands; who being ſeparated by a large Tract of Sea from all Communion with the habitable Parts of the Earth, thought themſelves the only People of the World. And though the Straitneſs of the Conveniencies of Life amongſt them had never reach'd ſo far as to the uſe of Fire, till the *Spaniards*, not many years ſince, in their Voyages from *Acapulco* to *Manilia* brought it amongſt them; yet in the Want and Ignorance of almoſt all things, they look'd upon themſelves, even after that the *Spaniards* had brought amongſt them the Notice of variety of Nations abounding in Sciences, Arts and Conveniences of Life, of which they knew nothing, they look'd upon themſelves, I ſay, as the happieſt and wiſeſt People of the Univerſe. But for all that, no body, I think, will imagine

them

Reasoning. them deep Naturalists, or solid Metaphysicians; no Body will deem the quickest-sighted amongst them to have very enlarg'd Views in Ethicks or Politicks, nor can any one allow the most capable amongst them to be advanced so far in his Understanding, as to have any other Knowledge but of the few little things of his and the neighbouring Islands within his Commerce; but far enough from that comprehensive Enlargement of Mind which adorns a Soul devoted to Truth, assisted with Letters, and a free Generation of the several Views and Sentiments of thinking Men of all sides. Let not Men therefore, that would have a sight of what every one pretends to be desirous to have a sight of, Truth in its full Extent, narrow and blind their own Prospect. Let not Men think there is no Truth but in the Sciences that they study, or the Books that they read. To prejudge other Mens Notions before we have look'd into them, is not to shew their Darkness, but to put out our own Eyes. *Try all things, hold fast that which is good*, is a Divine Rule, coming from the Father of Light and Truth; and 'tis hard to know what other way Men can come at Truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for Gold and hid Treasure; but he that does so must have much Earth and Rubbish before he gets the pure Metal; Sand, and Pebbles, and Dross usually lie blended with it, but the Gold is never the less Gold, and will enrich the Man that employs his Pains to seek and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the Mixture. Every Man carries about him a Touch-Stone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial Gold from superficial Glitterings, Truth from Appearances. And indeed the Use and Benefit of this Touch-stone, which is natural Reason, is spoil'd and lost only by assumed Prejudices, overweening Presumption, and narrowing our Minds. The Want of exercising it in the full Extent of things intelligible, is that which weakens and extinguishes this noble Faculty in us. Trace it, and see whether it be not so. The Day-Labourer in a Country-Village has commonly but a small Pittance of Knowledge, because his Ideas and Notions have been confined to the narrow Bounds of a poor Conversation and Employment: The low Mechanick of a Country-Town does somewhat out-do him; Porters and Coblers of great Cities surpass them. A Country-Gentleman, who leaving Latin and Learning in the University, removes thence to his Mansion-House, and associates with Neighbours of the same strain, who relish nothing but Hunting and a Bottle; with those alone he spends his time, with these alone he converses, and can away with no Company whose Discourse goes beyond what Claret, and Dissoluteness inspires. Such a Patriot, formed in this happy way of Improvement, cannot fail, as we see, to give notable Decisions upon the Bench at Quarter-Sessions, and eminent Proofs of his Skill in Politicks, when the Strength of his Purse and Party have advanced him to a more conspicuous Station. To such a one truly an ordinary Coffee-house Gleaner of the City is an errant Statesman, and as much superior too, as a Man, conversant about *Whitehall* and the Court, is to an ordinary Shop-keeper. To carry this a little farther. Here is one muffled up in the Zeal and Infallibility of his own Sect, and will not touch a Book, or enter into Debate with a Person that will question any of those things which to him are Sacred. Another surveys our Differences in Religion with an equitable and fair Indifference, and so finds probably that none of them are in every thing unexceptionable. These Divisions and Systems were made by Men, and carry the Mark of Fallible on them; and in those whom he differs from, and till he open'd his Eyes had a general Prejudice against, he meets with more to be said for a great many things than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of these two now is most likely to judge right in our religious Controversies, and to be most stored with Truth, the Mark all pretend to aim at? All these Men that I have instanced in, thus unequally furnished with Truth, and advanced in Knowledge, I suppose of equal natural Parts; all the Odds between them has been the different Scope that has been given to their Understandings to range in, for the gathering up of Information, and furnishing their Heads with Ideas, Notions and Observations, whereon to employ their Minds, and form their Understandings.

It will possibly be objected, who is sufficient for all this? I answer, more than can be imagined. Every one knows what his proper Business is, and what, according to the Character he makes of himself, the World may justly expect of him; and to answer that, he will find he will have Time and Opportunity enough to furnish himself, if he will not deprive himself, by a Narrowness of Spirit, of those Helps that are at hand. I do not say to be a good Geographer that a Man should visit every Mountain, River, Promontory and Creek upon the Face of the Earth, view the Buildings, and survey the Land every where, as if he were going to make a Purchase. But yet every one must allow that he shall know a Country better that makes often Sallies into it, and traverses it up and down, than he that like a Mill-Horse goes still round in the same Track, or keeps within the narrow Bounds of a Field or two that delight him. He that will enquire out the best Books in every Science, and inform himself of the most material Authors of the several Sects of Philosophy and Religion, will not find it an infinite Work to acquaint himself with the Sentiments of Mankind concerning the most weighty and comprehensive Subjects. Let him exercise the Freedom of his Reason and Understanding in such a Latitude as this, and his Mind will be strengthen'd, his Capacity enlarged, his Faculties improved; and the Light, which the remote and scatter'd parts of Truth will give to one another, will so assist his Judgment, that he will seldom be widely out, or miss giving Proof of a clear Head, and a comprehensive Knowledge. At least, this is the only way I know to give the Understanding its due Improvement to the full extent of its Capacity, and to distinguish the two most different things I know in the World, a logical Chicaner from a Man of Reason. Only he that would thus give the Mind its flight, and send abroad his Enquiries into all Parts after Truth, must be sure to settle in his Head determined Idea's of all that he employs his Thoughts about, and never fail to judge himself, and judge unbyassedly of all that he receives from others, either in their Writings or Discourses. Reverence or Prejudice must not be suffer'd to give Beauty or Deformity to any of their Opinions. *Reasoning.*

§. 4. We are born with Faculties and Powers capable almost of any thing, such at least as would carry us farther than can easily be imagined: But 'tis only the Exercise of those Powers which gives us Ability and Skill in any thing, and leads us towards Perfection. *Of Practice and Habits.*

A middle-aged Ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the Carriage and Language of a Gentleman, though his Body be as well proportioned, and his Joints as supple, and his natural Parts not any way inferior. The Legs of a Dancing-master, and the Fingers of a Musician fall as it were naturally without Thought or Pains into regular and admirable Motions. Bid them change their Parts, and they will in vain endeavour to produce like Motions in the Members not used to them, and it will require length of Time and long Practice to attain but some degrees of a like Ability. What incredible and astonishing Actions do we find Rope-dancers and Tumblers bring their Bodies to! Not but that sundry in almost all manual Arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the World takes notice of for such, because on that very account, they give Money to see them. All these admired Motions, beyond the Reach and almost the Conception of unpractised Spectators, are nothing but the mere Effects of Use and Industry in Men, whose Bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazed Lookers on.

As it is in the Body, so it is in the Mind; Practice makes it what it is, and most, even of those Excellencies which are look'd on as natural Endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the Product of Exercise, and to be raised to that pitch only by repeated Actions. Some Men are remarked for Pleasantness in Railery; others for Apologues and apposite diverting Stories. This is apt to be taken for the Effect of pure Nature, and that the rather, because it is not got by Rules, and those who excel in either of them, never purposely set themselves to the Study of it as an Art to be learnt. But yet it is true, that at first some lucky Hit which took with some body, and gain'd him Commendation, encouraged him to try again,

Of Practice and Habits. inclined his Thoughts and Endeavours that way, 'till at laſt he inſenſibly got a Facility in it without perceiving how, and that is attributed wholly to Nature, which was much more the Effect of Uſe and Practice. I do not deny that natural Diſpoſition may often give the firſt riſe to it: but that never carries a Man far without Uſe and Exerciſe, and 'tis Practice alone that brings the Powers of the Mind as well as thoſe of the Body to their Perfection. Many a good Poetick Vein is buried under a Trade, and never produces any thing for want of Improvement. We ſee the ways of Diſcourſe and Reaſoning are very different, even concerning the ſame matter, at Court and in the Univerſity. And he that will go but from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the *Exchange*, will find a different Genius and Turn in their ways of Talking, and yet one cannot think that all, whoſe lot fell in the City, were born with different Parts from thoſe who were bred at the Univerſity or Inns of Court.

To what purpoſe all this, but to ſhew that the Difference, ſo obſervable in Men's Underſtandings and Parts, does not ariſe ſo much from their natural Faculties as acquired Habits. He would be laughed at that ſhould go about to make a fine Dancer out of a Country Hedger, at paſt Fifty. And he will not have much better Succeſs, who ſhall endeavour at that age to make a Man reaſon well, or ſpeak handſomely who has never been uſed to it, though you ſhould lay before him a Collection of all the beſt Precepts of Logick or Oratory. No body is made any thing by hearing of Rules, or laying them up in his Memory; Practice muſt ſettle the Habit of doing without reflecting on the Rule, and you may as well hope to make a good Painter or Muſician extempore by a Lecture and Inſtruction in the Arts of Muſick and Painting, as a coherent Thinker, or ſtrict Reaſoner by a Set of Rules, ſhewing him wherein right Reaſoning conſiſts.

This being ſo, that Defects and Weakneſs in Mens Underſtandings, as well as other Faculties, come from Want of a right Uſe of their own Minds; I am apt to think the Fault is generally miſlaid upon Nature, and there is often a Complaint of Want of Parts, when the Fault lies in Want of a due Improvement of them. We ſee Men frequently dextrous and ſharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reaſon with them about Matters of Religion, appear perfectly ſtupid.

Ideas. §. 5. I will not here, in what relates to the right Conduct and Improvement of the Underſtanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined *Ideas*, and the employing our Thoughts rather about them than about Sounds put for them, nor of ſettling the Signification of Words which we uſe with our ſelves in the Search of Truth, or with others in diſcourſing about it. Thoſe Hindrances of our Underſtandings in the purſuit of Knowledge, I have ſufficiently enlarged upon in another place; ſo that nothing more needs here to be ſaid of thoſe Matters.

Principles. §. 6. There is another Fault that ſtops or miſleads Men in their Knowledge, which I have alſo ſpoken ſomething of, but yet is neceſſary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom, and ſee the Root it ſprings from, and that is a Cuſtom of taking up with Principles that are not ſelf-evident, and very often not ſo much as true. 'Tis not unuſual to ſee Men reſt their Opinions upon Foundations that have no more Certainty and Solidity than the Propoſitions built on them, and embraced for their ſake. Such Foundations are theſe and the like, *viz.* The Founders or Leaders of my Party are good Men, and therefore their Tenets are true; it is the Opinion of a Sect that is erroneous, therefore it is falſe: It hath been long received in the World, therefore it is true; or it is new, and therefore falſe.

Theſe, and many the like, which are by no means the Meaſures of Truth and Falſhood, the Generality of Men make the Standards by which they accuſtom their Underſtanding to judge. And thus they falling into a Habit of determining Truth and Falſhood by ſuch wrong Meaſures, 'tis no wonder they ſhould embrace Error for Certainty, and be very poſitive in things they have no ground for.

There is not any, who pretends to the leaſt Reaſon, but, when any of theſe his falſe Maxims are brought to the Teſt, muſt acknowledge them to be fallible, and ſuch as he will not allow in thoſe that differ from him; and yet after

after he is convinced of this, you ſhall ſee him go on in the uſe of them, and the very next Occaſion that offers argue again upon the ſame Grounds. Would one not be ready to think that Men are willing to impoſe upon themſelves, and miſlead their own Underſtandings, who conduct them by ſuch wrong Meaſures, even after they ſee they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear ſo blameable as may be thought at firſt ſight; for I think there are a great many that argue thus in Earneſt, and do it not to impoſe on themſelves or others. They are perſuaded of what they ſay, and think there is Weight in it, tho' in a like Caſe they have been convinced there is none; but Men would be intolerable to themſelves, and contemptible to others, if they ſhould embrace Opinions without any Ground, and hold what they could give no manner of Reaſon for. True or falſe, ſolid or ſandy, the Mind muſt have ſome Foundation to reſt it ſelf upon, and, as I have remark'd in another place, it no ſooner entertains any Propoſition, but it preſently haſtens to ſome Hypotheſis to bottom it on, till then it is unquiet and unſettled. So much do our own very Tempers diſpoſe us to a right Uſe of our Underſtandings, if we would follow as we ſhould the Inclinations of our Nature. *Principles.*

In ſome Matters of Concernment, eſpecially thoſe of Religion, Men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they muſt embrace and profeſs ſome Tenets or other; and it would be a Shame, nay a Contradiction too heavy for any one's Mind to lie conſtantly under; for him to Pretend ſeriouſly to be perſuaded of the Truth of any Religion, and yet not to be able to give any Reaſon of his Belief, or to ſay any thing for his Preference of this to any other Opinion; and therefore they muſt make uſe of ſome Principles or other, and thoſe can be no other than ſuch as they have and can manage; and to ſay they are not in earneſt perſuaded by them, and do not reſt upon thoſe they make uſe of, is contrary to Experience, and to alledge that they are not miſled when we complain they are.

If this be ſo, it will be urged, why then do they not make uſe of ſure and unqueſtionable Principles, than reſt on ſuch Grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is viſible, ſerve to ſupport Error as well as Truth?

To this I anſwer, the Reaſon why they do not make uſe of better and ſurer Principles, is becauſe they cannot: But this Inability proceeds not from Want of Natural Parts (for thoſe few whoſe Caſe that is are to be excuſed) but for want of Uſe and Exerciſe. Few Men are from their Youth accuſtomed to ſtrict Reaſoning, and to trace the Dependence of any Truth in a long train of Conſequences to its remote Principles, and to obſerve its Connection; and he that by frequent Practice has not been uſed to this Imployment of his Underſtanding, 'tis no more wonder that he ſhould not, when he is grown into Years, be able to bring his Mind to it, than that he ſhould not be on a ſudden able to grave or deſign, dance on the Ropes, or write a good Hand, who has never practiſed either of them.

Nay, the moſt of Men are ſo wholly Strangers to this, that they do not ſo much as perceive their Want of it, they diſpatch the ordinary Buſineſs of their Callings by Rote, as we ſay, as they have learnt it, and if at any time they miſs Succeſs, they impute it to any thing rather than Want of Thought or Skill, that they conclude (becauſe they know no better) they have in Perfection; or if there be any Subject that Intereſt or Fancy has recommended to their Thoughts, their Reaſoning about it is ſtill after their own faſhion, be it better or worſe, it ſerves their turns, and is the beſt they are acquainted with; and therefore when they are led by it into Miſtakes, and their buſineſs ſucceeds accordingly, they impute it to any croſs Accident, or default of others, rather than to their own Want of Underſtanding; that is, what no Body diſcovers or complains of in himſelf. Whatſoever made his Buſineſs to miſcarry, it was not want of right Thought and Judgment in himſelf: He ſees no ſuch Defect in himſelf, but is ſatisfied that he carries on his Deſigns well enough by his own Reaſoning, or at leaſt ſhould have done, had it not been for unlucky Traverſes not in his Power. Thus being content with this ſhort and very imperfect Uſe of his Underſtanding, he never troubles

Principles. himſelf to ſeek out Methods of improving his Mind, and lives all his Life without any Notion of cloſe Reaſoning, in a continued Connection of a long train of Conſequences from ſure Foundations, ſuch as is requiſite for the making out, and clearing moſt of the ſpeculative Truths moſt Men own to believe and are moſt concern'd in. Not to mention here what I ſhall have occaſion to inſiſt on by and by more fully, *viz.* that in many caſes 'tis not one Series of Conſequences will ſerve the turn, but many different and oppoſite Deductions muſt be examin'd and laid together, before a Man can come to make a right Judgment of the Point in queſtion. What then can be expected from Men that neither ſee the Want of any ſuch kind of Reaſoning as this; nor if they do, know they how to ſet about it, or could perform it? You may as well ſet a Country-Man, who ſcarce knows the Figures, and never caſt up a Sum of three Particulars, to ſtate a Merchant's long Account, and find the true Balance of it.

What then ſhould be done in the Caſe? I anſwer, we ſhould always remember what I ſaid above, that the Faculties of our Souls are improv'd and made uſeful to us, juſt after the ſame manner as our Bodies are. Would you have a Man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other manual Operation dexterouſly and with Eaſe, let him have ever ſo much Vigour and Activity, Suppleneſs and Addreſs naturally; yet no Body expects this from him unleſs he has been uſed to it, and has imploy'd Time and Pains in faſhioning and forming his Hand or outward Parts to theſe Motions. Juſt ſo it is in the Mind; would you have a Man reaſon well, you muſt uſe him to it betimes, exerciſe his Mind in obſerving the Connection of Ideas, and following them in train. Nothing does this better than Mathematicks, which therefore I think ſhould be taught all thoſe who have the Time and Opportunity, not ſo much to make them Mathematicians, as to make them reaſonable Creatures; for though we all call our ſelves ſo, becauſe we are born to it if we pleaſe; yet we may truly ſay Nature gives us but the Seeds of it; we are born to be, if we pleaſe, rational Creatures, but 'tis Uſe and Exerciſe only that makes us ſo, and we are indeed ſo no farther than Induſtry and Application has carried us. And therefore in ways of Reaſoning which Men have not been uſed to, he that will obſerve the Concluſions they take up, muſt be ſatisfied they are not all Rational.

This has been the leſs taken notice of, becauſe every one in his private Affairs, uſes ſome ſort of Reaſoning or other, enough to denominate him reaſonable. But the Miſtake is, that he that is found reaſonable in one thing is concluded to be ſo in all, and to think or ſay otherwiſe, is thought ſo unjuſt an Affront, and ſo ſenſeleſs a Cenſure, that no Body ventures to do it. It looks like the Degradation of a Man below the Dignity of his Nature. It is true, that he that reaſons well in any one thing, has a Mind naturally capable of reaſoning well in others, and to the ſame degree of Strength and Clearneſs, and poſſibly much greater, had his Underſtanding been ſo imployed. But 'tis as true, that he who can reaſon well to Day about one ſort of Matters, cannot at all reaſon to Day about others, though perhaps a Year hence he may. But where-ever a Man's rational Faculty fails him, and will not ſerve him to reaſon, there we cannot ſay he is rational, how capable ſoever he may be by Time and Exerciſe to become ſo.

Try in Men of low and mean Education, who have never elevated their Thoughts above the Spade and the Plough, nor look'd beyond the ordinary Drudgery of a Day-Labourer. Take the Thoughts of ſuch an one, uſed for many Years to one Track, out of that narrow Compaſs he has been all his Life confin'd to, you will find him no more capable of reaſoning than almoſt a perfect Natural. Some one or two Rules, on which their Concluſions immediately depend, you will find in moſt Men have govern'd all their Thoughts; theſe, true or falſe, have been the Maxims they have been guided by: Take theſe from them, and they are perfectly at a loſs, their Compaſs and Pole-Star then are gone, and their Underſtanding is perfectly at a Nonplus, and therefore they either immediately return to their old Maxims again as the Foundations of all Truth to them, notwithſtanding all that can be ſaid to ſhew their Weakneſs; or if they give them up to their Reaſons,

they

they with them give up all Truth and further Enquiry, and think there is no ſuch thing as Certainty. For if you would enlarge their Thoughts, and ſettle them upon more remote and ſurer Principles, they either cannot eaſily apprehend them, or if they can, know not what uſe to make of them; for long Deductions from remote Principles, is what they have not been us'd to, and cannot manage. *Principles.*

What then, can grown Men never be improv'd or enlarg'd in their Underſtandings? I ſay not ſo, but this I think I may ſay, that it will not be done without Induſtry and Application, which will require more Time and Pains than grown Men, ſettled in their Courſe of Life, will allow to it, and therefore very ſeldom is done. And this very Capacity of attaining it by Uſe and Exerciſe only, brings us back to that which I laid down before, that it is only Practice that improves our Minds as well as Bodies, and we muſt expect nothing from our Underſtandings any farther than they are perfected by Habits.

The *Americans* are not all born with worſe Underſtandings than the *Europeans*, tho' we ſee none of them have ſuch Reaches in the Arts and Sciences. And among the Children of a poor Country-man, the lucky chance of Education, and getting into the World, gives one infinitely the Superiority in Parts over the reſt, who continuing at home, had continued alſo juſt of the ſame ſize with his Brethren.

He that has to do with young Scholars, eſpecially in Mathematicks, may perceive how their Minds open by degrees, and how it is Exerciſe alone that opens them. Sometimes they will ſtick a long time at a part of a Demonſtration, not for want of Will and Application, but really for want of perceiving the Connection of two Ideas; that, to one whoſe Underſtanding is more exerciſed, is as viſible as any thing can be. The ſame would be with a grown Man beginning to ſtudy Mathematicks, the Underſtanding for want of uſe, often ſticks in very plain way, and he himſelf that is ſo puzzled, when he comes to ſee the Connection, wonders what it was he ſtuck at in a Caſe ſo plain.

§. 7. I have mentioned *Mathematicks* as a way to ſettle in the Mind an Habit of Reaſoning cloſely and in train; not that I think it neceſſary that all Men ſhould be deep Mathematicians, but that having got the way of Reaſoning, which that Study neceſſarily brings the Mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of Knowledge as they ſhall have occaſion. For in all ſorts of Reaſoning, every ſingle Argument ſhould be manag'd as a Mathematical Demonſtration, the Connection and Dependence of Ideas ſhould be follow'd till the Mind is brought to the Source on which it bottoms, and obſerves the Coherence all along, tho' in Proofs of Probability, one ſuch train is not enough to ſettle the Judgment as in demonſtrative Knowledge. *Mathematicks.*

Where a Truth is made out by one Demonſtration, there needs no farther Enquiry, but in Probabilities where there wants Demonſtration to eſtabliſh the Truth beyond Doubt, there 'tis not enough to trace one Argument to its Source, and obſerve its Strength and Weakneſs, but all the Arguments, after having been ſo examined on both ſides, muſt be laid in Balance one againſt another, and upon the whole the Underſtanding determine its Aſſent.

This is a way of Reaſoning the Underſtanding ſhould be accuſtomed to, which is ſo different from what the Illiterate are uſed to, that even learned Men oftentimes ſeem to have very little or no Notion of it. Nor is it to be wonder'd, ſince the way of diſputing in the Schools leads them quite away from it, by inſiſting on one topical Argument, by the Succeſs of which the Truth or Falſhood of the Queſtion is to be determined, and Victory adjudged to the Opponent or Defendant; which is all one as if one ſhould balance an Account by one Sum charged and diſcharged, when there are an hundred others to be taken into Conſideration.

This therefore it would be well if Men's Minds were accuſtomed to, and that early, that they might not erect their Opinions upon one ſingle View, when ſo many other are requiſite to make up the Account, and muſt come into

Mathematicks. into the reckoning before a Man can form a right Judgment. This would enlarge their Minds, and give a due Freedom to their Underſtandings, that they might not be led into Error by Preſumption, Lazineſs or Precipitancy; for I think no Body can approve ſuch a Conduct of the Underſtanding, as ſhould miſlead it from Truth, tho' it be ever ſo much in faſhion to make uſe of it.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that to manage the Underſtanding as I propoſe, would require every Man to be a Scholar, and to be furniſhed with all the Materials of Knowledge, and exerciſed in all the Ways of Reaſoning. To which I anſwer, that it is a ſhame for thoſe that have time, and the means to attain Knowledge, to want any helps or aſſiſtance for the Improvement of their Underſtandings that are to be got, and to ſuch I would be thought here chiefly to ſpeak. Thoſe methinks, who by the Induſtry and Parts of their Anceſtors have been ſet free from a conſtant Drudgery to their Backs and their Bellies, ſhould beſtow ſome of their ſpare time on their Heads, and open their Minds by ſome Tryals and Eſſays in all the ſorts and matters of Reaſoning. I have before mention'd *Mathematicks*, wherein *Algebra* gives new Helps and Views to the Underſtanding. If I propoſe theſe, it is not, as I ſaid, to make every Man a thorough Mathematician, or a deep Algebraiſt; but yet I think the Study of them is of infinite Uſe even to grown Men; firſt by experimentally convincing them, that to make any one reaſon well, it is not enough to have Parts wherewith he is ſatisfied, and that ſerve him well enough in his ordinary Courſe. A Man in thoſe Studies will ſee, that however good he may think his Underſtanding, yet in many things, and thoſe very viſible, it may fail him. This would take off that Preſumption that moſt Men have of themſelves in this part; and they would not be ſo apt to think their Minds wanted no Helps to enlarge them, that there could be nothing added to the acuteneſs and penetration of their Underſtandings.

Secondly, The Study of *Mathematicks* would ſhew them the Neceſſity there is, in Reaſoning, to ſeparate all the diſtinct Ideas, and ſee the Habitudes that all thoſe concern'd in the preſent Enquiry have to one another, and to lay by thoſe which relate not to the Propoſition in hand, and wholly to leave them out of the reckoning. This is that, which in other Subjects beſides Quantity, is what is abſolutely requiſite to juſt Reaſoning, tho' in them it is not ſo eaſily obſerv'd, nor ſo carefully practis'd. In thoſe parts of Knowledge where 'tis thought Demonſtration has nothing to do, Men reaſon as it were in the Lump; and if, upon a ſummary and confus'd View, or upon a partial Conſideration, they can raiſe the appearance of a Probability, they uſually reſt content; eſpecially if it be in a Diſpute where every little Straw is laid hold on, and every thing that can but be drawn-in any way to give Colour to the Argument, is advanced with Oſtentation. But that Mind is not in a poſture to find the Truth, that does not diſtinctly take all the Parts aſunder, and, omitting what is not at all to the Point, draw a Concluſion from the Reſult of all the Particulars which any way influence it. There is another no leſs uſeful Habit to be got by an application to Mathematical Demonſtrations, and that is of uſing the Mind to a long train of Conſequences; but having mention'd that already, I ſhall not again here repeat it.

As to Men whoſe Fortunes and Time is narrower, what may ſuffice them is not of that vaſt Extent as may be imagin'd, and ſo comes not within the Objection.

No Body is under an Obligation to know every thing. Knowledge and Science in general, is the buſineſs only of thoſe who are at Eaſe and Leiſure. Thoſe who have particular Callings ought to underſtand them; and 'tis no unreaſonable Propoſal, nor impoſſible to be compaſs'd, that they ſhould think and reaſon right about what is their daily Imployment. This one cannot think them uncapable of, without levelling them with the Brutes, and charging them with a Stupidity below the Rank of rational Creatures.

Religion. §. 8. Beſides his particular Calling for the Support of this Life, every one has a Concern in a future Life, which he is bound to look after. This engages his Thoughts in *Religion*; and here it mightily lies upon him to underſtand and reaſon right. Men therefore cannot be excuſed from underſtanding

ſtanding the Words, and framing the general Notions relating to *Religion* right. The one Day of ſeven, beſides other Days of Reſt, allows in the Chriſtian World time enough for this (had they no other idle Hours) if they would but make uſe of theſe Vacancies from their daily Labour, and apply themſelves to an Improvement of Knowledge, with as much Diligence as they often do to a great many other things that are uſeleſs, and had but thoſe that would enter them according to their ſeveral Capacities in a right way to this Knowledge. The Original Make of their Minds is like that of other Men, and they would be found not to want Underſtanding fit to receive the Knowledge of *Religion*, if they were a little incourag'd and help'd in it as they ſhould be. For there are Inſtances of very mean People, who have raiſed their Minds to a great Senſe and Underſtanding of *Religion:* And tho' theſe have not been ſo frequent as could be wiſhed; yet they are enough to clear that Condition of Life from a Neceſſity of groſs Ignorance, and to ſhew that more might be brought to be rational Creatures and Chriſtians (for they can hardly be thought really to be ſo, who, wearing the Name, know not ſo much as the very Principles of that Religion) if due Care were taken of them. For, if I miſtake not, the Peaſantry lately in *France* (a Rank of People under a much heavier Preſſure of Want and Poverty than the Day-Labourers in *England*) of the Reformed *Religion*, underſtood it much better, and could ſay more for it, than thoſe of a higher Condition among Us. *Religion.*

But if it ſhall be concluded that the meaner ſort of People muſt give themſelves up to a brutiſh Stupidity in the things of their neareſt Concernment, which I ſee no reaſon for, this excuſes not thoſe of a freer Fortune and Education, if they neglect their Underſtandings, and take no Care to employ them as they ought, and ſet them right in the Knowledge of thoſe things, for which principally they were given them. At leaſt thoſe, whoſe plentiful Fortunes allow them the Opportunities and Helps of Improvements, are not ſo few, but that it might be hoped great Advancements might be made in Knowledge of all kinds, eſpecially in that of the greateſt Concern and largeſt Views, if Men would make a right uſe of their Faculties, and ſtudy their own Underſtandings.

§. 9. Outward corporeal Objects, that conſtantly importune our Senſes, and captivate our Appetites, fail not to fill our Heads with lively and laſting *Ideas* of that kind. Here the Mind needs not be ſet upon getting greater ſtore; they offer themſelves faſt enough, and are uſually entertained in ſuch plenty, and lodged ſo carefully, that the Mind wants Room or Attention for others that it has more Uſe and Need of. To fit the Underſtanding therefore for ſuch Reaſoning as I have been above ſpeaking of, care ſhould be taken to fill it with moral and more abſtract *Ideas*; for theſe not offering themſelves to the Senſes, but being to be framed to the Underſtanding, People are generally ſo neglectful of a Faculty they are apt to think wants nothing; that I fear moſt Mens Minds are more unfurniſhed with ſuch *Ideas* than is imagined. They often uſe the Words, and how can they be ſuſpected to want the *Ideas?* What I have ſaid in the Third Book of my Eſſay, will excuſe me from any other Anſwer to this Queſtion. But to convince People of what moment it is to their Underſtandings, to be furniſhed with ſuch abſtract *Ideas* ſteady and ſettled in them, give me leave to ask how any one ſhall be able to know, whether he be obliged to be juſt, if he has not eſtabliſh'd *Ideas* in his Mind, of Obligation and of Juſtice, ſince Knowledge conſiſts in nothing but the perceiv'd Agreement or Diſagreement of thoſe *Ideas?* And ſo of all others the like, which concern our Lives and Manners. And if Men do find a Difficulty to ſee the Agreement or Diſagreement of two Angles which lye before their Eyes, unalterable in a Diagram, how utterly impoſſible will it be to perceive it in *Ideas* that have no other ſenſible Objects to repreſent them to the Mind, but Sounds, with which they have no manner of Conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly ſettled in the Mind themſelves, if we would make any clear Judgment about them? This therefore is one of the firſt things the Mind ſhould be employ'd about in the right Conduct of the Underſtanding, without which it is impoſſible it ſhould be capable of Reaſoning right about thoſe *Ideas.*

thoſe Matters. But in theſe, and all other *Ideas*, Care muſt be taken that they harbour no Inconſiſtencies, and that they have a real Exiſtence where real Exiſtence is, ſuppoſed, and are not mere Chimeras with a ſuppoſed Exiſtence.

Prejudice. §. 10. Every one is forward to complain of the *Prejudices* that miſlead other Men or Parties, as if he were free, and had none of his own. This being objected on all ſides, 'tis agreed, that it is a Fault and an Hindrance to Knowledge. What now is the Cure? No other but this, that every Man ſhould let alone other's *Prejudices* and examine his own. No body is convinced of his by the Accuſation of another, he recriminates by the ſame Rule and is clear. The only way to remove this great Cauſe of Ignorance and Error out of the World, is, for every one impartially to examine himſelf. If others will not deal fairly with their own Minds; does that make my Errors Truths, or ought it to make me in love with them, and willing to impoſe on my ſelf? If others love Cataracts on their Eyes, ſhould that hinder me from couching mine as ſoon as I could? Every one declares againſt Blindneſs, and yet who almoſt is not fond of that which dims his Sight, and keeps the clear Light out of his Mind, which ſhould lead him into Truth and Knowledge? Falſe or doubtful Poſitions, rely'd upon as unqueſtionable Maxims, keep thoſe in the dark from Truth who build on them. Such are uſually the *Prejudices* imbibed from Education, Party, Reverence, Faſhion, Intereſt, *&c.* This is the Mote which every one ſees in his Brother's Eye, but never regards the Beam in his own. For who is there almoſt that is ever brought fairly to examine his own Principles, and ſee whether they are ſuch as will bear the Trial? But yet this ſhould be one of the firſt things every one ſhould ſet about, and be ſcrupulous in, who would rightly conduct his Underſtanding in the Search of Truth and Knowledge.

To thoſe who are willing to get rid of this great Hindrance of Knowledge, (for to ſuch only I write) to thoſe who would ſhake off this great and dangerous Impoſtor *Prejudice*, who dreſſes up Falſhood in the Likeneſs of Truth, and ſo dextrouſly hoodwinks Mens Minds, as to keep them in the Dark, with a Belief that they are more in the Light than any that do not ſee with their Eyes; I ſhall offer this one Mark whereby *Prejudice* may be known. He that is ſtrongly of any Opinion, muſt ſuppoſe (unleſs he be ſelf-condemn'd) that his Perſuaſion is built upon good Grounds; and that his Aſſent is no greater than what the Evidence of the Truth he holds forces him to; and that they are Arguments, and not Inclination or Fancy that make him ſo confident and poſitive in his Tenets. Now if after all his Profeſſion, he cannot bear any Oppoſition to his Opinion, if he cannot ſo much as give a patient Hearing, much leſs examine and weigh the Arguments on the other ſide, does he not plainly confeſs 'tis *Prejudice* governs him? And 'tis not the Evidence of Truth, but ſome lazy Anticipation, ſome beloved Preſumption that he deſires to reſt undiſturb'd in. For if what he holds be, as he gives out, well fenced with Evidence, and he ſees it to be true, what need he fear to put it to the Proof? If his Opinion be ſettled upon a firm Foundation, if the Arguments that ſupport it, and have obtained his Aſſent, be clear, good and convincing, why ſhould he be ſhy to have it try'd whether they be Proof or not? He whoſe Aſſent goes beyond his Evidence, owes this Exceſs of his Adherence only to *Prejudice*, and does in effect own it, when he refuſes to hear what is offer'd againſt it; declaring thereby, that 'tis not Evidence he ſeeks, but the quiet Enjoyment of the Opinion he is fond of, with a forward Condemnation of all, that may ſtand in oppoſition to it, unheard and unexamined; which, what is it but *Prejudice? Qui æquum ſtatuerit parte inauditâ alterâ, etiamſi æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit.* He that would acquit himſelf in this Caſe as a Lover of Truth, not giving way to any Pre-occupation, or Byaſs that may miſlead him, muſt do Two things that are not very common, nor very eaſy.

Indifferency. §. 11. Firſt, he muſt not be in love with any Opinion, or wiſh it to be true, till he knows it to be ſo, and then he will not need to wiſh it: For nothing that is falſe can deſerve our good Wiſhes, nor a Deſire that it ſhould have the Place and Force of Truth; and yet nothing is more frequent than this. Men are fond of certain Tenets upon no other Evidence but Reſpect

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and Cuſtome, and think they muſt maintain them, or all is gone, tho' they have never examined the Ground they ſtand on, nor have ever made them out to themſelves, or can make them out to others. We ſhould contend earneſtly for the Truth, but we ſhould firſt be ſure that it is Truth, or elſe we fight againſt God, who is the God of Truth, and do the Work of the Devil; who is the Father and Propagater of Lies; and our Zeal, tho' never ſo warm, will not excuſe us; for this is plainly Prejudice. *Indifferency.*

§. 12. Secondly, He muſt do that which he will find himſelf very averſe to, as judging the thing unneceſſary; or himſelf uncapable of doing it. He muſt try whether his Principles be certainly true or not, and how far he may ſafely rely upon them. This whether fewer have the Heart or the Skill to do, I ſhall not determine; but this I am ſure, this is that which every one ought to do, who profeſſes to love Truth, and would not impoſe upon himſelf; which is a ſurer Way to be made a Fool of than by being expoſed to the Sophiſtry of others. The Diſpoſition to put any Cheat upon our ſelves, works conſtantly, and we are pleas'd with it, but are impatient of being banter'd or miſled by others. The Inability I here ſpeak of, is not any natural Defect that makes Men uncapable of examining their own Principles: To ſuch, Rules of conducting their Underſtandings are uſeleſs, and that is the Caſe of very few. The great Number is of thoſe whom the ill Habit of never exerting their Thoughts has diſabled: The Powers of their Minds are ſtarved by Diſuſe, and have loſt that Reach and Strength which Nature fitted them to receive from Exerciſe. Thoſe who are in a Condition to learn the firſt Rules of plain Arithmetick, and could be brought to caſt up an ordinary Sum, are capable of this, if they had but accuſtom'd their Minds to Reaſoning: But they that have wholly neglected the Exerciſe of their Underſtandings in this way, will be very far at firſt from being able to do it, and as unfit for it as one unpractiſed in Figures to caſt up a Shop-Book, and perhaps think it as ſtrange to be ſet about it. And yet it muſt nevertheleſs be confeſs'd to be a wrong Uſe of our Underſtandings, to build our Tenets (in things where we are concern'd to hold the Truth) upon Principles that may lead us into Error. We take our Principles at hap-hazard upon Truſt, and without ever having examin'd them, and then believe a whole Syſtem, upon a Preſumption that they are true and ſolid; and what is all this but childiſh, ſhameful, ſenſeleſs Credulity? *Examine.*

In theſe two things, *viz.* an equal Indifferency for all Truth; I mean the receiving it in the Love of it as Truth, but not loving it for any other reaſon before we know it to be true; and in the Examination of our Principles, and not receiving any for ſuch, nor building on them till we are fully convinc'd, as rational Creatures, of their Solidity, Truth and Certainty, conſiſts that Freedom of the Underſtanding, which is neceſſary to a rational Creature, and without which it is not truly an Underſtanding. 'Tis Conceit, Fancy, Extravagance, any thing rather than Underſtanding, if it muſt be under the Conſtraint of receiving and holding Opinions by the Authority of any thing but their own, not fanſy'd, but perceiv'd, Evidence. This was rightly call'd Impoſition, and is of all other the worſt and moſt dangerous ſort of it. For we impoſe upon our ſelves, which is the ſtrongeſt Impoſition of all others; and we impoſe upon our ſelves in that part which ought with the greateſt care to be kept free from all Impoſition. The World is apt to caſt great Blame on thoſe who have an Indifferency for Opinions, eſpecially in Religion. I fear this is the Foundation of great Error and worſe Conſequences. To be indifferent which of two Opinions is true, is the right Temper of the Mind that preſerves it from being impos'd on, and diſpoſes it to examine with that Indifferency, till it has done its beſt to find the Truth, and this is the only direct and ſafe way to it. But to be indifferent whether we embrace Falſhood or Truth or no, is the great Road to Error. Thoſe who are not indifferent which Opinion is true, are guilty of this, they ſuppoſe, without examining, that what they hold is true, and then think they ought to be zealous for it. Thoſe, 'tis plain by their Warmth and Eagerneſs, are not indifferent for their own Opinions, but methinks are very indifferent whether they be true or falſe, ſince they cannot endure to have

Examine. any Doubts raiſed, or Objections made againſt them; and 'tis viſible they never have made any themſelves, and ſo never having examin'd them, know not, nor are concern'd, as they ſhould be, to know whether they be true or falſe.

Theſe are the common and moſt general Miſcarriages which I think Men ſhould avoid or rectifie in a right Conduct of their Underſtandings, and ſhould be particularly taken care of in Education. The buſineſs whereof in reſpect of Knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a Learner in all or any one of the Sciences, but to give his Mind that Freedom, that Diſpoſition, and thoſe Habits that may enable him to attain any part of Knowledge he ſhall apply himſelf to, or ſtand in need of in the future Courſe of his Life.

This, and this only is well principling, and not the inſtilling a Reverence and Veneration for certain Dogmas, under the ſpecious Title of Principles, which are often ſo remote from that Truth and Evidence which belongs to Principles, that they ought to be rejected as falſe and erroneous, and is often the Cauſe to Men ſo educated, when they come abroad into the World, and find they cannot maintain the Principles ſo taken up and reſted in, to caſt off all Principles, and turn perfect Scepticks, regardleſs of Knowledge and Virtue.

There are ſeveral Weakneſſes and Defects in the Underſtanding, either from the natural Temper of the Mind, or ill Habits taken up, which hinder it in its Progreſs to Knowledge. Of theſe there are as many poſſibly to be found, if the Mind were thoroughly ſtudy'd, as there are Diſeaſes of the Body, each whereof clogs and diſables the Underſtanding to ſome degree, and therefore deſerve to be look'd after and cur'd. I ſhall ſet down ſome few to excite Men, eſpecially thoſe who make Knowledge their Buſineſs, to look into themſelves, and obſerve whether they do not indulge ſome Weakneſs, allow ſome Miſcarriages in the Management of their intellectual Faculty, which is prejudicial to them in the Search of Truth.

Obſervation. §. 13. Particular Matters of Fact are the undoubted Foundations on which our civil and natural Knowledge is built: The Benefit the Underſtanding makes of them is to draw from them Concluſions, which may be as ſtanding Rules of Knowledge, and conſequently of Practice. The Mind often makes not that Benefit it ſhould of the Information it receives from the Accounts of Civil or Natural Hiſtorians, in being too forward, or too ſlow in making Obſervations on the particular Facts recorded in them.

There are thoſe who are very aſſiduous in reading, and yet do not much advance their Knowledge by it. They are delighted with the Stories that are told, and perhaps can tell them again, for they make all they read nothing but Hiſtory to themſelves; but not reflecting on it, not making to themſelves Obſervations from what they read, they are very little improv'd by all that Croud of Particulars, that either paſs through, or lodge themſelves in their Underſtandings. They dream-on in a conſtant Courſe of reading and cramping themſelves, but, not digeſting any thing, it produces nothing but an heap of Crudities.

If their Memories retain well, one may ſay they have the Materials of Knowledge, but like thoſe for Building, they are of no Advantage, if there be no other Uſe made of them but to let them lie heaped up together. Oppoſite to theſe, there are others who loſe the Improvement they ſhould make of Matters of Fact by a quite contrary Conduct. They are apt to draw general Concluſions, and raiſe Axioms from every Particular they meet with. Theſe make as little true Benefit of Hiſtory as the other; nay, being of forward and active Spirits receive more harm by it; it being of worſe Conſequence to ſteer one's Thoughts by a wrong Rule, than to have none at all, Error doing to buſy Men much more Harm, than Ignorance to the ſlow and ſluggiſh. Between theſe, thoſe ſeem to do beſt, who taking material and uſeful Hints ſometimes from ſingle Matters of Fact, carry them in their Minds to be judg'd of, by what they ſhall find in Hiſtory to confirm or reverſe theſe imperfect Obſervations; which may be eſtabliſh'd into Rules fit to be rely'd on, when they are juſtify'd by a ſufficient and wary Induction

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of Particulars. He that makes no ſuch Reflections on what he reads, only loads his Mind with a Rapſody of Tales fit in Winter-Nights for the Entertainment of others; and he that will improve every Matter of Fact into a Maxim, will abound in contrary Obſervations, that can be of no other Uſe but to perplex and pudder him if he compares them; or elſe to miſguide him, if he gives himſelf up to the Authority of that, which for its Novelty, or for ſome other Fancy, beſt pleaſes him. *Obſervations.*

§. 13. Next to theſe we may place thoſe, who ſuffer their own natural Tempers and Paſſions they are poſſeſs'd with to influence their Judgments, eſpecially of Men and Things that may any way relate to their preſent Circumſtances and Intereſt. Truth is all ſimple, all pure, will bear no Mixture of any thing elſe with it. 'Tis rigid and inflexible to any bye Intereſts; and ſo ſhould the Underſtanding be, whoſe Uſe and Excellency lies in conforming it ſelf to it. To think of every thing juſt as it is in it ſelf, is the proper Buſineſs of the Underſtanding, though it be not that which Men always imploy it to. This all Men, at firſt hearing, allow is the right Uſe every one ſhould make of his Underſtanding. No body will be at ſuch an open Defiance with common Senſe, as to profeſs that we ſhould not endeavour to know, and think of things as they are in themſelves, and yet there is nothing more frequent than to do the contrary; and Men are apt to excuſe themſelves, and think they have Reaſon to do ſo, if they have but a Pretence that it is for God, or a good Cauſe, that is, in effect for Themſelves, their own Perſuaſion, or Party: For to thoſe in their turns the ſeveral Sects of Men, eſpecially in Matters of Religion, entitle God and a good Cauſe. But God requires not Men to wrong or miſuſe their Faculties for him, nor to lie to others or themſelves for his Sake; which they purpoſely do, who will not ſuffer their Underſtandings to have right Conceptions of the things propoſed to them, and deſignedly reſtrain themſelves from having juſt Thoughts of every thing, as far as they are concern'd to enquire. And as for a good Cauſe, that needs not ſuch ill Helps; if it be good, Truth will ſupport it, and it has no need of Fallacy or Falſhood. *Byaſs.*

§. 14. Very much of kin to this, is the hunting after Arguments to make good one ſide of a Queſtion, and wholly to neglect and refuſe thoſe which favour the other ſide. What is this but wilfully to miſguide the Underſtanding, and is ſo far from giving Truth its due Value, that it wholly debaſes it: Eſpouſe Opinions that beſt comport with their Power, Profit, or Credit, and then ſeek Arguments to ſupport them? Truth light upon this way, is of no more avail to us than Error; for what is ſo taken up by us, may be falſe as well as true, and he has not done his Duty who has thus ſtumbled upon Truth in his way to Preferment. *Arguments.*

There is another, but more innocent way of collecting Arguments, very familiar among Bookiſh Men, which is to furniſh themſelves with the Arguments they meet with Pro and Con in the Queſtions they ſtudy. This helps them not to judge right, nor argue ſtrongly, but only to talk copiouſly on either ſide, without being ſteady and ſettled in their own Judgments: For ſuch Arguments gather'd from other Men's Thoughts, floating only in the Memory, are there ready indeed to ſupply copious Talk with ſome appearance of Reaſon, but are far from helping us to judge right. Such Variety of Arguments only diſtract the Underſtanding that relies on them, unleſs it has gone farther than ſuch a ſuperficial way of Examining; this is to quit Truth for Appearance, only to ſerve our Vanity. The ſure and only way to get true Knowledge, is to form in our Minds clear ſettled Notions of Things, with Names annex'd to thoſe determin'd Ideas. Theſe we are to conſider, and with their ſeveral Relations and Habitudes, and not amuſe our ſelves with floating Names, and Words of indetermined Signification, which we can uſe in ſeveral Senſes to ſerve a Turn. 'Tis in the Perception of the Habitudes and Reſpects our Ideas have one to another, that real Knowledge conſiſts; and when a Man once perceives how far they agree or diſagree one with another, he will be able to judge of what other People ſay, and will not need to be led by the Arguments of others, which are many of them no-

Arguments. thing but plauſible Sophiſtry. This will teach him to ſtate the Queſtion right, and ſee whereon it turns; and thus he will ſtand upon his own Legs, and know by his own Underſtanding. Whereas by collecting and learning Arguments by heart, he will be but a Retainer to others; and when any one queſtions the Foundations they are built upon, he will be at a Nonplus, and be fain to give up his implicit Knowledge.

Haſte. §. 15. Labour for Labour-ſake is againſt Nature. The Underſtanding, as well as all the other Faculties, chooſes always the ſhorteſt way to its End, would preſently obtain the Knowledge it is about, and then ſet upon ſome new Enquiry. But this, whether Lazineſs or Haſte often miſleads it, and makes it content it ſelf with improper ways of Search, and ſuch as will not ſerve the Turn: Sometimes it reſts upon Teſtimony, when Teſtimony of right has nothing to do, becauſe it is eaſier to believe than to be ſcientifically inſtructed: Sometimes it contents it ſelf with one Argument, and reſts ſatisfied with that, as it were a Demonſtration; whereas the Thing under Proof is not capable of Demonſtration, and therefore muſt be ſubmitted to the Trial of Probabilities, and all the material Arguments Pro and Con be examined and brought to a Balance. In ſome Caſes the Mind is determin'd by probable Topicks in Enquiries, where Demonſtration may be had. All theſe and ſeveral others, which Lazineſs, Impatience, Cuſtom, and Want of Uſe and Attention lead Men into, are Miſapplications of the Underſtanding in the Search of Truth. In every Queſtion the Nature and Manner of the Proof it is capable of ſhould be conſider'd, to make our Enquiry ſuch as it ſhould be. This would ſave a great deal of frequently imploy'd Pains, and lead us ſooner to that Diſcovery and Poſſeſſion of Truth we are capable of. The multiplying Variety of Arguments, eſpecially frivolous ones, ſuch as are all that are meerly Verbal, is not only loſt Labour, but cumbers the Memory to no purpoſe, and ſerves only to hinder it from ſeizing and holding of the Truth in all thoſe Caſes which are capable of Demonſtration. In ſuch a way of Proof the Truth and Certainty is ſeen, and the Mind fully poſſeſſes it ſelf of it; when in the other way of Aſſent it only hovers about it, is amuſed with Uncertainties. In this ſuperficial Way indeed the Mind is capable of more variety of plauſible Talk, but is not inlarged as it ſhould be in its Knowledge. 'Tis to this ſame Haſte and Impatience of the Mind alſo, that a not due Tracing of the Arguments to their true Foundation, is owing; Men ſee a little, preſume a great deal, and ſo jump to the Concluſion. This is a ſhort way to Fancy and Conceit, and (if firmly imbrac'd) to Opiniatrey, but is certainly the fartheſt way about to Knowledge. For he that will know, muſt by the Connexion of the Proofs ſee the Truth, and the Ground it ſtands on; and therefore, if he has for haſte skipt over what he ſhould have examin'd, he muſt begin and go over all again, or elſe he will never come to Knowledge.

Deſultory. §. 16. Another Fault of as ill Conſequence as this, which proceeds alſo from Lazineſs with a mixture of Vanity, is the skipping from one ſort of Knowledge to another. Some Men's Tempers are quickly weary of any one Thing. Conſtancy and Aſſiduity is what they cannot bear: The ſame Study long continu'd in, is as intolerable to them, as the appearing long in the ſame Cloths or Faſhion is to a Court-Lady.

Smattering. §. 17. Others, that they may ſeem univerſally Knowing, get a little ſmattering in every Thing. Both theſe may fill their Heads with ſuperficial Notions of Things, but are very much out of the way of attaining Truth or Knowledge.

Univerſality. §. 18. I do not here ſpeak againſt the taking a Taſte of every ſort of Knowledge; it is certainly very uſeful and neceſſary to form the Mind, but then it muſt be done in a different Way, and to a different End. Not for Talk and Vanity to fill the Head with Shreds of all Kinds, that he who is poſſeſs'd of ſuch a Frippery, may be able to match the Diſcourſes of all he ſhall meet with, as if nothing could come amiſs to him; and his Head was ſo well ſtor'd a Magazine, that nothing could be propos'd which he was not Maſter of, and was readily furniſh'd to entertain any one on. This is an Excellency indeed, and a great one too, to have a real and true Knowledge in all, or moſt

moſt of the Objects of Contemplation. But 'tis what the Mind of one and the ſame Man can hardly attain unto; and the Inſtances are ſo few of thoſe who have in any Meaſure approach'd towards it, that I know not whether they are to be propos'd as Examples in the ordinary Conduct of the Underſtanding. For a Man to underſtand fully the Buſineſs of his particular Calling in the Common-wealth, and of Religion, which is his Calling as he is a Man in the World, is uſually enough to take up his whole Time; and there are few that inform themſelves in theſe, which is every Man's proper and peculiar Buſineſs, ſo to the Bottom as they ſhould do. But though this be ſo, and there are very few Men that extend their Thoughts towards univerſal Knowledge; yet I do not doubt, but if the right Way were taken, and the Methods of Enquiry were order'd as they ſhould be, Men of little Buſineſs and great Leiſure might go a great deal farther in it than is uſually done. To return to the Buſineſs in Hand, the End and Uſe of a little Inſight in thoſe Parts of Knowledge, which are not a Man's proper Buſineſs, is to accuſtom our Minds to all ſorts of Ideas, and the proper ways of examining their Habitudes and Relations. This gives the Mind a Freedom, and the exerciſing the Underſtanding in the ſeveral ways of Enquiry and Reaſoning, which the moſt Skilful have made uſe of, teaches the Mind Sagacity and Warineſs, and a Suppleneſs to apply it ſelf more cloſely and dexterouſly to the Bents and Turns of the Matter in all its Reſearches. Beſides this univerſal Taſte of all the Sciences, with an Indifferency before the Mind is poſſeſs'd with any one in particular, and grown into Love and Admiration of what is made its Darling, will prevent another Evil very commonly to be obſerv'd in thoſe who have from the beginning been ſeaſon'd only by one part of Knowledge. Let a Man be given up to the Contemplation of one ſort of Knowledge, and that will become every thing. The Mind, that will take ſuch a Tincture from a Familiarity with that Object, that every thing elſe, how remote ſoever, will be brought under the ſame View. A Metaphyſician will bring Plowing and Gardening immediately to abſtract Notions, the Hiſtory of Nature ſhall ſignify nothing to him. An Alchymiſt, on the contrary, ſhall reduce Divinity to the Maxims of his Laboratory, explain Morality by *Sal*, *Sulphur* and *Mercury*, and allegorize the Scripture it ſelf, and the ſacred Myſteries thereof, into the Philoſopher's Stone. And I heard once a Man, who had a more than ordinary Excellency in Muſick, ſeriouſly accommodate *Moſes*'s ſeven Days of the firſt Week to the Notes of Muſick, as if from thence had been taken the meaſure and method of the Creation. 'Tis of no ſmall Conſequence to keep the Mind from ſuch a Poſſeſſion, which I think is beſt done by giving it a fair and equal View of the whole intellectual World, wherein it may ſee the Order, Rank, and Beauty of the Whole, and give a juſt Allowance to the diſtinct Provinces of the ſeveral Sciences in the due Order and Uſefulneſs of each of them. *Univerſality.*

If this be that which old Men will not think neceſſary, nor be eaſily brought to; 'tis fit at leaſt that it ſhould be practiſed in the breeding of the Young. The Buſiueſs of Education, as I have already obſerv'd, is not, as I think, to make them perfect in any one of the Sciences, but ſo to open and diſpoſe their Minds as may beſt make them capable of any, when they ſhall apply themſelves to it. If Men are for a long time accuſtom'd only to one ſort or method of Thoughts, their Minds grow ſtiff in it, and do not readily turn to another. 'Tis therefore to give them this Freedom, that I think they ſhould be made look into all ſorts of Knowledge, and exerciſe their Underſtandings in ſo wide a Variety and Stock of Knowledge. But I do not propoſe it as a Variety and Stock of Knowledge, but a Variety and Freedom of Thinking, as an Increaſe of the Powers and Activity of the Mind, not as an Enlargement of its Poſſeſſions.

§. 19. This is that which I think great Readers are apt to be miſtaken in. Thoſe who have read of every Thing, are thought to underſtand every thing too; but it is not always ſo. Reading furniſhes the Mind only with Materials of Knowledge, 'tis Thinking makes what we read our's. We are of the ruminating Kind, and 'tis not enough to cram our ſelves with a great Load of Collections; unleſs we chew them over again, they will not give us *Reading.*

Strength

Reading. Strength and Nouriſhment. There are indeed in ſome Writers viſible Inſtances of deep Thoughts, cloſe and acute Reaſoning, and Ideas well purſued. The Light theſe would give would be of great Uſe, if their Reader would obſerve and imitate them; all the reſt at beſt are but Particulars fit to be turn'd into Knowledge; but that can be done only by our own Meditation, and examining the Reach, Force and Coherence of what is ſaid; and then as far as we apprehend and ſee the Connexion of Ideas, ſo far it is our's; without that, it is but ſo much looſe Matter floating in our Brain. The Memory may be ſtor'd, but the Judgment is little better, and the Stock of Knowledge not increaſed by being able to repeat what others have ſaid, or produce the Arguments we have found in them. Such a Knowledge as this, is but Knowledge by hear-ſay, and the Oſtentation of it, is at beſt but talking by Roat, and very often upon weak and wrong Principles. For all that is to be found in Books, is not built upon true Foundations, nor always rightly deduc'd from the Principles it is pretended to be built on. Such an Examen as is requiſite to diſcover that, every Reader's Mind is not forward to make; eſpecially in thoſe who have given themſelves up to a Party, and only hunt for what they can ſcrape together, that may favour and ſupport the Tenets of it. Such Men wilfully exclude themſelves from Truth, and from all true Benefit to be received by Reading. Others of more Indifferency often want Attention and Induſtry. The Mind is backward in it ſelf to be at the pains to trace every Argument to its Original, and to ſee upon what Baſis it ſtands, and how firmly; but yet it is this that gives ſo much the Advantage to one Man more than another in Reading. The Mind ſhould, by ſevere Rules, be ty'd down to this at firſt uneaſy Task; Uſe and Exerciſe will give it Facility. So that thoſe who are accuſtom'd to it, readily, as it were with one caſt of the Eye, take a View of the Argument, and preſently, in moſt caſes, ſee where it bottoms. Thoſe who have got this Faculty, one may ſay, have got the true Key of Books, and the Clue to lead them, through the Mizmaze of Variety of Opinions and Authors, to Truth and Certainty. This young Beginners ſhould be enter'd in, and ſhew'd the Uſe of, that they might profit by their Reading. Thoſe who are Strangers to it, will be apt to think it too great a Clog in the way of Men's Studies, and they will ſuſpect they ſhall make but ſmall Progreſs, if, in the Books they read, they muſt ſtand to examine and unravel every Argument, and follow it ſtep by ſtep up to its Original.

I anſwer, this is a good Objection, and ought to weigh with thoſe whoſe Reading is deſign'd for much Talk and little Knowledge, and I have nothing to ſay to it. But I am here enquiring into the Conduct of the Underſtanding in its Progreſs towards Knowledge; and to thoſe who aim at that, I may ſay, that he, who fair and ſoftly goes ſteadily forward in a Courſe that points right, will ſooner be at his Journey's-end, than he that runs after every one he meets, though he gallop all Day full-ſpeed.

To which let me add, that this way of thinking on, and profiting by, what we read, will be a Clog and Rub to any one only in the Beginning; when Cuſtom and Exerciſe has made it familiar, it will be diſpatch'd in moſt Occaſions, without Reſting or Interruption in the courſe of our Reading. The Motions and Views of a Mind exercis'd that way, are wonderfully quick; and a Man uſed to ſuch ſort of Reflections, ſees as much at one glimpſe as would require a long Diſcourſe to lay before another, and make out in an entire and gradual Deduction. Beſides, that when the firſt Difficulties are over, the Delight and ſenſible Advantage it brings, mightily encourages and enlivens the Mind in Reading, which without this is very improperly called Study.

Intermediate Principles. §. 20. As an Help to this, I think it may be propoſed, that for the ſaving the long Progreſſion of the Thoughts to remote and firſt Principles in every caſe, the Mind ſhould provide it ſeveral Stages; that is to ſay, intermediate Principles, which it might have recourſe to in the examining thoſe Poſitions that come in its way. Theſe, though they are not ſelf-evident Principles, yet if they have been made out from them by a wary and unqueſtionable Deduction, may be depended on as certain and infallible Truths, and ſerve as unque-

unqueſtionable Truths to prove other Points depending on them by a nearer and ſhorter View than remote and general Maxims. Theſe may ſerve as Land-marks to ſhew what lies in the direct way of Truth, or is quite beſides it. And thus Mathematicians do, who do not in every new Problem run it back to the firſt Axioms, through all the whole Train of intermediate Propoſitions. Certain Theorems, that they have ſettled to themſelves upon ſure Demonſtration, ſerve to reſolve to them multitudes of Propoſitions which depend on them, and are as firmly made out from thence, as if the Mind went afreſh over every Link of the whole Chain that tie them to firſt ſelf-evident Principles. Only in other Sciences great Care is to be taken that they eſtabliſh thoſe intermediate Principles with as much Caution, Exactneſs and Indifferency, as Mathematicians uſe in the ſettling any of their great Theorems. When this is not done, but Men take up the Principles in this or that Science upon Credit, Inclination, Intereſt, *&c.* in Haſte, without due Examination, and moſt unqueſtionable Proof, they lay a Trap for themſelves, and as much as in them lies captivate their Underſtandings to Miſtake, Falſhood and Error. *Intermediate Principles.*

§. 21. As there is a Partiality to Opinions, which, as we have already obſerv'd, is apt to miſlead the Underſtanding; ſo there is often a Partiality to Studies, which is prejudicial alſo to Knowledge and Improvement. Thoſe Sciences which Men are particularly vers'd in, they are apt to value and extol, as if that Part of Knowledge, which every one has acquainted himſelf with, were that alone which was worth the having, and all the reſt were idle, and empty Amuſements, comparatively of no Uſe or Importance. This is the Effect of Ignorance and not Knowledge, the being vainly puffed up with a Flatulency, ariſing from a weak and narrow Comprehenſion. 'Tis not amiſs that every one ſhould reliſh the Science that he has made his peculiar Study; a View of its Beauties, and a Senſe of its Uſefulneſs, carries a Man on with the more Delight and Warmth in the Purſuit and Improvement of it. But the Contempt of all other Knowledge, as if it were nothing in compariſon of Law or Phyſick, of Aſtronomy or Chymiſtry, or perhaps ſome yet meaner Part of Knowledge, wherein I have got ſome ſmattering, or am ſomewhat advanced, is not only the Mark of a vain or little Mind; but does this Prejudice in the Conduct of the Underſtanding, that it coops it up within narrow Bounds, and hinders it from looking abroad into other Provinces of the intellectual World, more beautiful poſſibly, and more fruitful than that which it had till then labour'd in; wherein it might find, beſides new Knowledge, Ways or Hints whereby it might be inabled the better to cultivate its own. *Partiality.*

§. 22. There is indeed one Science (as they are now diſtinguiſh'd) incomparably above all the reſt, where it is not by Corruption narrow'd into a Trade or Faction, for mean or ill Ends, and ſecular Intereſts; I mean Theology, which, containing the Knowledge of God and his Creatures, our Duty to him and our fellow Creatures, and a View of our preſent and future State, is the Comprehenſion of all other Knowledge directed to its true End; *i. e.* the Honour and Veneration of the Creator, and the Happineſs of Mankind. This is that noble Study which is every Man's Duty, and every one that can be call'd a rational Creature is capable of. The Works of Nature, and the Words of Revelation, diſplay it to Mankind in Characters ſo large and viſible, that thoſe who are not quite blind may in them read, and ſee the firſt Principles and moſt neceſſary Parts of it; and from thence, as they have Time and Induſtry, may be inabled to go on to the more abſtruſe Parts of it, and penetrate into thoſe infinite Depths fill'd with the Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge. This is that Science which would truly enlarge Men's Minds, were it ſtudy'd, or permitted to be ſtudy'd every where with that Freedom, Love of Truth and Charity which it teaches, and were not made, contrary to its Nature, the occaſion of Strife, Faction, Malignity, and narrow Impoſitions. I ſhall ſay no more here of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong Uſe of my Underſtanding, to make it the Rule and Meaſure of another Man's; a Uſe which it is neither fit for, nor capable of. *Theology.*

§. 23. This

Partiality. §. 23. This Partiality, where it is not permitted an Authority to render all other Studies inſignificant or contemptible, is often indulg'd ſo far as to be rely'd upon, and made uſe of in other parts of Knowledge, to which it does not at all belong, and wherewith it has no manner of Affinity. Some Men have ſo uſed their Heads to Mathematical Figures; that, giving a Preference to the Methods of that Science, they introduce Lines and Diagrams into their Study of Divinity, or Politick Enquiries, as if nothing could be known without them; and others, accuſtom'd to retir'd Speculations, run Natural Philoſophy into Metaphyſical Notions, and the abſtract Generalities of Logick; and how often may one meet with Religion and Morality treated of in the Terms of the Laboratory, and thought to be improv'd by the Methods and Notions of Chymiſtry? But he, that will take care of the conduct of his Underſtanding to direct it right to the Knowledge of Things, muſt avoid thoſe undue Mixtures, and not, by a Fondneſs for what he has found uſeful and neceſſary in one, transfer it to another Science, where it ſerves only to perplex and confound the Underſtanding. It is a certain Truth, that *res nolunt malè adminiſtrari*, 'tis no leſs certain *res nolunt malè intelligi*. Things themſelves are to be conſider'd as they are in themſelves, and then they will ſhew us in what way they are to be underſtood. For to have right Conceptions about them, we muſt bring our Underſtandings to the inflexible Natures, and unalterable Relations of things, and not endeavour to bring things to any preconceiv'd Notions of our own.

There is another Partiality very commonly obſervable in Men of Study, no leſs prejudicial nor ridiculous than the former; and that is a fantaſtical and wild-attributing all Knowledge to the Ancients alone, or to the Moderns. This raving upon Antiquity in Matter of Poetry, *Horace* has wittily deſcrib'd and expos'd in one of his Satyrs. The ſame ſort of Madneſs may be found in reference to all the other Sciences. Some will not admit an Opinion not Authoriz'd by Men of Old, who were then all Giants in Knowledge. Nothing is to be put into the Treaſury of Truth or Knowledge, which has not the Stamp of *Greece* or *Rome* upon it; and, ſince their Days, will ſcarce allow that Men have been able to ſee, think or write. Others with a like Extravagancy, contemn all that the Ancients have left us, and being taken with the Modern Inventions and Diſcoveries, lay by all that went before, as if whatever is called old muſt have the Decay of Time upon it, and Truth too were liable to Mould and Rottenneſs. Men, I think, have been much the ſame for natural Indowments in all Times. Faſhion, Diſcipline and Education, have put eminent Differences in the Ages of ſeveral Countries, and made one Generation much differ from another in Arts and Sciences: But Truth is always the ſame; Time alters it not, nor is it the better or worſe for being of antient or modern Tradition. Many were eminent in former Ages of the World for their Diſcovery and Delivery of it; but though the Knowledge they have left us be worth our Study; yet they exhauſted not all its Treaſure; they left a great deal for the Induſtry and Sagacity of after-Ages, and ſo ſhall we. That was once new to them, which any one now receives with Veneration for its Antiquity, nor was it the worſe for appearing as a Novelty; and that which is now embrac'd for its Newneſs, will to Poſterity be old, but not thereby be leſs true or leſs genuine. There is no occaſion on this account to oppoſe the Ancients and the Moderns to one another, or to be ſqueamiſh on either ſide. He, that wiſely conducts his Mind in the Purſuit of Knowledge, will gather what Lights, and get what Helps he can from either of them, from whom they are beſt to be had, without adoring the Errors, or rejecting the Truths, which he may find mingled in them.

Another Partiality may be obſerv'd, in ſome to vulgar, in others, to heterodox Tenets: Some are apt to conclude, that what is the common Opinion cannot but be true; ſo many Men's Eyes they think cannot but ſee right; ſo many Men's Underſtandings of all ſorts cannot be deceiv'd, and therefore will not venture to look beyond the receiv'd Notions of the Place and Age, nor have ſo preſumptuous a Thought as to be wiſer than their Neigh-

Neighbours. They are content to go with the Crowd, and ſo go eaſily, which they think is going right, or at leaſt ſerves them as well. But however *vox Populi vox Dei* has prevail'd as a Maxim; yet I do not remember wherever God deliver'd his Oracles by the Multitude, or Nature Truths by the Herd. On the other ſide, ſome fly all common Opinions as either falſe or frivolous. The Title of many-headed Beaſt is a ſufficient Reaſon to them to conclude, that no Truths of Weight or Conſequence can be lodg'd there. Vulgar Opinions are ſuited to vulgar Capacities, and adapted to the Ends of thoſe that govern. He that will know the Truth of Things, muſt leave the common and beaten Track, which none but weak and ſervile Minds are ſatisfy'd to trudge along continually in. Such nice Palates reliſh nothing but ſtrange Notions quite out of the way: Whatever is commonly receiv'd, has the Mark of the Beaſt on it; and they think it a leſſening to them to hearken to it, or receive it; their Mind runs only after Paradoxes; theſe they ſeek, theſe they embrace, theſe alone they vent, and ſo, as they think, diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Vulgar. But common or uncommon are not the Marks to diſtinguiſh Truth or Falſhood, and therefore ſhould not be any Byaſs to us in our Enquiries. We ſhould not judge of Things by Men's Opinions, but of Opinions by Things. The Multitude reaſon but ill, and therefore may be well ſuſpected, and cannot be rely'd on, nor ſhould be follow'd as a ſure Guide; but Philoſophers, who have quitted the Orthodoxy of the Community, and the popular Doctrines of their Countries, have fallen into as extravagant and as abſurd Opinions as ever common Reception countenanced. 'Twould be Madneſs to refuſe to breathe the common Air, or quench one's Thirſt with Water, becauſe the Rabble uſe them to theſe Purpoſes; and if there are Conveniencies of Life which common Uſe reaches not, 'tis not reaſon to reject them, becauſe they are not grown into the ordinary Faſhion of the Country, and every Villager doth not know them. *Partiality.*

Truth, whether in or out of Faſhion, is the Meaſure of Knowledge, and the Buſineſs of the Underſtanding; whatſoever is beſides that, however authoriz'd by Conſent, or recommended by Rarity, is nothing but Ignorance, or ſomething worſe.

Another ſort of Partiality there is, whereby Men impoſe upon themſelves, and by it make their Reading little uſeful to themſelves; I mean the making uſe of the Opinions of Writers, and laying Streſs upon their Authorities, wherever they find them to favour their own Opinions.

There is nothing almoſt has done more Harm to Men dedicated to Letters, than giving the Name of Study to Reading, and making a Man of great Reading to be the ſame with a Man of great Knowledge, or at leaſt to be a Title of Honour. All that can be recorded in Writing, are only Facts or Reaſonings. Facts are of three ſorts;

1. Meerly of natural Agents, obſervable in the ordinary Operations of Bodies one upon another, whether in the viſible Courſe of things left to themſelves, or in Experiments made by Men, applying Agents and Patients to one another after a peculiar and artificial manner.

2. Of voluntary Agents, more eſpecially the Actions of Men in Society, which makes Civil and Moral Hiſtory.

3. Of Opinions.

In theſe three conſiſts, as it ſeems to me, that which commonly has the Name of Learning; to which perhaps ſome may add a diſtinct Head of Critical Writings, which indeed at Bottom is nothing but Matter of Fact, and reſolves it ſelf into this, that ſuch a Man, or Set of Men, uſed ſuch a Word or Phraſe in ſuch a Senſe, *i. e.* that they made ſuch Sounds the Marks of ſuch Ideas.

Under Reaſonings I comprehend all the Diſcoveries of general Truths made by human Reaſon, whether found by Intuition, Demonſtration, or probable Deductions. And this is that which is, if not alone Knowledge, (becauſe the Truth or Probability of particular Propoſitions may be known too) yet is, as may be ſuppos'd, moſt properly the Buſineſs of thoſe who pretend to improve their Underſtandings, and make themſelves knowing by Reading.

Partiality. Books and Reading are look'd upon to be the great Helps of the Underſtanding, and Inſtruments of Knowledge, as it muſt be allowed that they are; and yet I beg leave to queſtion whether theſe do not prove an Hindrance to many, and keep ſeveral bookiſh Men from attaining to ſolid and true Knowledge. This, I think, I may be permitted to ſay, that there is no part wherein the Underſtanding needs a more careful and wary Conduct, than in the uſe of Books; without which they will prove rather innocent Amuſements than profitable Imployments of our Time, and bring but ſmall additions to our Knowledge.

There is not ſeldom to be found even amongſt thoſe who aim at Knowledge, who with an unwearied Induſtry imploy their whole Time in Books, who ſcarce allow themſelves time to eat or ſleep, but read, and read, and read on, but yet make no great Advances in real Knowledge, tho' there be no Defect in their intellectual Faculties, to which their little Progreſs can be imputed. The Miſtake here is, that it is uſually ſuppos'd, that by reading, the Author's Knowledge is transfus'd into the Reader's Underſtanding; and ſo it is, but not by bare reading, but by reading and underſtanding what he writ. Whereby I mean, not barely comprehending what is affirmed or denied in each Propoſition (though that great Readers do not always think themſelves concern'd preciſely to do) but to ſee and follow the Train of his Reaſonings, obſerve the Strength and Clearneſs of their Connection, and examine upon what they bottom. Without this a Man may read the Diſcourſes of a very rational Author, writ in a Language, and in Propoſitions that he very well underſtands, and yet acquire not one Jot of his Knowledge; which conſiſting only in the perceived, certain, or probable Connection of the Ideas made uſe of in his Reaſonings, the Reader's Knowledge is no farther encreaſed than he perceives that; ſo much as he ſees of this Connection, ſo much he knows of the Truth or Probability of that Author's Opinions.

All that he relies on without this Perception, he takes upon Truſt upon the Author's Credit, without any knowledge of it at all. This makes me not at all wonder to ſee ſome Men ſo abound in Citations, and build ſo much upon Authorities, it being the ſole Foundation on which they bottom moſt of their own Tenets; ſo that in Effect they have but a ſecond Hand, or implicit Knowledge, *i. e.* are in the Right if ſuch an one, from whom they borrow'd it, were in the Right in that Opinion which they took from him, which indeed is no Knowledge at all. Writers of this or former Ages may be good Witneſſes of Matters of Fact which they deliver, which we may do well to take upon their Authority; but their Credit can go no farther than this, it cannot at all affect the Truth and Falſhood of Opinions, which have no other ſort of Trial but Reaſon and Proof, which they themſelves made uſe of to make themſelves knowing, and ſo muſt others too that will partake in their Knowledge. Indeed 'tis an Advantage that they have been at the Pains to find out the Proofs, and lay them in that order that may ſhew the Truth or Probability of their Concluſions; and for this we owe them great Acknowledgements for ſaving us the Pains in ſearching out thoſe Proofs which they have collected for us, and which poſſibly, after all our Pains, we might not have found, nor been able to have ſet them in ſo good a Light as that which they left them us in. Upon this Account we are mightily beholden to judicious Writers of all Ages, for thoſe Diſcoveries and Diſcourſes they have left behind them for our Inſtruction, if we know how to make a right Uſe of them; which is not to run them over in an haſty Peruſal, and perhaps lodge their Opinions, or ſome remarkable Paſſages in our Memories; but to enter into their Reaſonings, examine their Proofs, and then judge of the Truth or Falſhood, Probability or Improbability of what they advance; not by any Opinion we have entertain'd of the Author, but by the Evidence he produces, and the Conviction he affords us, drawn from things themſelves. Knowing is Seeing, and if it be ſo, it is Madneſs to perſuade our ſelves that we do ſo by another Man's Eyes, let him uſe ever ſo many Words to tell us, that what he aſſerts is very viſible. Till we our ſelves ſee it with our own Eyes, and perceive it by our own Underſtandings,

ings, we are as much in the Dark, and as void of Knowledge as before, let *Partiality* us believe any learned Author as much as we will.

Euclid and *Archimedes* are allowed to be knowing, and to have demonſtrated what they ſay; and yet whoever ſhall read over their Writings without perceiving the Connection of their Proofs, and ſeeing what they ſhew, though he may underſtand all their Words, yet he is not the more knowing: He may believe indeed, but does not know what they ſay, and ſo is not advanced one jot in Mathematical Knowledge by all his reading of thoſe approv'd Mathematicians.

§. 24. The Eagerneſs and ſtrong Bent of the Mind after Knowledge, if not *Haſte.* warily regulated, is often an Hindrance to it. It ſtill preſſes into farther Diſcoveries and new Objects, and catches at the variety of Knowledge, and therefore often ſtays not long enough on what is before it, to look into it as it ſhould, for Haſte to purſue what is yet out of Sight. He that rides Poſt through a Country, may be able, from the tranſient View, to tell how in general the Parts lie, and may be able to give ſome looſe Deſcription of here a Mountain, and there a Plain, here a Moraſs, and there a River; Woodland in one part, and Savanas in another. Such ſuperficial Ideas and Obſervations as theſe he may collect in Galloping over it: But the more uſeful Obſervations of the Soil, Plants, Animals and Inhabitants, with their ſeveral Sorts and Properties, muſt neceſſarily 'ſcape him; and 'tis ſeldom Men ever diſcover the rich Mines, without ſome digging. Nature commonly lodges her Treaſure and Jewels in Rocky Ground. If the Matter be knotty, and the Senſe lies deep, the Mind muſt ſtop and buckle to it, and ſtick upon it with Labour and Thought, and cloſe Contemplation, and not leave it till it has maſter'd the Difficulty, and got poſſeſſion of Truth. But here Care muſt be taken to avoid the other Extream: A Man muſt not ſtick at every uſeleſs Nicety, and expect Myſteries of Science in every trivial Queſtion or Scruple that he may raiſe. He that will ſtand to pick up and examine every Pebbie that comes in his way, is as unlikely to return inrich'd and loaden with Jewels, as the other that travell'd full-ſpeed. Truths are not the better nor the worſe for their Obviouſneſs or Difficulty, but their Value is to be meaſur'd by their Uſefulneſs and Tendency. Inſignificant Obſervations ſhould not take up any of our Minutes, and thoſe that enlarge our View, and give Light towards farther and uſeful Diſcoveries, ſhould not be neglected, though they ſtop our Courſe, and ſpend ſome of our Time in a fix'd Attention.

There is another Haſte that does often, and will miſlead the Mind if it be left to its ſelf, and its own Conduct. The Underſtanding is naturally forward, not only to learn its Knowledge by Variety (which makes it skip over one to get ſpeedily to another part of Knowledge) but alſo eager to enlarge its Views, by running too faſt into general Obſervations and Concluſions, without a due Examination of Particulars enough whereon to found thoſe general Axioms. This ſeems to enlarge their Stock, but 'tis of Fanſies not Realities; ſuch Theories built upon narrow Foundations ſtand but weakly, and, if they fall not of themſelves, are at leaſt very hardly to be ſupported againſt the Aſſaults of Oppoſition. And thus Men being too haſty to erect to themſelves general Notions and ill-grounded Theories, find themſelves deceiv'd in their Stock of Knowledge, when they come to examine their haſtily aſſum'd Maxims themſelves, or to have them attack'd by others. General Obſervations drawn from Particulars, are the Jewels of Knowledge, comprehending great Store in a little Room; but they are therefore to be made with the greater Care and Caution, leſt if we take Counterfeit for True, our Loſs and Shame be the greater when our Stock comes to a ſevere Scrutiny. One or two Particulars may ſuggeſt Hints of Enquiry, and they do well to take thoſe Hints; but if they turn them into Concluſions, and make them preſently general Rules, they are forward indeed, but it is only to impoſe on themſelves by Propoſitions aſſum'd for Truths without ſufficient Warrant. To make ſuch Obſervations, is, as has been already remark'd, to make the Head a Magazine of Materials, which can hardly be call'd Knowledge, or at leaſt 'tis but like a Collection of Lumber not reduc'd

Haſte. to Uſe or Order; and he that makes every thing an Obſervation, has the ſame uſeleſs Plenty and much more Falſhood mix'd with it. The Extreams on both ſides are to be avoided, and he will be able to give the beſt Account of his Studies who keeps his Underſtanding in the right Mean between them.

Anticipation. §. 25. Whether it be a Love of that which brings the firſt Light and Information to their Minds, and want of Vigour and Induſtry to enquire, or elſe that Men content themſelves with any appearance of Knowledge, right or wrong: which, when they have once got, they will hold faſt: This is viſible, that many Men give themſelves up to the firſt Anticipations of their Minds, and are very tenacious of the Opinions that firſt poſſeſs them; they are often as fond of their firſt Conceptions as of their firſt Born, and will by no Means recede from the Judgment they have once made, or any Conjecture or Conceit which they have once entertain'd. This is a Fault in the Conduct of the Underſtanding, ſince this Firmneſs, or rather Stiffneſs of the Mind, is not from an Adherence to Truth, but a Submiſſion to Prejudice. 'Tis an unreaſonable Homage paid to Prepoſſeſſion, whereby we ſhew a Reverence not to (what we pretend to ſeek) Truth; but what by Haphazard we chance to light on, be it what it will. This is viſibly a preposterous Uſe of our Faculties, and is a downright proſtituting of the Mind to reſign it thus, and put it under the Power of the firſt Comer. This can never be allow'd, or ought to be follow'd as a right way to Knowledge, till the Underſtanding (whoſe Buſineſs it is to conform it ſelf to what it finds on the Objects without) can by its own Opiniatrey change that, and make the unalterable Nature of Things comply with its own haſty Determinations, which will never be. Whatever we fanſy, things keep their Courſe; and their Habitudes, Correſpondencies and Relations, keep the ſame to one another.

Reſignation. §. 26. Contrary to theſe, but by a like dangerous Exceſs on the other ſide, are thoſe who always reſign their Judgment to the laſt Man they heard or read. Truth never ſinks into theſe Men's Minds, nor gives any Tincture to them, but Camelion-like, they take the Colour of what is laid before them, and as ſoon loſe and reſign it to the next that happens to come in their way. The Order wherein Opinions are propos'd, or receiv'd by us, is no Rule of their Rectitude, nor ought to be a Cauſe of their Preference. Firſt or laſt in this Caſe, is the Effect of Chance, and not the Meaſure of Truth or Falſhood. This every one muſt confeſs, and therefore ſhould, in the purſuit of Truth, keep his Mind free from the Influence of any ſuch Accidents. A Man may as reaſonably draw Cutts for his Tenets, regulate his Perſuaſion by the Caſt of a Die, as take it up for its Novelty, or retain it becauſe it had his firſt Aſſent, and he was never of another Mind. Well-weighed Reaſons are to determine the Judgment; thoſe the Mind ſhould be always ready to hearken and ſubmit to, and by their Teſtimony and Suffrage, entertain or reject any Tenet indifferently, whether it be a perfect Stranger, or an old Acquaintance.

Practice. §. 27. Tho' the Faculties of the Mind are improv'd by Exerciſe, yet they muſt not be put to a Streſs beyond their Strength. *Quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recuſent*, muſt be made the Meaſure of every one's Underſtanding, who has a Deſire not only to perform well, but to keep up the Vigour of his Faculties, and not to baulk his Underſtanding by what is too hard for it. The Mind, by being engag'd in a Task beyond its Strength, like the Body, ſtrain'd by lifting at a Weight too heavy, has often its Force broken, and thereby gets an Unaptneſs or an Averſion to any vigorous Attempt ever after. A Sinew crack'd ſeldom recovers its former Strength, or at leaſt the Tenderneſs of the Sprain remains a good while after, and the Memory of it longer, and leaves a laſting Caution in the Man, not to put the Part quickly again to any robuſt Imployment. So it fares in the Mind once jaded by an Attempt above its Power, it either is diſabled for the future, or elſe checks at any vigorous Undertaking ever after, at leaſt is very hardly brought to exert its Force again on any Subject that requires Thought and Meditation. The Underſtanding ſhould be brought to the difficult and knotty Parts of Knowledge, that

that try the Strength of Thought, and a full Bent of the Mind by inſenſible Degrees; and in ſuch a gradual Proceeding nothing is too hard for it. Nor let it be objected, that ſuch a ſlow Progreſs will never reach the Extent of ſome Sciences. It is not to be imagin'd how far Conſtancy will carry a Man; however it is better walking ſlowly in a rugged Way, than to break a Leg and be a Cripple. He that begins with the Calf may carry the Ox; but he that will at firſt go to take up an Ox, may ſo diſable himſelf, as not to be able to lift a Calf after that. When the Mind, by inſenſible Degrees, has brought it ſelf to Attention and cloſe Thinking, it will be able to cope with Difficulties, and maſter them without any Prejudice to it ſelf, and then it may go on roundly. Every abſtruſe Problem, every intricate Queſtion will not baffle, diſcourage, or break it. But though putting the Mind unprepar'd upon an unuſual Streſs, that may diſcourage or damp it for the future, ought to be avoided; yet this muſt not run it, by an over-great Shyneſs of Difficulties, into a lazy Sauntring about ordinary and obvious Things, that demand no Thought or Application. This debaſes and enervates the Underſtanding, makes it weak and unfit for Labour. This is a ſort of Hovering about the Surface of Things, without any Inſight into them or Penetration; and when the Mind has been once habituated to this lazy Recumbency and Satisfaction on the obvious Surface of Things, it is in danger to reſt ſatisfy'd there, and go no deeper, ſince it cannot do it without Pains and Digging. He, that has for ſome time accuſtomed himſelf to take up with what eaſily offers it ſelf at firſt View, has Reaſon to fear he ſhall never reconcile himſelf to the Fatigue of turning and tumbling Things in his Mind, to diſcover their more retir'd and more valuable Secrets. *Practice.*

'Tis not ſtrange that Methods of Learning, which Scholars have been accuſtom'd to in their beginning and entrance upon the Sciences, ſhould influence them all their Lives, and be ſettled in their Minds by an over-ruling Reverence, eſpecially if they be ſuch as univerſal Uſe has eſtabliſh'd. Learners muſt at firſt be Believers, and their Maſter's Rules having been once made Axioms to them, 'tis no wonder they ſhould keep that Dignity, and by the Authority they have once got, miſlead thoſe who think it ſufficient to excuſe them, if they go out of their way in a well-beaten Track.

§. 28. I have copiouſly enough ſpoken of the Abuſe of Words in another place, and therefore ſhall, upon this Reflection that the Sciences are full of them, warn thoſe, that would conduct their Underſtandings right, not to take any Term howſoever authorized by the Language of the Schools, to ſtand for any thing till they have an Idea of it. A Word may be of frequent Uſe and great Credit with ſeveral Authors, and be by them made uſe of as if it ſtood for ſome real Being; but yet if he that reads cannot frame any diſtinct Idea of that Being, it is certain to him a mere empty Sound without a Meaning, and he learns no more by all that is ſaid of it, or attributed to it, than if it were affirm'd only of that bare empty Sound. They who would advance in Knowledge, and not deceive and ſwell themſelves with a little articulated Air, ſhould lay down this as a Fundamental Rule, not to take Words for Things, nor ſuppoſe that Names in Books ſignifie real Entities in Nature, till they can frame clear and diſtinct Ideas of thoſe Entities. It will not perhaps be allow'd, if I ſhould ſet down *ſubſtantial Forms* and *intentional Species*, as ſuch that may juſtly be ſuſpected to be of this kind of inſignificant Terms. But this I am ſure, to one that can form no determin'd Ideas of what they ſtand for, they ſignifie nothing at all; and all that he thinks he knows about them, is to him ſo much Knowledge about nothing, and amounts at moſt but to a learned Ignorance. 'Tis not without all Reaſon ſuppoſed, that there are many ſuch empty Terms to be found in ſome learned Writers, to which they had Recourſe to etch out their Syſtems where their Underſtandings could not furniſh them with Conceptions from things. But yet I believe the ſuppoſing of ſome Realities in Nature, anſwering thoſe and the like Words, have much perplex'd ſome, and quite miſled others in the Study of Nature. That which in any Diſcourſe ſignifies, *I know not what*, ſhould be conſider'd *I know not when*. Where Men have any Conceptions, they can, if they are ever ſo abſtruſe or abſtracted, explain them, and *Words.*

Words. and the Terms they uſe for them. For our Conceptions being nothing but Ideas, which are all made up of ſimple Ones: If they cannot give us the Ideas their Words ſtand for, 'tis plain they have none. To what Purpoſe can it be to hunt after his Conceptions, who has none, or none diſtinct? He that knew not what he himſelf meant by a learned Term, cannot make us know any thing by his Uſe of it, let us beat our Heads about it ever ſo long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the Operations of Nature, and the Manners of them, it matters not to enquire; but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them than we can diſtinctly conceive; and therefore to obtrude Terms where we have no diſtinct Conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal ſomething, is but an Artifice of learned Vanity, to cover a Defect in an Hypotheſis or our Underſtandings. Words are not made to conceal but to declare and ſhew ſomething; where they are, by thoſe, who pretend to inſtruct, otherwiſe us'd, they conceal indeed ſomething; but that which they conceal is nothing but the Ignorance, Error, or Sophiſtry of the Talker, for there is, in Truth, nothing elſe under them.

Wandring. §. 29. That there is conſtant Succeſſion and Flux of Ideas in our Minds, I have obſerv'd in the former Part of this Eſſay, and every one may take notice of it in himſelf. This, I ſuppoſe, may deſerve ſome part of our Care in the Conduct of our Underſtandings; and I think it may be of great Advantage, if we can by Uſe get that Power over our Minds, as to be able to direct that Train of Ideas, that ſo, ſince there will new Ones perpetually come into our Thoughts by a conſtant Succeſſion, we may be able by Choice ſo to direct them, that none may come in View, but ſuch as are pertinent to our preſent Enquiry, and in ſuch order as may be moſt uſeful to the Diſcovery we are upon; or at leaſt, if ſome foreign and unſought Ideas will offer themſelves, that yet we might be able to reject them, and keep them from taking off our Minds from its preſent Purſuit, and hinder them from running away with our Thoughts quite from the Subject in Hand. This is not, I ſuſpect, ſo eaſy to be done, as perhaps may be imagin'd; and yet, for ought I know, this may be, if not the chief, yet one of the great Differences that carry ſome Men in their Reaſoning ſo far beyond others, where they ſeem to be naturally of equal Parts. A proper and effectual Remedy for this Wandering of Thoughts I would be glad to find. He, that ſhall propoſe ſuch an One, would do great Service to the ſtudious and contemplative Part of Mankind, and perhaps help unthinking Men to become thinking. I muſt acknowledge that hitherto I have diſcover'd no other way to keep our Thoughts cloſe to their Buſineſs, but the endeavouring as much as we can, and by frequent Attention and Application, getting the Habit of Attention and Application. He that will obſerve Children, will find, that even when they endeavour their utmoſt, they cannot keep their Minds from ſtraggling. The way to cure it, I am ſatisfy'd, is not angry Chiding or Beating, for that preſently fills their Heads with all the Ideas that Fear, Dread, or Confuſion can offer to them. To bring back gently their wandering Thoughts, by leading them into the Path, and going before them in the Train they ſhould purſue, without any Rebuke, or ſo much as taking notice (where it can be avoided) of their roving, I ſuppoſe would ſooner reconcile and inure them to Attention, than all thoſe rougher Methods which more diſtract their Thought, and, hindering the Application they would promote, introduce a contrary Habit.

Diſtinction. §. 30. Diſtinction and Diviſion are (if I miſtake not the Import of the Words) very different things; the one being the Perception of a Difference that Nature has plac'd in things; the other our making a Diviſion where there is yet none; at leaſt, if I may be permitted to conſider them in this Senſe, I think I may ſay of them, that one of them is the moſt neceſſary and conducive to true Knowledge that can be; the other, when too much made uſe of, ſerves only to puzzle and confound the Underſtanding. To obſerve every the leaſt Difference that is in things, argues a quick and clear Sight, and this keeps the Underſtanding ſteady, and right in its way to Knowledge. But tho' it be uſeful to diſcern every Variety that is to be found

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in Nature, yet it is not convenient to consider every Difference that is in things, and divide them into distinct Classes under every such Difference. This will run us, if follow'd, into Particulars, (for every Individual has something that differences it from another) and we shall be able to establish no general Truths, or else at least shall be apt to perplex the Mind about them. The Collection of several things into several Classes, gives the Mind more general and larger Views; but we must take Care to unite them only in that, and so far as they do agree; for so far they may be united under the Consideration. For Entity it self, that comprehends all things, as general as it is, may afford us clear and rational Conceptions. If we would weigh and keep in our Minds what it is we are considering, that would best instruct us when we should, or should not branch into farther Distinctions, which are to be taken only from a due Contemplation of things; to which there is nothing more opposite than the Art of Verbal Distinctions, made at pleasure in learned and arbitrarily invented Terms, to be applied at a venture, without comprehending or conveying any distinct Notions, and so altogether fitted to artificial Talk, or empty Noise in Dispute, without any clearing of Difficulties, or advance in Knowledge. Whatsoever Subject we examine and would get Knowledge in, we should, I think, make as general and as large as it will bear; nor can there be any Danger of this, if the Idea of it be settled and determined: For if that be so, we shall easily distinguish it from any other Idea, though comprehended under the same Name. For it is to fence against the Intanglements of Equivocal Words, and the great Art of Sophistry which lies in them, that Distinctions have been multiplied, and their Use thought necessary. But had every distinct abstract Idea a distinct known Name, there would be little need of these multiplied Scholastick Distinctions, though there would be nevertheless as much need still of the Mind's observing the Differences that are in things, and discriminating them thereby one from another. 'Tis not therefore the right way to Knowledge, to hunt after, and fill the Head with abundance of Artificial and Scholastick Distinctions, wherewith learned Men's Writings are often fill'd; we sometimes find what they treat of so divided and subdivided, that the Mind of the most attentive Reader loses the Sight of it, as it is more than probable the Writer himself did; for in things crumbled into Dust, 'tis in vain to affect or pretend Order, or expect Clearness. To avoid Confusion by too few or too many Divisions, is a great Skill in Thinking as well as Writing, which is but the Copying our Thoughts; but what are the Boundaries of the Mean between the two vitious Excesses on both Hands, I think is hard to set down in Words: Clear and distinct Ideas is all that I yet know able to regulate it. But as to Verbal Distinctions receiv'd and apply'd to common Terms, *i. e.* Equivocal Words; they are more properly, I think, the Business of Criticisms and Dictionaries than of real Knowledge and Philosophy, since they, for the most part, explain the meaning of Words, and give us their several Significations. The dexterous Management of Terms, and being able to *fend* and *prove* with them, I know has and does pass in the World for a great part of Learning; but it is Learning distinct from Knowledge, for Knowledge consists only in perceiving the Habitudes and Relations of Ideas one to another, which is done without Words; the Intervention of a Sound helps nothing to it. And hence we see that there is least use of Distinctions where there is most Knowledge; I mean in Mathematicks, where Men have determin'd Ideas with known Names to them; and so there being no room for Equivocations, there is no need of Distinctions. In arguing, the Opponent uses as comprehensive and equivocal Terms as he can, to involve his Adversary in the Doubtfulness of his Expressions: This is expected, and therefore the Answerer on his side makes it his Play to distinguish as much as he can, and thinks he can never do it too much, nor can he indeed in that way wherein Victory may be had without Truth and without Knowledge. This seems to me to be the Art of Disputing. Use your Words as captiously as you can in your arguing on one side, and apply Distinctions as much as you can on the other side to every Term, to nonplus your Opponent; so that in this sort of Scholarship, there being no Bounds

Distinctions.

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Diſtinctions. ſet to diſtinguiſhing, ſome Men have thought all Acuteneſs to have lain in it; and therefore in all they have read or thought on, their great Buſineſs has been to amuſe themſelves with Diſtinctions, and multiply to themſelves Diviſions, at leaſt, more than the Nature of the thing requir'd. There ſeems to me, as I ſaid, to be no other Rule for this, but a due and right Conſideration of Things as they are in themſelves. He that has ſettled in his Mind determin'd Ideas, with Names affix'd to them, will be able both to diſcern their Differences one from another, which is really diſtinguiſhing; and, where the Penury of Words affords not Terms anſwering every diſtinct Idea, will be able to apply proper diſtinguiſhing Terms to the Comprehenſive and Equivocal Names he is forc'd to make uſe of. This is all the need I know of diſtinguiſhing Terms; and in ſuch Verbal Diſtinctions, each Term of the Diſtinction, joyn'd to that whoſe Signification it diſtinguiſhes, is but a diſtinct Name for a diſtinct Idea. Where they are ſo, and Men have clear and diſtinct Conceptions that anſwer their Verbal Diſtinctions, they are right, and are pertinent as far as they ſerve to clear any thing in the Subject under Conſideration. And this is that which ſeems to me the proper and only Meaſure of Diſtinctions and Diviſions; which he that will conduct his Underſtanding right, muſt not look for in the Acuteneſs of Invention, nor the Authority of Writers, but will find only in the Conſideration of Things themſelves, whether they are led into it by their own Meditations, or the Information of Books.

An Aptneſs to jumble Things together, wherein can be found any Likeneſs, is a Fault in the Underſtanding on the other ſide, which will not fail to miſlead it, and by thus lumping of Things, hinder the Mind from diſtinct and accurate Conceptions of them.

Similies. §. 31. To which let me here add another near of Kin to this, at leaſt in Name, and that is letting the Mind upon the Suggeſtion of any new Notion, run immediately after Similies to make it the clearer to it ſelf; which, though it may be a good way, and uſeful in the explaining our Thoughts to others; yet it is by no Means a right Method to ſettle true Notions of any thing in our ſelves, becauſe Similies always fail in ſome part, and come ſhort of that Exactneſs which our Conceptions ſhould have to Things, if we would think aright. This indeed makes Men plauſible Talkers; for thoſe are always moſt acceptable in Diſcourſe who have the way to let their Thoughts into other Men's Minds with the greateſt Eaſe and Facility, whether thoſe Thoughts are well formed and correſpond with Things, matters not; few Men care to be inſtructed but at an eaſy rate. They, who in their Diſcourſe ſtrike the Fancy, and take the Hearers Conceptions along with them as faſt as their Words flow, are the applauded Talkers, and go for the only Men of clear Thoughts. Nothing contributes ſo much to this as Similies, whereby Men think they themſelves underſtand better, becauſe they are the better underſtood. But it is one thing to think right, and another thing to know the right way to lay our Thoughts before others with Advantage and Clearneſs, be they right or wrong. Well choſen Similies, Metaphors, and Allegories, with Method and Order, do this the beſt of any thing, becauſe being taken from Objects already known, and familiar to the Underſtanding, they are conceiv'd as faſt as ſpoken; and the Correſpondence being concluded, the thing they are brought to explain and elucidate is thought to be underſtood too. Thus Fancy paſſes for Knowledge, and what is prettily ſaid is miſtaken for ſolid. I ſay not this to decry Metaphor, or with Deſign to take away that Ornament of Speech; my Buſineſs here is not with Rhetoricians and Orators, but with Philoſophers and Lovers of Truth; to whom I would beg leave to give this one Rule whereby to try whether, in the Application of their Thoughts to any thing for the Improvement of their Knowledge, they do in Truth comprehend the Matter before them really ſuch as it is in it ſelf. The way to diſcover this is to obſerve, whether in the laying it before themſelves or others, they make uſe only of borrow'd Repreſentations and Ideas foreign to the things which are apply'd to it by way of Accommodation, as bearing ſome Proportion or imagin'd Likeneſs to the Subject under Conſideration. Figur'd

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and Metaphorical Expreſſions do well to illuſtrate more abſtruſe and unfamiliar Ideas which the Mind is not yet throughly accuſtomed to; but then they muſt be made uſe of to illuſtrate Ideas that we already have, not to paint to us thoſe which we yet have not. Such borrow'd and alluſive Ideas may follow real and ſolid Truth, to ſet it off when found, but muſt by no means be ſet in its place, and taken for it. If all our Search has yet reach'd no farther than Similie and Metaphor, we may aſſure our ſelves we rather fanſie than know, and are not yet penetrated into the Inſide and Reality of the thing be it what it will, but content our ſelves with what our Imaginations, not Things themſelves, furniſh us with. *Similies.*

§. 32. In the whole Conduct of the Underſtanding, there is nothing of more moment than to know when and where, and how far to give Aſſent, and poſſibly there is nothing harder. 'Tis very eaſily ſaid, and no Body queſtions it, That giving and with-holding our Aſſent, and the Degrees of it, ſhould be regulated by the Evidence which things carry with them; and yet we ſee Men are not the better for this Rule; ſome firmly embrace Doctrines upon ſlight Grounds, ſome upon no Grounds, and ſome contrary to Appearance: Some admit of Certainty, and are not to be moved in what they hold: Others waver in every thing, and there want not thoſe that reject All as uncertain. What then ſhall a Novice, an Enquirer, a Stranger do in the Caſe? I anſwer, Uſe his Eyes. There is a Correſpondence in things, and Agreement and Diſagreement in Ideas, diſcernible in very different Degrees, and there are Eyes in Men to ſee them if they pleaſe, only their Eyes may be dim'd or dazzled, and the diſcerning Sight in them impair'd or loſt. Intereſt and Paſſion dazzles; the Cuſtom of Arguing on any Side, even againſt our Perſwaſions, dims the Underſtanding, and makes it by Degrees loſe the Faculty of Diſcerning clearly between Truth and Falſhood, and ſo of adhering to the right Side. 'Tis not ſafe to play with Error, and dreſs it up to our ſelves or others in the Shape of Truth. The Mind by Degrees loſes its natural Reliſh of real ſolid Truth, is reconciled inſenſibly to any thing that can but be dreſs'd up into any feint Appearance of it; and if the Fancy be allowed the place of Judgment at firſt in Sport, it afterwards comes by Uſe to uſurp it, and what is recommended by this Flatterer (that ſtudies but to pleaſe) is receiv'd for Good. There are ſo many Ways of Fallacy, ſuch Arts of giving Colours, Appearances and Reſemblances by this Court-Dreſſer, the Fancy, that he, who is not wary to admit nothing but Truth it ſelf, very careful not to make his Mind ſubſervient to any thing elſe, cannot but be caught. He that has a Mind to believe has half aſſented already; and he, that by often arguing againſt his own Senſe, impoſes Falſhoods on others, is not far from believing himſelf. This takes away the great Diſtance there is betwixt Truth and Falſhood; it brings them almoſt together, and makes it no great odds, in things that approach ſo near, which you take; and when things are brought to that Paſs, Paſſion or Intereſt, *&c.* eaſily, and without being perceiv'd, determine which ſhall be the right. *Aſſent.*

§. 33. I have ſaid above, that we ſhould keep a perfect Indifferency for all Opinions, not wiſh any of them true, or try to make them appear ſo; but being indifferent, receive and embrace them according as Evidence, and that alone, gives the Atteſtation of Truth. They that do thus, *i. e.* keep their Mind indifferent to Opinions, to be determined only by Evidence, will always find the Underſtanding has Perception enough to diſtinguiſh between Evidence or no Evidence, betwixt plain and doubtful; and if they neither give nor refuſe their Aſſent but by that Meaſure, they will be ſafe in the Opinions they have. Which being perhaps but few, this Caution will have alſo this Good in it, that it will put them upon Conſidering, and teach them the Neceſſity of Examining more than they do; without which, the Mind is but a Receptacle of Inconſiſtencies, not the Store-Houſe of Truths. They, that do not keep up this Indifferency in themſelves for all but Truth, not ſuppoſed, but evidenc'd in themſelves, put colour'd Spectacles before their Eyes, and look on things through falſe Glaſſes, and then think themſelves excuſed in following the falſe Appearances which they themſelves put upon them. I do not expect that by this way the Aſſent ſhould in every one be *Indifferency.*

Indifferency.

proportion'd to the Grounds and Clearneſs wherewith every Truth is capable to be made out, or that Men ſhould be perfectly kept from Error: That is more than Humane Nature can by any means be advanc'd to; I aim at no ſuch unattainable Privilege; I am only ſpeaking of what they ſhould do, who would deal fairly with their own Minds, and make a right Uſe of their Faculties in the purſuit of Truth; we fail them a great deal more than they fail us. 'Tis Miſmanagement more than want of Abilities that Men have reaſon to complain of, and which they actually do complain of in thoſe that differ from them. He, that by an Indifferency for all but Truth, ſuffers not his Aſſent to go faſter than his Evidence, nor beyond it, will learn to examine, and examine fairly inſtead of preſuming, and no Body will be at a Loſs, or in Danger for want of embracing thoſe Truths which are neceſſary in his Station and Circumſtances. In any other way but this all the World are born to Orthodoxy; they imbibe at firſt the allow'd Opinions of their Country and Party, and ſo never queſtioning their Truth, not one of an hundred ever examines. They are applauded for preſuming they are in the right. He that conſiders, is a Foe to Orthodoxy, becauſe poſſibly he may deviate from ſome of the receiv'd Doctrines there. And thus Men, without any Induſtry or Acquiſition of their own, inherit local Truths (for it is not the ſame every where) and are inur'd to Aſſent without Evidence. This influences farther than is thought; for what one of an hundred of the zealous Bigots in all Parties, ever examin'd the Tenets he is ſo ſtiff in, or ever thought it his Buſineſs or Duty ſo to do? It is ſuſpected of Lukewarmneſs to ſuppoſe it neceſſary, and a Tendency to Apoſtacy to go about it. And if a Man can bring his Mind once to be poſitive and fierce for Poſitions, whoſe Evidence he has never once examin'd, and that in Matters of greateſt Concernment to him, what ſhall keep him from this ſhort and eaſie Way of being in the right in Caſes of leſs Moment? Thus we are taught to cloth our Minds as we do our Bodies after the Faſhion in Vogue, and 'tis accounted Fantaſticalneſs, or ſomething worſe not to do ſo. This Cuſtom (which who dares oppoſe) makes the ſhort-ſighted Bigots, and the warier Scepticks, as far as it prevails. And thoſe that break from it are in danger of Hereſy; for taking the whole World, how much of it doth Truth and Orthodoxy poſſeſs together? Though 'tis by the laſt alone (which has the good Luck to be every where) that Error and Hereſy are judg'd of; for Argument and Evidence ſignify nothing in the Caſe, and excuſe no where, but are ſure to be born down in all Societies by the infallible Orthodoxy of the place. Whether this be the way to Truth and right Aſſent, let the Opinions, that take place and preſcribe in the ſeveral habitable Parts of the Earth, declare. I never ſaw any reaſon yet why Truth might not be truſted to its own Evidence: I am ſure if that be not able to ſupport it, there is no Fence againſt Error, and then Truth and Falſhood are but Names that ſtand for the ſame things. Evidence therefore is that by which alone every Man is (and ſhould be) taught to regulate his Aſſent, who is then, and then only, in the right way when he follows it.

Men deficient in Knowledge are uſually in one of theſe three States, either wholly Ignorant, or as doubting of ſome Propoſition they have either embrac'd formerly, or at preſent inclin'd to: Or laſtly, they do with Aſſurance hold and profeſs without ever having examin'd, and being convinc'd by well-grounded Arguments.

The firſt of theſe are in the beſt State of the three, by having their Minds yet in their perfect Freedom and Indifferency, the likelier to purſue Truth the better, having no Biaſs yet clap'd on to miſlead them.

§. 34. For Ignorance with an Indifferency for Truth is nearer to it, than Opinion with ungrounded Inclination, which is the great Source of Error; and they are more in danger to go out of the way, who are marching under the Conduct of a Guide, that 'tis an hundred to one will miſlead them, than he that has not yet taken a Step, and is likelier to be prevail'd on to enquire after the right Way. The laſt of the three Sorts are in the worſt Condition of all; for if a Man can be perſuaded, and fully aſſur'd of any thing for a Truth, without having examin'd what is there that he may not embrace for

Truth;

Truth ; and if he has given himſelf up to believe a Lie, what Means is there left to recover one who can be aſſur'd without examining ? To the other two this I crave leave to ſay, That as he that is Ignorant is in the beſt State of the two, ſo he ſhould purſue Truth in a Method ſuitable to that State, *i. e.* by enquiring directly into the Nature of the thing it ſelf, without minding the Opinions of others, or troubling himſelf with their Queſtions or Diſputes about it, but to ſee what he himſelf can, ſincerely ſearching after Truth, find out. He that proceeds upon others Principles in his Enquiry into any Sciences, though he be reſolv'd to examine them, and judge of them freely, does yet at leaſt put himſelf on that ſide, and poſt himſelf in a Party which he will not quit till he be beaten out ; by which the Mind is inſenſibly engag'd to make what Defence it can, and ſo is unawares byaſs'd. I do not ſay but a Man ſhould embrace ſome Opinion when he has examin'd, elſe he examines to no purpoſe ; but the ſureſt and ſafeſt way is to have no Opinion at all till he has examin'd, and that without any the leaſt Regard to the Opinions or Syſtems of other Men about it. For Example, were it my Buſineſs to underſtand Phyſick, would not the ſafer and readier way be to conſult Nature her ſelf, and inform my ſelf in the Hiſtory of Diſeaſes and their Cures, than eſpouſing the Principles of the Dogmatiſts, Methodiſts or Chymiſts engage in all the Diſputes concerning either of thoſe Syſtems, and ſuppoſe it to be true, till I have try'd what they can ſay to beat me out of it ? Or, ſuppoſing that *Hippocrates*, or any other Book, infallibly contains the whole Art of Phyſick, would not the direct way be to ſtudy, read, and conſider that Book, weigh and compare the Parts of it to find the Truth, rather than eſpouſe the Doctrines of any Party ; who, tho' they acknowledge his Authority, have already interpreted and wire-drawn all his Text to their own Senſe ; the Tincture whereof when I have imbib'd, I am more in danger to miſunderſtand his true Meaning, than if I had come to him with a Mind unprepoſſeſs'd by Doctors and Commentators of my Sect, whoſe Reaſonings, Interpretation and Language which I have been us'd to, will of Courſe make all chime that way, and make another, and perhaps the genuine Meaning of the Author ſeem harſh, ſtrain'd and uncouth to me ? For Words having naturally none of their own, carry that Signification to the Hearer, that he is us'd to put upon them, whatever be the Senſe of him that uſes them. This, I think, is viſibly ſo ; and if it be, he that begins to have any Doubt of any of his Tenets, which he receiv'd without Examination, ought, as much as he can, to put himſelf wholly into this State of Ignorance in reference to that Queſtion, and throwing wholly by all his former Notions, and the Opinions of others, examine, with a perfect Indifferency, the Queſtion in its Source, without any Inclination to either Side, or any Regard to his or others unexamin'd Opinions. This I own is no eaſy thing to do, but I am not enquiring the eaſy way to Opinion, but the right way to Truth ; which they muſt follow who will deal fairly with their own Underſtandings and their own Souls.

Indifferency.

§. 35. The Indifferency that I here propoſe, will alſo enable them to ſtate the Queſtion right, which they are in Doubt about, without which they can never come to a fair and clear Deciſion of it.

Queſtion.

§. 36. Another Fruit from this Indifferency, and the conſidering Things in themſelves abſtract from our own Opinions and other Men's Notions, and Diſcourſes on them, will be, that each Man will purſue his Thoughts in that Method which will be moſt agreeable to the Nature of the thing, and to his Apprehenſion of what it ſuggeſts to him ; in which he ought to proceed with Regularity and Conſtancy, until he come to a well-grounded Reſolution wherein he may acquieſce. If it be objected that this will require every Man to be a Scholar, and quit all his other Buſineſs, and betake himſelf wholly to Study ; I anſwer, I propoſe no more to any one than he has time for. Some Men's State and Condition requires no great Extent of Knowledge ; the neceſſary Proviſion for Life ſwallows the greateſt part of their Time. But one Man's want of Leiſure is no Excuſe for the Oſcitancy and Ignorance of thoſe who have time to ſpare ; and every one has enough to

Perſeverance.

get as much Knowledge as is requir'd and expected of him, and he that does not that, is in love with Ignorance, and is accountable for it.

Presumption. §. 37. The Variety of Distempers in Men's Minds is as great as of those in their Bodies; some are Epidemick, few 'scape them, and every one too, if he would look into himself, would find some Defect of his particular Genius. There is scarce any one without some Idiosyncrisy that he suffers by. This Man presumes upon his Parts, that they will not fail him at time of Need, and so thinks it superfluous Labour to make any Provision beforehand. His Understanding is to him like *Fortunatus*'s Purse, which is always to furnish him without ever putting any thing into it before-hand; and so he sits still satisfy'd, without endeavouring to store his Understanding with Knowledge. 'Tis the spontaneous Product of the Country, and what need of Labour in Tillage? Such Men may spread their native Riches before the Ignorant; but they were best not come to Stress and Trial with the skilful. We are born ignorant of every thing. The Superficies of things that surround them, make Impressions on the negligent, but no Body penetrates into the inside without Labour, Attention and Industry. Stones and Timber grow of themselves, but yet there is no uniform Pile with Symmetry and Convenience to lodge in without Toil and Pains. God has made the intellectual World harmonious and beautiful without us; but it will never come into our Heads all at once, we must bring it home Piece-meal, and there set it up by our own Industry, or else we shall have nothing but Darkness and a Chaos within, whatever Order and Light there be in Things without us.

Despondency. §. 38. On the other side, there are others that depress their own Minds, despond at the first Difficulty, and conclude that the getting an Insight in any of the Sciences, or making any Progress in Knowledge farther than serves their ordinary Business, is above their Capacities. These sit still, because they think they have not Legs to go as the others I last mention'd do, because they think they have Wings to fly, and can soar on high when they please. To these latter one may for Answer apply the Proverb, *Use Legs and have Legs.* No body knows what Strength of Parts he has till he has try'd them. And of the Understanding one may most truly say, that its Force is greater generally than it thinks, till it is put to it. *Vires que acquirit eundo.*

And therefore the proper Remedy here is but to set the Mind to work, and apply the Thoughts vigorously to the Business; for it holds in the Struggles of the Mind as in those of War, *Dum putant se vincere, vicêre*; a Persuasion that we shall overcome any Difficulties that we meet with in the Sciences, seldom fails to carry us through them. No body knows the Strength of his Mind, and the Force of steady and regular Application till he has try'd. This is certain, he that sets out upon weak Legs, will not only go farther, but grow stronger too than one, who with a vigorous Constitution and firm Limbs, only sits still.

Something of kin to this Men may observe in themselves, when the Mind frights it self (as it often does) with any thing reflected on in Gross, and transiently view'd confusedly, and at a Distance. Things thus offer'd to the Mind, carry the Shew of nothing but Difficulty in them, and are thought to be wrap'd up in impenetrable Obscurity. But the Truth is, these are nothing but Spectres that the Understanding raises to it self to flatter its own Laziness. It sees nothing distinctly in things remote, and in a huddle, and therefore concludes too faintly, that there is nothing more clear to be discover'd in them. 'Tis but to approach nearer, and that Mist of our own raising that inveloped them will remove; and those that in that Mist appear'd hideous Giants not to be grappled with, will be found to be of the ordinary and natural Size and Shape. Things, that in a remote and confus'd View seem very obscure, must be approach'd by gentle and regular Steps; and what is most visible, easie and obvious in them first consider'd. Reduce them into their distinct Parts; and then in their due Order bring all that should be known concerning every one of those Parts into plain and simple Questions; and then what was thought obscure, perplex'd, and too hard for our weak Parts, will lay it self open to the Understanding in a fair View, and let the Mind into that which before it was aw'd with, and kept at a distance from, as wholly myste-

myſterious. I appeal to my Reader's Experience, whether this has never happen'd to him, eſpecially when, buſy on one thing, he has occaſionally reflected on another. I ask him whether he has never thus been ſcar'd with a ſudden Opinion of mighty Difficulties, which yet have vaniſh'd, when he has ſeriouſly and methodically apply'd himſelf to the Conſideration of this ſeeming terrible Subject; and there has been no other Matter of Aſtoniſhment left, but that he amus'd himſelf with ſo diſcouraging a Proſpect of his own raiſing, about a Matter, which in the handling was found to have nothing in it more ſtrange nor intricate than ſeveral other things which he had long ſince, and with Eaſe maſter'd. This Experience would teach us how to do deal with ſuch Bugbears another time, which ſhould rather ſerve to excite our Vigour than enervate our Induſtry. The ſureſt way for a Learner in this as in all other Caſes, is not to advance by Jumps and large Strides; let that which he ſets himſelf to learn next be indeed the next, *i. e.* as nearly conjoyn'd with what he knows already as is poſſible; let it be diſtinct but not remote from it: Let it be new, and what he did not know before, that the Underſtanding may advance; but let it be as little at once as may be, that its Advances may be clear and ſure. All the Ground that it gets this way it will hold. This diſtinct gradual Growth in Knowledge is firm and ſure, it carries its own Light with it in every Step of its Progreſſion in an eaſie and orderly Train, than which there is nothing of more Uſe to the Underſtanding. And though this perhaps may ſeem a very ſlow and lingering way to Knowledge; yet I dare confidently affirm, that whoever will try it in himſelf, or any one he will teach, ſhall find the Advances greater in this Method, than they would in the ſame ſpace of time have been in any other he could have taken. The greateſt part of true Knowledge lies in a diſtinct Perception of Things in themſelves diſtinct. And ſome Men give more clear Light and Knowledge by the bare diſtinct ſtating of a Queſtion, than others by talking of it in Groſs whole Hours together. In this, they who ſo ſtate a Queſtion, do no more but ſeparate and diſintangle the Parts of it one from another, and lay them, when ſo diſintangled, in their due Order. This often, without any more ado, reſolves the Doubt, and ſhews the Mind where the Truth lies. The Agreement or Diſagreement of the Ideas in queſtion, when they are once ſeparated and diſtinctly conſider'd, is, in many Caſes, preſently perceiv'd, and thereby clear and laſting Knowledge gain'd; whereas Things in Groſs taken up together, and ſo lying together in Confuſion, can produce in the Mind but a confus'd, which in Effect is no Knowledge; or at leaſt when it comes to be examin'd and made uſe of, will prove little better than none. I therefore take the liberty to repeat here again what I have ſaid elſewhere, that in learning any thing, as little ſhould be propos'd to the Mind at once as is poſſible; and that being underſtood and fully maſter'd, to proceed to the next adjoyning Part yet unknown, ſimple, unperplex'd Propoſition belonging to the Matter in Hand, and tending to the clearing what is principally deſign'd. *Deſpondency.*

§. 39. Analogy is of great Uſe to the Mind in many Caſes, eſpecially in natural Philoſophy; and that part of it chiefly which conſiſts in happy and ſucceſsful Experiments. But here we muſt take care that we keep our ſelves within that wherein the Analogy conſiſts. For Example, the acid Oyl of *Vitriol* is found to be good in ſuch a Caſe, therefore the Spirit of *Nitre* or *Vinegar* may be us'd in the like Caſe. If the good Effect of it be owing wholly to the Acidity of it, the Trial may be juſtified; but if there be ſomething elſe beſides the Acidity in the Oil of *Vitriol*, which produces the Good we deſire in the Caſe, we miſtake that for Analogy, which is not, and ſuffer our Underſtanding to be miſguided by a wrong Suppoſition of Analogy where there is none. *Analogy.*

§. 40. Though I have, in the Second Book of my Eſſay concerning Humane Underſtanding, treated of the Aſſociation of Ideas; yet having done it there Hiſtorically, as giving a View of the Underſtanding in this as well as its ſeveral other ways of operating, rather than deſigning there to inquire into the Remedies ought to be applied to it: It will, under this latter Conſideration, afford other Matter of Thought to thoſe who have a mind to inſtruct *Aſſociation.*

Aſſociation. inſtruct themſelves thoroughly in the right way of conducting their Underſtandings; and that the rather, becauſe this, if I miſtake not, is as frequent a Cauſe of Miſtake and Error in us, as perhaps any thing elſe that can be named; and is a Diſeaſe of the Mind as hard to be cur'd as any; it being a very hard thing to convince any one that things are not ſo, and naturally ſo as they conſtantly appear to him.

By this one eaſie and unheeded Miſcarriage of the Underſtanding, ſandy and looſe Foundations become infallible Principles, and will not ſuffer themſelves to be touch'd or queſtion'd: Such unnatural Connections become by Cuſtom as natural to the Mind as Sun and Light: Fire and Warmth go together, and ſo ſeem ro carry with them as natural an Evidence as Self-evident Truths themſelves. And where then ſhall one with hopes of Succeſs begin the Cure? Many Men firmly embrace Falſhood for Truth; not only becauſe they never thought otherwiſe, but alſo becauſe thus blinded as they have been from the beginning, they never could think otherwiſe; at leaſt without a Vigour of Mind able to conteſt the Empire of Habit, and look into its own Principles; a Freedom which few Men have the Notion of in themſelves, and fewer are allow'd the Practice of by others; it being the great Art and Buſineſs of the Teachers and Guides in moſt Sects, to ſuppreſs, as much as they can, this fundamental Duty which every Man owes himſelf, and is the firſt ſteady Step towards Right and Truth in the whole Train of his Actions and Opinions. This would give one Reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſuch Teachers are conſcious to themſelves of the Falſhood or Weakneſs of the Tenets they profeſs, ſince they will not ſuffer the Grounds whereon they are built to be examin'd; whenas thoſe who ſeek Truth only, and deſire to own and propagate nothing elſe, freely expoſe their Principles to the Teſt, are pleas'd to have them examin'd, give Men leave to reject them if they can; and if there be any thing weak and unſound in them, are willing to have it detected, that they themſelves, as well as others, may not lay any Streſs upon any receiv'd Propoſition beyond what the Evidence of its Truth will warrant and allow.

There is, I know, a great Fault among all ſorts of People of principling their Children and Scholars; which at laſt, when look'd into, amounts to no more, but making them imbibe their Teacher's Notions and Tenets, by an implicit Faith, and firmly to adhere to them whether true or falſe. What Colours may be given to this, or of what Uſe it may be when practis'd upon the Vulgar, deſtin'd to Labour, and given up to the Service of their Bellies, I will not here enquire. But as to the ingenuous part of Mankind, whoſe Condition allows them Leiſure, and Letters, and Enquiry after Truth; I can ſee no other right way of principling them, but to take heed, as much as may be, that in their tender Years Ideas, that have no natural Coheſion, come not to be united in their Heads, and that this Rule be often inculcated to them to be their Guide in the whole Courſe of their Lives and Studies, (*viz.*) That they never ſuffer any Ideas to be joyn'd in their Underſtandings, in any other or ſtronger Combination than what their own Nature and Correſpondence give them; and that they often examine thoſe that they find link'd together in their Minds, whether this Aſſociation of Ideas be from the viſible Agreement that is in the Ideas themſelves, or from the habitual and prevailing Cuſtom of the Mind joyning them thus together in Thinking.

This is for Caution againſt this Evil, before it be thoroughly riveted by Cuſtom in the Underſtanding; but he, that would cure it when Habit has eſtabliſh'd it, muſt nicely obſerve the very quick and almoſt imperceptible Motions of the Mind in its habitual Actions. What I have ſaid in another Place about the Change of the Ideas of Senſe into thoſe of Judgment, may be Proof of this. Let any one not skill'd in Painting, be told when he ſees Bottles and Tobacco-pipes, and other things ſo painted, as they are in ſome Places ſhewn, that he does not ſee Protuberancies, and you will not convince him but by the Touch: He will not believe that by an inſtantaneous Legerdermain of his own Thoughts, one Idea is ſubſtituted for the other. How frequent Inſtances may one meet with of this in the Arguings of the Learned, who not ſeldom in two Ideas that they have been accuſtom'd to join

join in their Minds, ſubſtitute one for the other; and, I am apt to think, often without perceiving it themſelves? This, whilſt they are under the Deceit of it, makes them uncapable of Conviction, and they applaud themſelves as zealous Champions for Truth, when indeed they are contending for Error. And the Confuſion of two different Ideas, which a cuſtomary Connection of them in their Minds hath made to them almoſt one, fills their Head with falſe Views, and their Reaſonings with falſe Conſequences. *Aſſociation.*

§. 41. Right Underſtanding conſiſts in the Diſcovery and Adherence to Truth, and that in the Perception of the viſible or probable Agreement or Diſagreement of Ideas, as they are affirm'd and deny'd one of another. From whence it is evident, that the right Uſe and Conduct of the Underſtanding, whoſe Buſineſs is purely Truth and nothing elſe, is, that the Mind ſhould be kept in a perfect Indifferency, not inclining to either Side, any farther than Evidence ſettles it by Knowledge, or the Over-balance of Probability gives it the turn of Aſſent and Belief; but yet it is very hard to meet with any Diſcourſe wherein one may not perceive the Author not only maintain (for that is reaſonable and fit) but inclin'd and biaſs'd to one Side of the Queſtion, with Marks of a Deſire that That ſhould be true. If it be ask'd me, How Authors who have ſuch a Biaſs, and lean to it may be diſcover'd? I anſwer, By obſerving how in their Writings or Arguings they are often led by their Inclinations to change the Ideas of the Queſtion, either by changing the Terms, or by adding and joining others to them, whereby the Ideas under Conſideration are ſo varied, as to be more ſerviceable to their Purpoſe, and to be thereby brought to an eaſier and nearer Agreement, or more viſible and remoter Diſagreement one with another. This is plain and direct Sophiſtry; but I am far from thinking, that wherever it is found, it is made uſe of with deſign to deceive and miſlead the Readers. It is viſible that Men's Prejudices and Inclinations by this way impoſe often upon themſelves; and their Affection for Truth, under their Prepoſſeſſion in favour of one Side, is the very thing that leads them from it. Inclination ſuggeſts and ſlides into their Diſcourſe favourable Terms, which introduce favourable Ideas, till at laſt by this means That is concluded clear and evident, thus dreſs'd up, which, taken in its native State, by making uſe of none but the preciſe determin'd Ideas, would find no Admittance at all. The putting theſe Gloſſes on what they affirm, theſe, as they are thought, handſome, eaſie, and graceful Explications of what they are diſcourſing on, is ſo much the Character of what is call'd and eſteem'd Writing well, that it is very hard to think that Authors will ever be perſuaded to leave what ſerves ſo well to propagate their Opinions, and procure themſelves Credit in the World, for a more jejune and dry way of Writing, by keeping to the ſame Terms preciſely annexed to the ſame Ideas, a ſowre and blunt Stiffneſs tolerable in Mathematicians only, who force their way, and make Truth prevail by irreſiſtible Demonſtration. *Fallacies.*

But yet if Authors cannot be prevail'd with to quit the looſer, tho' more inſinuating ways of Writing, if they will not think fit to keep cloſe to Truth and Inſtruction by unvaried Terms, and plain unſophiſticated Arguments; yet it concerns Readers not to be impos'd on by Fallacies, and the prevailing ways of Inſinuation. To do this, the ſureſt and moſt effectual Remedy, is to fix in the Mind the clear and diſtinct Ideas of the Queſtion ſtrip'd of Words; and ſo likewiſe in the Train of Argumentation, to take up the Author's Ideas neglecting his Words, obſerving how they connect or ſeparate thoſe in the Queſtion. He that does this will be able to caſt off all that is ſuperfluous; he will ſee what is pertinent, what coherent, what is direct to, what ſlides by, the Queſtion. This will readily ſhew him all the foreign Ideas in the Diſcourſe, and where they were brought in; and though they perhaps dazzled the Writer; yet he will perceive that they give no Light nor Strength to his Reaſonings.

This, though it be the ſhorteſt and eaſieſt way of reading Books with Profit, and keeping ones-ſelf from being miſled by great Names or plauſible Diſcourſes; yet it being hard and tedious to thoſe who have not accuſtom'd themſelves to it; it is not to be expected that every one (amongſt thoſe few

who

Fallacies. who really purſue Truth) ſhould this way guard his Underſtanding from being impos'd on by the wilful, or at leaſt undeſign'd Sophiſtry, which creeps into moſt of the Books of Argument. They, that write againſt their Conviction, or that next to them, are reſolv'd to maintain the Tenets of a Party they are ingag'd in, cannot be ſuppos'd to reject any Arms that may help to defend their Cauſe, and therefore ſuch ſhould be read with the greateſt Caution. And they, who write for Opinions they are ſincerely perſuaded of, and believe to be true, think they may ſo far allow themſelves to indulge their laudable Affection to Truth, as to permit their Eſteem of it to give it the beſt Colours, and ſet it off with the beſt Expreſſions and Dreſs they can, thereby to gain it the eaſieſt Enterance into the Minds of their Readers, and fix it deepeſt there.

One of thoſe being the State of Mind we may juſtly ſuppoſe moſt Writers to be in, 'tis fit their Readers, who apply to them for Inſtruction, ſhould not lay by that Caution which becomes a ſincere Purſuit of Truth, and ſhould make them always watchful againſt whatever might conceal or miſrepreſent it. If they have not the Skill of repreſenting to themſelves the Author's Senſe by pure Ideas ſeparated from Sounds, and thereby diveſted of the falſe Lights and deceitful Ornaments of Speech; this yet they ſhould do, they ſhould keep the preciſe Queſtion ſteadily in their Minds, carry it along with them through the whole Diſcourſe, and ſuffer not the leaſt Alteration in the Terms, either by Addition, Subſtraction, or Subſtituting any other. This every one can do who has a mind to it; and he that has not a mind to it, 'tis plain makes his Underſtanding only the Ware-houſe of other Men's Lumber; I mean falſe and unconcluding Reaſonings, rather than a Repoſitory of Truth for his own Uſe, which will prove ſubſtantial, and ſtand him in Stead, when he has occaſion for it. And whether ſuch an one deals fairly by his own Mind, and conducts his own Underſtanding right, I leave to his own Underſtanding to judge.

Fundamental Verities. §. 42. The Mind of Man being very narrow, and ſo ſlow in making Acquaintance with things, and taking in new Truths, that no one Man is capable, in a much longer Life than our's, to know all Truths; it becomes our Prudence, in our Search after Knowledge, to imploy our Thoughts about fundamental and material Queſtions, carefully avoiding thoſe that are trifling, and not ſuffering our ſelves to be diverted from our main even Purpoſe, by thoſe that are meerly incidental. How much of many young Mens Time is thrown away in purely Logical Enquiries, I need not mention. This is no better than if a Man, who was to be a Painter, ſhould ſpend all his Time in examining the Threads of the ſeveral Cloths he is to paint upon, and counting the Hairs of each Pencil and Bruſh he intends to uſe in the laying on of his Colours. Nay, it is much worſe than for a young Painter to ſpend his Apprenticeſhip in ſuch uſeleſs Niceties; for he, at the End of all his Pains to no Purpoſe, finds that it is not Painting, nor any help to it, and ſo is really to no Purpoſe: Whereas Men deſign'd for Scholars have often their Heads ſo fill'd and warm'd with Diſputes on Logical Queſtions, that they take thoſe airy uſeleſs Notions for real and ſubſtantial Knowledge, and think their Underſtandings ſo well furniſhed with Science, that they need not look any farther into the Nature of Things, or deſcend to the Mechanical Drudgery of Experiment and Enquiry. This is ſo obvious a Miſmanagement of the Underſtanding, and that in the profeſs'd way to Knowledge, that it could not be paſs'd by; to which might be joyn'd abundance of Queſtions, and the way of handling of them in the Schools. What Faults in particular of this Kind, every Man is, or may be guilty of, would be infinite to enumerate; it ſuffices to have ſhewn, That ſuperficial and ſlight Diſcoveries and Obſervations that contain nothing of Moment in themſelves, nor ſerve as Clues to lead us into farther Knowledge, ſhould not be thought worth our ſearching after.

There are fundamental Truths that lie at the bottom, the Baſis upon which a great many others reſt, and in which they have their Conſiſtency. Theſe are teeming Truths, rich in Store, with which they furniſh the Mind, and, like the Lights of Heaven, are not only beautiful and enter-

entertaining in themſelves, but give Light and Evidence to other things, that without them could not be ſeen or known. Such is that admirable Diſcovery of Mr. *Newton*, that all Bodies gravitate to one another, which may be counted as the Baſis of Natural Philoſophy; which, of what Uſe it is to the Underſtanding of the great Frame of our Solar Syſtem, he has to the Aſtoniſhment of the Learned World ſhewn, and how much farther it would guide us in other things, if rightly purſu'd, is not yet known. Our Saviour's great Rule, that *we ſhould love our Neighbour as our ſelves*, is ſuch a Fundamental Truth for the regulating human Society; that, I think, by that alone, one might without Difficulty determine all the Caſes and Doubts in Social Morality. Theſe, and ſuch as theſe are the Truths we ſhould endeavour to find out, and ſtore our Minds with. Which leads me to another thing in the Conduct of the Underſtanding that is no leſs neceſſary, *viz.* *Fundamental Verities.*

§. 43. To accuſtom our ſelves in any Queſtion propos'd, to examine and find out upon what it bottoms. Moſt of the Difficulties that come in our way, when well conſider'd and trac'd, lead us to ſome Propoſition, which known to be true clears the Doubt, and gives an eaſie Solution of the Queſtion, whilſt Topical and Superficial Arguments, of which there is ſtore to be found on both ſides, filling the Head with Variety of Thoughts, and the Mouth with copious Diſcourſe, ſerve only to amuſe the Underſtanding, and entertain Company without coming to the Bottom of the Queſtion, the only Place of Reſt and Stability for an inquiſitive Mind, whoſe Tendency is only to Truth and Knowledge. *Bottoming.*

For Example, if it be demanded, whether the Grand Seignior can lawfully take what he will from any of his People? This Queſtion cannot be reſolv'd without coming to a Certainty, whether all Men are naturally equal; for upon that it turns, and that Truth well ſettled in the Underſtanding, and carried in the Mind through the various Debates concerning the various Rights of Men in Society, will go a great way in putting an End to them, and ſhewing on which ſide the Truth is.

§. 44. There is ſcarce any thing more for the Improvement of Knowledge, for the Eaſe of Life, and the Diſpatch of Buſineſs, than for a Man to be able to diſpoſe of his own Thoughts; and there is ſcarce any thing harder in the whole Conduct of the Underſtanding than to get a full Maſtery over it. The Mind, in a waking Man, has always ſome Object that it applies it ſelf to; which, when we are lazy or unconcern'd, we can eaſily change, and at pleaſure transfer our Thoughts to another, and from thence to a third, which has no Relation to either of the former. Hence Men forwardly conclude, and frequently ſay, nothing is ſo free as Thought, and it were well it were ſo; but the contrary will be found true in ſeveral Inſtances; and there are many Caſes wherein there is nothing more reſty and ungovernable than our Thoughts: They will not be directed what Objects to purſue, nor be taken off from thoſe they have once fix'd on, but run away with a Man in purſuit of thoſe Ideas they have in View, let him do what he can. *Transferring of Thoughts.*

I will not here mention again what I have above taken notice of, how hard it is to get the Mind, narrow'd by a Cuſtom of thirty or forty Years ſtanding to a ſcanty Collection of obvious and common Ideas, to enlarge it ſelf to a more copious Stock, and grow into an Acquaintance with thoſe that would afford more abundant Matter of uſeful Contemplation; 'tis not of this I am here ſpeaking. The Inconveniency I would here repreſent and find a Remedy for, is the Difficulty there is ſometimes to transfer our Minds from one Subject to another, in Caſes where the Ideas are equally familiar to us.

Matters, that are recommended to our Thoughts by any of our Paſſions, take poſſeſſion of our Minds with a kind of Authority, and will not be kept out or diſlodg'd, but as if the Paſſion that rules, were, for the time, the Sheriff of the Place, and came with all the *Poſſe*, the Underſtanding is ſeiz'd and taken with the Object it introduces, as if it had a legal Right to be alone conſider'd there. There is ſcarce any Body, I think, of ſo calm a Temper who hath not ſometime found this Tyranny on his Underſtanding, and ſuffer'd under the Inconvenience of it. Who is there almoſt, whoſe Mind, at

Transferring of Thoughts.

ſome time or other, Love or Anger, Fear or Grief has not ſo faſten'd to ſome Clog, that it could not turn it ſelf to any other Object? I call it a Clog, for it hangs upon the Mind ſo as to hinder its Vigour and Activity in the purſuit of other Contemplations, and advances it ſelf little or not at all in the Knowledge of the thing which it ſo cloſely hugs and conſtantly pores on. Men thus poſſeſs'd, are ſometimes as if they were ſo in the worſt Senſe, and lay under the Power of an Inchantment. They ſee not what paſſes before their Eyes; hear not the audible Diſcourſe of the Company; and when by any ſtrong Application to them they are rous'd a little, they are like Men brought to themſelves from ſome remote Region; whereas in Truth they come no farther than their ſecret Cabinet within, where they have been wholly taken up with the Puppet, which is for that time appointed for their Entertainment. The Shame that ſuch Dumps cauſe to well-bred People, when it carries them away from the Company, where they ſhould bear a part in the Converſation, is a ſufficient Argument, that it is a Fault in the Conduct of our Underſtanding, not to have that Power over it as to make uſe of it to thoſe Purpoſes, and on thoſe Occaſions wherein we have Need of its Aſſiſtance. The Mind ſhould be always free and ready to turn it ſelf to the Variety of Objects that occur, and allow them as much Conſideration as ſhall for that time be thought fit. To be ingroſſed ſo by one Object, as not to be prevail'd on to leave it for another that we judge fitter for our Contemplation, is to make it of no Uſe to us. Did this State of Mind remain always ſo, every one would, without Scruple, give it the Name of perfect Madneſs; and whilſt it does laſt, at whatever Intervals it returns, ſuch a Rotation of Thoughts about the ſame Object no more carries us forwards towards the Attainment of Knowledge, than getting upon a Mill-horſe whilſt he jogs on in his Circular Track would carry a Man a Journey.

I grant ſomething muſt be allow'd to legitimate Paſſions, and to natural Inclinations. Every Man, beſides occaſional Affections, has belov'd Studies, and thoſe the Mind will more cloſely ſtick to; but yet it is beſt that it ſhould be always at Liberty, and under the free Diſpoſal of the Man, to act how, and upon what he directs. This we ſhould endeavour to obtain, unleſs we would be content with ſuch a Flaw in our Underſtandings, that ſometimes we ſhould be as it were without it; for it is very little better than ſo in Caſes where we cannot make uſe of it to thoſe Purpoſes we would, and which ſtand in preſent need of it.

But before fit Remedies can be thought on for this Diſeaſe, we muſt know the ſeveral Cauſes of it, and thereby regulate the Cure, if we will hope to labour with Succeſs.

One we have already inſtanced in, whereof all Men that reflect have ſo general a Knowledge, and ſo often an Experience in themſelves, that no Body doubts of it. A prevailing Paſſion ſo pins down our Thoughts to the Object and Concern of it, that a Man paſſionately in Love, cannot bring himſelf to think of his ordinary Affairs, or a kind Mother drooping under the Loſs of a Child, is not able to bear a part as ſhe was wont in the Diſcourſe of the Company or Converſation of her Friends.

But though Paſſion be the moſt obvious and general, yet it is not the only Cauſe that binds up the Underſtanding, and confines it for the time to one Object, from which it will not be taken off.

Beſides this, we may often find that the Underſtanding, when it has a while imploy'd it ſelf upon a Subject which either Chance, or ſome ſlight Accident offer'd to it, without the Intereſt or Recommendation of any Paſſion, works it ſelf into a Warmth, and by degrees gets into a Career, wherein, like a Bowl down a Hill, it increaſes its Motion by going, and will not be ſtop'd or diverted, though, when the Heat is over, it ſees all this earneſt Application was about a Trifle not worth a Thought, and all the Pains imploy'd about it, loſt Labour.

There is a third ſort, if I miſtake not, yet lower than this: 'tis a ſort of Childiſhneſs, if I may ſo ſay, of the Underſtanding, wherein, during the Fit, it plays with, and dandles, ſome inſignificant Puppet to no End, nor with any Deſign at all, and yet cannot eaſily be got off from it. Thus ſome

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trivial Sentence, or a Scrap of Poetry will ſometimes get into Men's Heads, and make ſuch a Chiming there, that there is no ſtilling of it; no Peace to be obtain'd, nor Attention to any thing elſe, but this impertinent Gueſt will take up the Mind and poſſeſs the Thoughts in ſpight of all Endeavours to get rid of it. Whether every one hath experimented in themſelves this troubleſome Intruſion of ſome friſking Ideas which thus importune the Underſtanding, and hinder it from being better imploy'd, I know not. But Perſons of very good Parts, and thoſe more than one, I have heard ſpeak and complain of it themſelves. The reaſon I have to make this Doubt, is from what I have known in a Caſe ſomething of kin to this, though much odder, and that is of a ſort of Viſions that ſome People have lying quiet, but perfectly awake, in the Dark, or with their Eyes ſhut. It is a great Variety of Faces, moſt commonly very odd ones, that appear to them in Train one after another; ſo that having had juſt the Sight of one, it immediately paſſes away to give place to another, that the ſame inſtant ſucceeds, and has as quick an Exit as its Leader, and ſo they march on in a conſtant Succeſſion; nor can any one of them by any Endeavour be ſtop'd or retain'd beyond the inſtant of its Appearance, but is thruſt out by its Follower, which will have its Turn. Concerning this fantaſtical Phenomenon, I have talked with ſeveral People, whereof ſome have been perfectly acquainted with it, and others have been ſo wholly Strangers to it, that they could hardly be brought to conceive or believe it. I knew a Lady of excellent Parts who had got paſt Thirty, without having ever had the leaſt Notice of any ſuch thing; ſhe was ſo great a Stranger to it, that when ſhe heard me and another talking of it, could ſcarce forbear thinking we banter'd her; but ſometime after drinking a large Doſe of dilute Tea (as ſhe was order'd by a Phyſician) going to Bed, ſhe told us at next Meeting, that ſhe had now experimented what our Diſcourſe had much a do to perſuade her of. She had ſeen a great Variety of Faces in a long Train, ſucceeding one another, as we had deſcrib'd, they were all Strangers and Intruders, ſuch as ſhe had no Acquaintance with before, nor ſought after then, and as they came of themſelves they went too; none of them ſtay'd a Moment, nor could be detain'd by all the Endeavours ſhe could uſe, but went on in their ſolemn Proceſſion, juſt appear'd and then vaniſh'd. This odd Phenomenon ſeems to have a mechanical Cauſe, and to depend upon the Matter and Motion of the Blood or animal Spirits.

Transferring of Thoughts.

When the Fancy is bound by Paſſion, I know no way to ſet the Mind free, and at liberty to proſecute what Thoughts the Man would make choice of, but to allay the preſent Paſſion, or counter-balance it with another, which is an Art to be got by Study, and Acquaintance with the Paſſions.

Thoſe, who find themſelves apt to be carried away with the ſpontaneous Current of their own Thoughts, not excited by any Paſſion or Intereſt, muſt be very wary and careful in all the Inſtances of it to ſtop it, and never humour their Minds in being thus triflingly buſie. Men know the Value of their corporal Liberty, and therefore ſuffer not willingly Fetters and Chains to be put upon them. To have the Mind captivated, is, for the time, certainly the greater Evil of the two, and deſerves our utmoſt Care and Endeavours to preſerve the Freedom of our better Part. And in this Caſe our Pains will not be loſt; ſtriving and ſtruggling will prevail, if we conſtantly, in all ſuch Occaſions, make uſe of it. We muſt never indulge theſe trivial Attentions of Thought; as ſoon as we find the Mind makes it ſelf a Buſineſs of nothing, we ſhould immediately diſturb and check it, introduce new and more ſerious Conſiderations, and not leave till we have beaten it off from the Purſuit it was upon. This, at firſt, if we have let the contrary Practice grow to an Habit, will perhaps be difficult; but conſtant Endeavours will by degrees prevail, and at laſt make it eaſie. And when a Man is pretty well advanced, and can command his Mind off at Pleaſure from incidental and undeſign'd Purſuits, it may not be amiſs for him to go on farther, and make Attempts upon Meditations of greater Moment, that at laſt he may have a full Power over his own Mind, and be ſo fully Maſter of his own Thoughts, as to be able to transfer them from one Subject to another, with the ſame Eaſe that he can lay by any thing he has in his Hand, and take ſomething elſe

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that he has a Mind to in the room of it. This Liberty of Mind is of great Uſe both in Buſineſs and Study, and he that has got it will have no ſmall Advantage of Eaſe and Diſpatch in all that is the choſen and uſeful Imployment of his Underſtanding.

The third and laſt way which I mention'd the Mind to be ſometimes taken up with, I mean the Chiming of ſome particular Words or Sentence in the Memory, and, as it were, making a Noiſe in the Head, and the like, ſeldom happens, but when the Mind is lazy or very looſely and negligently imploy'd. It were better indeed be without ſuch impertinent and uſeleſs Repetitions. Any obvious Idea, when it is roving cauſleſsly at a venture, being of more Uſe, and apter to ſuggeſt ſomething worth Conſideration, than the inſignificant Buzz of purely empty Sounds. But ſince the Rouſing of the Mind, and Setting the Underſtanding on work with ſome degrees of Vigour, does for the moſt part preſently ſet it free from theſe idle Companions; it may not be amiſs, whenever we find our ſelves troubled with them, to make uſe of ſo profitable a Remedy that is always at hand.

AN EXAMINATION OF *P. MALEBRANCHE*'s OPINION OF Seeing all Things in GOD.

1. THE acute and ingenious Author of the *Recherche de la Veritè*, among a great many very fine Thoughts, judicious Reaſonings, and uncommon Reflections, has in that Treatiſe ſtarted the Notion of *Seeing all things in God*, as the beſt way to explain the Nature and Manner of the Ideas in our Underſtanding. The Deſire I had to have my unaffected Ignorance remov'd, has made it neceſſary for me to ſee, whether this Hypotheſis, when examin'd, and the Parts of it put together, can be thought to cure our Ignorance, or is intelligible and ſatisfactory to one who would not deceive himſelf, take Words for Things, and think he knows what he knows not.

2. This I obſerve at the Entrance, that *P. Malebranche* having enumerated, and in the following Chapters ſhew'd the Difficulties of the other Ways, whereby he thinks human Underſtanding may be attempted to be explain'd, and how unſufficient they are to give a ſatisfactory Account of the Ideas we have, erects this of *Seeing all things in God* upon their Ruin, as the true, becauſe it is impoſſible to find a better. Which Argument ſo far being only *Argumentum ad Ignorantiam*, loſes all its Force as ſoon as we conſider the Weakneſs of our Minds, and the Narrowneſs of our Capacities, and have but Humility enough to allow, that there may be many things which we cannot fully comprehend, and that God is not bound in all he does to ſubject his ways of Operation to the Scrutiny of our Thoughts, and confine himſelf to do nothing but what we muſt comprehend. And it will very little help to cure my Ignorance, that this is the beſt of four or five Hypotheſes propos'd, which are all defective; if this too has in it what is inconſiſtent with it ſelf, or unintelligible to me.

Recherche de la Veritè, l. 3. P. 2. c. 1.

3. The

3. The *P. Malebranche's Recherche de la Verité*, l. 3. p. 2. c. 1. tells us, that whatever the Mind perceives *muſt be actually preſent and intimately united to it.* That the things that the Mind perceives are its own Senſations, Imaginations, or Notions; which being in the Soul, the Modifications of it need no Ideas to repreſent them. But all things exteriour to the Soul we cannot perceive but by the Intervention of Ideas, ſuppoſing that the things themſelves cannot be intimately united to the Soul. But becauſe Spiritual things may poſſibly be united to the Soul, therefore he thinks it probable that they can diſcover themſelves immediately without Ideas; though of this he doubts, becauſe he believes not there is any Subſtance purely intelligible, but that of God; and that though Spirits can poſſibly unite themſelves to our Minds; yet at preſent we cannot entirely know them. But he ſpeaks here principally of material things, which he ſays certainly cannot unite themſelves to our Souls in ſuch a manner, as is neceſſary that it ſhould perceive them; becauſe being extended, the Soul not being ſo, there is no Proportion between them.

4. This is the Sum of his Doctrine contained in the 1ſt Ch. of the 2d Part of the 3d Book, as far as I can comprehend it. Wherein, I confeſs, there are many Expreſſions, which carrying with them, to my Mind, no clear Ideas, are like to remove but little of my Ignorance by their Sounds. *V. g. What it is to be intimately united to the Soul.* What it is for two Souls or Spirits to be intimately united; for intimate Union being an Idea taken from Bodies, when the Parts of one get within the Surface of the other, and touch their inward Parts: What is the Idea of intimate Union, I muſt have, between two Beings that hath neither of them any Extenſion or Surface? And if it be not ſo explain'd as to give me a clear Idea of that Union, it will make me underſtand very little more of the Nature of the Ideas in my Mind, when 'tis ſaid I ſee them in God, who being *intimately united to the Soul* exhibits them to it; than when it is only ſaid they are by the Appointment of God produced in the Mind by certain Motions of our Bodies, to which our Minds are united. Which, however imperfect a way of explaining this Matter, will ſtill be as good as any other, that does not by clear Ideas remove my Ignorance of the Manner of my Perception.

5. But he ſays that *certainly material things cannot unite themſelves to our Souls.* Our Bodies are united to our Souls, yes; but, ſays he, not after a *manner which is neceſſary that the Soul may perceive them.* Explain this Manner of Union, and ſhew wherein the Difference conſiſts betwixt the Union neceſſary and not neceſſary to Perception, and then I ſhall confeſs this Difficulty removed.

The Reaſon that he gives why *material things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner* that is neceſſary to the Soul's perceiving them, is this, *viz.* That *material things being extended, and the Soul not, there is no Proportion between them.* This, if it ſhews any thing, ſhews only that a Soul and a Body cannot be united, becauſe one has Surface to be united by, and the other none. But it ſhews not why a Soul united to a Body, as our's is, cannot, by that Body, have the Idea of a Triangle excited in it, as well as by being united to God (between whom and the Soul there is as little Proportion, as between any Creature immaterial or material and the Soul) ſee in God the Idea of a Triangle that is in him, ſince we cannot conceive a Triangle, whether ſeen in Matter, or in God, to be without Extenſion.

6. He ſays, *There is no Subſtance purely intelligible but that of God.* Here again I muſt confeſs my ſelf in the Dark, having no Notion at all of the *Subſtance of God*; nor being able to conceive how his is more intelligible than any other Subſtance.

7. One thing more there is, which, I confeſs, ſtumbles me in the very Foundation of this Hypotheſis, which ſtands thus; we cannot *perceive* anything but what is *intimately united to the Soul.* The Reaſon why ſome things (*viz.* material) cannot be *intimately united to the Soul,* is, becauſe *there is no Proportion between the Soul and them.* If this be a good Reaſon, it follows, that the greater the Proportion there is between the Soul and any other Being, the better, and more intimately they can be united. Now then I ask, whether there be a greater Proportion between God, an Infinite Being, and the Soul, or between Finite Created Spirits and the Soul? And yet the Author ſays, that

that *he believes that there is no Subſtance purely intelligible but that of God*, and that *we cannot intirely know created Spirits at preſent.* Make this out upon your Principles of *Intimate Union* and *Proportion*, and then they will be of ſome Uſe to the clearing of your Hypotheſis, otherwiſe *Intimate Union* and *Proportion* are only Sounds ſerving to amuſe, not inſtruct us.

8. In the Cloſe of this Chapter he enumerates the ſeveral Ways whereby he thinks we come by Ideas, and compares them ſeverally with his own way. Which how much more intelligible it is than either of thoſe, the following Chapters will ſhew; to which I ſhall proceed, when I have obſerv'd that it ſeems a bold Determination, when he ſays, that it muſt be one of theſe Ways, and we can ſee Objects no other. Which Aſſertion muſt be built on this good Opinion of our Capacities; that God cannot make the Creatures operate, but in ways conceivable to us. That we cannot diſcourſe and reaſon about them farther than we conceive, is a great Truth: And 'twould be well if we would not, but would ingenuouſly own the Shortneſs of our Sight where we do not ſee. To ſay there can be no other, becauſe we conceive no other, does not, I confeſs, much inſtruct. And if I ſhould ſay, that 'tis poſſible God has made our Souls ſo, and ſo united them to our Bodies, that, upon certain Motions made in our Bodies by external Objects, the Soul ſhould have ſuch or ſuch Perceptions or Ideas, though in a Way unconceivable to us; this perhaps would appear as true and as inſtructive a Propoſition as what is ſo poſitively laid down.

9. Tho' the Peripatetick Doctrine of the *Species* does not at all ſatisfie me, yet I think it were not hard to ſhew, that it is as eaſie to account for the Difficulties he charges on it, as for thoſe his own Hypotheſis is laden with. But it being not my Buſineſs to defend what I do not underſtand, nor to prefer the Learned Gibberiſh of the Schools, to what is yet unintelligible to me in *P. M.* I ſhall only take notice of ſo much of his Objections, as concerns what I gueſs to be the Truth. Though I do not think any material *Species*, carrying the Reſemblance of Things by a continual Flux from the Body we perceive, bring the Perception of them to our Senſes; yet I think the Perception we have of Bodies at a Diſtance from our's, may be accounted for, as far as we are capable of underſtanding it, by the Motion of Particles of Matter coming from them and ſtriking on our Organs. In Feeling and Taſting there is immediate Contact. Sound is not unintelligibly explain'd by a vibrating Motion communicated to the Medium, and the Effluviums of odorous Bodies, will, without any great Difficulties, account for Smells. And therefore *P. M.* makes his Objections only againſt viſible *Species*, as the moſt difficult to be explain'd by material Cauſes, as indeed they are. But he that ſhall allow extream Smalneſs in the Particles of Light, and exceeding Swiftneſs in their Motion; and the great Poroſity that muſt be granted in Bodies, (if we compare Gold, which wants them not, with Air, the Medium wherein the Rays of Light come to our Eyes, and that of a Million of Rays that rebound from any viſible Area of any Body, perhaps the $\frac{1}{1000}$ or $\frac{1}{10000}$ Part coming to the Eye, is enough to move the *Retina* ſufficiently to cauſe a Senſation in the Mind) will not find any great Difficulty in the Objections are brought from the Impenetrability of Matter; and theſe Rays ruffling and breaking one another in the Medium which is full of them. As to what is ſaid, that from one Point we can ſee a great Number of Objects, that is no Objection againſt the *Species*, or viſible Appearances of Bodies, being brought into the Eye by the Rays of Light; for the Bottom of the Eye or *Retina*, which, in regard of theſe Rays, is the Place of Viſion, is far from being a Point. Nor is it true, that though the Eye be in any one place; yet that the Sight is performed in one Point; *i. e.* That the Rays that bring thoſe viſible *Species* do all meet in a Point; for they cauſe their diſtinct Senſations, by ſtriking on diſtinct parts of the *Retina*, as is plain in Opticks; and the Figure they paint there muſt be of ſome conſiderable Bigneſs, ſince it takes up on the *Retina* an Area whoſe Diameter is at leaſt Thirty Seconds of a Circle, whereof the Circumference is in the *Retina*, and the Centre ſomewhere in the Cryſtalline; as a little Skill in Opticks will manifeſt to any one that conſiders, that few Eyes can perceive an Object leſs than Thirty Minutes of a Circle, whereof the Eye is the Centre.

Recherche de la Verité, l. 3. pt. 2. c. 2.

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And, he that will but reflect on that ſeeming odd Experiment of ſeeing only the two outward ones of three Bits of Paper ſtuck up againſt a Wall, at about half a Foot, or a Foot one from another, without ſeeing the middle one at all, whilſt his Eye remains fixed in the ſame poſture, muſt confeſs that Viſion is not made in a Point, when 'tis plain, that looking with one Eye there is always one part between the Extreams of the *Area* that we ſee, which is not ſeen at the ſame time that we perceive the Extreams of it; though the looking with two Eyes, or the quick turning of the *Axis* of the Eye to the part we would diſtinctly view, when we look but with one, does not let us take notice of it.

10. What I have here ſaid I think ſufficient to make intelligible, how by material Rays of Light viſible *Species* may be brought into the Eye, notwithſtanding any of *P. M*'s Objections againſt ſo much of material Cauſes, as my *Hypotheſis* is concern'd in. But when by this means an Image is made on the *Retina*, how we ſee it, I conceive no more than when I am told we ſee it in God. How we ſee it, is, I confeſs, what I underſtand not in the one or in the other, only it appears to me more difficult to conceive a diſtinct viſible Image in the uniform unvariable Eſſence of God, than in variouſly modifiable Matter; but the Manner how I ſee either, ſtill 'ſcapes my Comprehenſion. Impreſſions made on the *Retina* by Rays of Light, I think I underſtand; and Motions from thence continued to the Brain may be conceived, and that theſe produce Ideas in our Minds, I am perſuaded, but in a manner to me incomprehenſible. This I can reſolve only into the good Pleaſure of God, whoſe Ways are paſt finding out. And, I think, I know it as well when I am told theſe are Ideas that the Motion of the Animal Spirits, by a Law eſtabliſh'd by God, produces in me, as when I am told they are Ideas I ſee in God. The Ideas 'tis certain I have, and God both ways is the original Cauſe of my having them; but the Manner how I come by them, how it is that I perceive, I confeſs I underſtand not; though it be plain Motion has to do in the producing of them: And Motion ſo modified, is appointed to be the Cauſe of our having of them; as appears by the curious and artificial Structure of the Eye, accommodated to all the Rules of Refraction and Dioptricks, that ſo viſible Objects might be exactly and regularly painted on the Bottom of the Eye.

11. The Change of Bigneſs in the Ideas of viſible Objects, by Diſtance and Optick-Glaſſes, which is the next Argument he uſes againſt viſible Species, is a good Argument againſt them, as ſuppoſed by the Peripateticks, but when conſider'd, would perſuade one that we ſee the Figures and Magnitudes of Things rather in the Bottom of our Eyes than in God; the Idea we have of them and their Grandure being ſtill proportion'd to the Bigneſs of the Area, on the Bottom of our Eyes, that is affected by the Rays which paint the Image there, and we may be ſaid to ſee the Picture in the *Retina*, as when it is prick'd, we are truly ſaid to feel the Pain in our Finger.

12. In the next place where he ſays, that when we look on a Cube *we ſee all its ſides equal.* This, I think, is a Miſtake; and I have in another place ſhewn, how the Idea we have from a regular Solid, is not the true Idea of that Solid, but ſuch an one as by Cuſtom (as the name of it does,) ſerves to excite our Judgment to form ſuch an one.

13. What he ſays of ſeeing an Object ſeveral Millions of Leagues, the very ſame Inſtant that it is uncover'd, I think may be ſhewn to be a Miſtake in Matter of Fact. For by Obſervations made on the *Satellites* of *Jupiter*, it is diſcover'd that Light is ſucceſſively propagated, and is about ten Minutes coming from the Sun to us.

14. By what I have ſaid, I think it may be underſtood how we may conceive, that from remote Objects material Cauſes may reach our Senſes, and therein produce ſeveral Motions that may be the Cauſes of Ideas in us; notwithſtanding what *P. M.* has ſaid in this ſecond Chapter againſt Material Species. I confeſs his Arguments are good againſt thoſe Species as uſually underſtood by the Peripateticks: But, ſince my Principles have been ſaid to be conformable to the *Ariſtotelian* Philoſophy, I have endeavour'd to remove the Difficulties it is charged with, as far as my Opinion is concerned in them.

15. His

15. His third Chapter is to confute the *Opinion of thoſe who think our Minds have a Power to produce the Ideas of Things on which they would think, and that they are excited to produce them by the Impreſſions which Objects make on the Body.* One who thinks Ideas are nothing but Perceptions of the Mind annex'd to certain Motions of the Body by the Will of God, who hath order'd ſuch Perceptions always to accompany ſuch Motions, though we know not how they are produced, does in effect conceive thoſe Ideas or Perceptions to be only Paſſions of the Mind, when produced in it, whether we will or no, by external Objects. But he conceives them to be a Mixture of Action and Paſſion when the Mind attends to them or revives them in the Memory. Whether the Soul has ſuch a Power as this, we ſhall perhaps have occaſion to conſider hereafter; and this Power our Author does not deny, ſince in this very Chapter he ſays, *When we conceive a Square by pure Underſtanding, we can yet imagine it*, i. e. *perceive it in our ſelves by tracing an Image of it on the Brain.* Here then he allows the Soul power to trace Images on the Brain, and perceive them. This, to me, is Matter of new Perplexity in this Hypotheſis; for if the Soul be ſo united to the Brain as to trace Images on it, and perceive them, I do not ſee how this conſiſts with what he ſays a little before in the firſt Chapter, *viz. That certainly material Things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner neceſſary to its perceiving them.*

16. That which is ſaid about Objects exciting Ideas in us by Motion; and our reviving the Ideas we have once got in our Memories, does not, I confeſs, fully explain the manner how it is done. In this I frankly avow my Ignorance, and ſhould be glad to find in him any thing that would clear it to me; but in his Explications I find theſe difficulties which I cannot get over.

17. The Mind cannot produce Ideas, ſays he, becauſe they are *real Spiritual Beings*, i. e. Subſtances; for ſo is the Concluſion of that Paragraph, where he mentions it as an Abſurdity to think they are *annihilated when they are not preſent to the Mind.* And the whole Force of this Argument would perſuade one to underſtand him ſo; though I do not remember that he any where ſpeaks it out, or in direct Terms calls them Subſtances.

18. I ſhall here only take notice how inconceivable it is to me, that a Spiritual, *i. e.* an unextended Subſtance ſhould repreſent to the Mind an extended Figure, *v. g.* a Triangle of unequal ſides, or two Triangles of different Magnitudes. Next, ſuppoſing I could conceive an unextended Subſtance to repreſent a Figure, or be the Idea of a Figure, the Difficulty ſtill remains to conceive how it is my Soul ſees it. Let this ſubſtantial Being be ever ſo ſure, and the Picture ever ſo clear; yet how we ſee it, is to me unconceivable. Intimate Union, were it as intelligible of two unextended Subſtances, as of two Bodies, would not yet reach Perception, which is ſomething beyond Union. But yet a little lower he *agrees*, that an Idea *is not a Subſtance*, but yet affirms, 'tis *a Spiritual Thing*: This *Spiritual Thing* therefore muſt either be a *Spiritual Subſtance*, or a Mode of a Spiritual Subſtance, or a Relation; for beſides theſe I have no Conception of any thing. And if any ſhall tell me it is a *Mode*, it muſt be a Mode of the Subſtance of God; which, beſides that it will be ſtrange to mention any Modes in the ſimple Eſſence of God; whoſoever ſhall propoſe any ſuch Modes, as a way to explain the Nature of our Ideas, propoſes to me ſomething unconceivable, as a means to conceive what I do not yet know; and ſo, bating a new Phraſe, teaches me nothing, but leaves me as much in the dark as one can be where he conceives nothing. So that ſuppoſing Ideas real Spiritual Things never ſo much, if they are neither Subſtances nor Modes, let them be what they will, I am no more inſtructed in their Nature, than when I am told they are Perceptions, ſuch as I find them. And I appeal to my Reader, whether that Hypotheſis be to be prefer'd for its Eaſineſs to be underſtood, which is explain'd by real Beings, that are neither Subſtances nor Modes.

19. In the fourth Chapter he proves, that we do not ſee Objects by Ideas that are created with us; becauſe the Ideas we have even of one very ſimple Figure, *v. g.* a Triangle, are not infinite, though there may be infinite Triangles. What this proves I will not here examine; but the Reaſon he gives being built on his Hypotheſes, I cannot get over, and that is, That *'tis not for*

want of Ideas, or that infinite is not present to us, but 'tis only for want of Capacity and Extension of our Souls, because the Extension of our Spirits is very narrow and limited. To have a limited Extension, is to have some Extension which agrees but ill with what is before said of our Souls, that they *have no Extension.* By what he says here and in other places, one would think he were to be understood, as if the Soul, being but a small Extension, could not at once receive all the Ideas conceivable in infinite Space, because but a little Part of that infinite Space can be apply'd to the Soul at once. To conceive thus of the Soul's intimate Union with an infinite Being, and by that Union receiving of Ideas, leads one as naturally into as grofs Thoughts, as a Country-Maid would have of an infinite Butter-print, in which were ingraven Figures of all Sorts and Sizes, the several Parts whereof being, as there was occasion, apply'd to her Lump of Butter, left on it the Figure or Idea there was present need of. But whether any one would thus explain our Ideas, I will not say, only I know not well how to understand what he says here, with what he says before of *Union* in a better Sense.

20. He farther says, that had we a Magazine of all Ideas that are necessary for seeing things, they would be of no Use, since the Mind could not know which to choose, and set before it self to see the Sun. What he here means by the Sun, is hard to conceive, and according to his Hypothesis of *Seeing all things in God,* how can he know that there is any such real Being in the World as the Sun? Did he ever see the Sun? No, but on occasion of the Presence of the Sun to his Eyes, he has seen the Idea of the Sun in God, which God has exhibited to him; but the Sun, because it cannot be united to his Soul, he cannot see. How then does he know that there is a Sun which he never saw? And since God does all things by the most compendious ways, what need is there that God should make a Sun that we might see its Idea in him when he pleas'd to exhibit it, when this might as well be done without any real Sun at all?

21. He farther says, that God does not actually produce in us as many new Ideas as we every Moment perceive different things. Whether he has prov'd this or no, I will not examine.

22. But he says, That *we have at all times actually in our selves the Ideas of all things.* Then we have always actually in our selves the Ideas of all Triangles, which was but now denied, *but we have them confusedly.* If we see them in God, and they are not in him confusedly, I do not understand how we can see them in God confusedly.

23. In the fifth Chapter he tells us *All things are in God,* even the most Corporeal and Earthly, but *after a manner altogether Spiritual, and which we cannot comprehend.* Here therefore He and I area like ignorant of these good Words; *material things are in God after a Spiritual manner,* signifie nothing to either of us; and *Spiritual manner,* signifies no more but this, that material things are in God immaterially. This and the like are ways of speaking, which our Vanity has found out to cover, not remove our Ignorance. But *material things are in God,* because *their Ideas are in God, and those Ideas which God had of them before the World was created, are not at all different from himself.* This seems to me to come very near saying, not only that there is Variety in God, since we see Variety in what *is not different from himself*; but that material things are God, or a Part of him; which, though I do not think to be what our Author designs; yet thus I fear he must be forc'd to talk, who thinks he knows God's Understanding so much better than his own, that he will make use of the Divine Intellect to explain the Human.

24. In the sixth Chapter he comes more particularly to explain his own Doctrine, where he first says, *the Ideas of all Beings are in God.* Let it be so, God has the Idea of a Triangle, of a Horse, of a River just as we have; for hitherto this signifies no more, for we see them as they are in him; and so the Ideas that are in him, are the Ideas we perceive. Thus far I then understand God hath the same Ideas we have. This tells us indeed that there are Ideas, which was agreed before, and I think no Body denies; but tells me not yet what they are.

25. Ha-

25. Having ſaid that they are in God, the next thing he tells us is, that we *can ſee them in God.* His Proof, that *our Souls can ſee them in God, is becauſe God is moſt ſtraitly united to our Souls by his Preſence, inſomuch that one may ſay, God is the place of Spirits, as Spaces are the places of Bodies*; In which there is not, I confeſs, one Word that I can underſtand. For, firſt, In what Senſe can he ſay, that *Spaces are the places of Bodies*; when he makes Body and Space, or Extenſion to be the ſame thing? So that I do no more underſtand what he means, when he ſays, *Spaces are the places of Bodies*, than if he had ſaid, Bodies are the places of Bodies. But when this Simile is apply'd to God and Spirits, it makes this ſaying, that *God is the place of Spirits*, either to be meerly Metaphorical, and ſo ſignifies literally nothing, or elſe being literal, makes us conceive that Spirits move up and down, and have their Diſtances and Intervals in God, as Bodies have in Space. When I am told in which of theſe Senſes he is to be underſtood, I ſhall be able to ſee how far it helps us to underſtand the Nature of Ideas. But is not God as ſtraitly united to Bodies as to Spirits? For he is alſo preſent, even where they are, but yet they ſee not theſe Ideas in him. He therefore adds, *That the Soul can ſee in God the Works of God, ſuppoſing God would diſcover to it what there is in him to repreſent them*, viz. the Ideas that are in him. Union therefore is not the Cauſe of this ſeeing; for the Soul may be united to God, and yet not ſee the Ideas are in him, till he *diſcover* them to it; ſo that after all I am but where I was. I have Ideas, that I know, but I would know what they are; and to that I am yet only told, that *I ſee them in God.* I ask how *I ſee them in God?* and 'tis anſwer'd, by my *intimate Union* with God, for he is every where preſent. I anſwer, if that were enough, Bodies are alſo intimately united with God, for he is every where preſent; beſides, if that were enough, I ſhould ſee all the Ideas that are in God. No, but only thoſe that he pleaſes to *diſcover.* Tell me wherein this Diſcovery lies, beſides barely making me ſee them, and you explain the Manner of my having Ideas: Otherwiſe all that has been ſaid amounts to no more but this, that I have thoſe Ideas that it pleaſes God I ſhould have, but by Ways that I know not; and of this Mind I was before, and am not got one jot farther.

26. In the next Paragraph he calls them *Beings, repreſentative Beings.* But whether theſe Beings are Subſtances, Modes, or Relations, I am not told; and ſo by being told they are Spiritual Beings, I know no more but that they are ſomething, I know not what, and that I knew before.

27. To explain this Matter a little farther, he adds, *It muſt be obſerv'd, that it cannot be concluded, that Souls ſee the Eſſence of God, in that they ſee all things in God; becauſe what they ſee is very imperfect, and God is very perfect. They ſee Matter diviſible, figured,* &c. *and in God there is nothing diviſible and figured: For God is all Being, becauſe he is Infinite, and comprehends all things; but he is not any Being in particular. Whereas what we ſee is but ſome one or more Beings in particular; and we do not at all comprehend that perfect Simplicity of God which contains all Beings. Moreover, one may ſay, that we do not ſo much ſee the Ideas of things, as the things themſelves, which the Ideas repreſent. For when, for Example, one ſees a Square, one ſays not that one ſees the Idea of a Square, which is united to the Soul, but only the Square that is without.* I do not pretend not to be ſhort-ſighted; but if I am not duller than ordinary, this Paragraph ſhews, that *P. M.* himſelf is at a ſtand in this Matter, and comprehends not what it is we ſee in God, or how. *C.* 4. he ſays, in expreſs Words, that *it is neceſſary that at all times we ſhould have actually in our ſelves the Ideas of all things.* And in this very Chapter, a little lower, he ſays, that *all Beings are preſent to our Minds*, and that we have *general Ideas antecedent to particular.* And, *C.* 8. that we are never without the *general Idea of Being:* And yet here he ſays, *that which we ſee* is but *one or more Beings in particular.* And after having taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that *we cannot poſſibly ſee things themſelves, but only Ideas*; here he tells us *we do not ſo much ſee the Ideas of things as the things themſelves.* In this Uncertainty of the Author what 'tis we ſee, I am to be excus'd, if my Eyes ſee not more clearly in his Hypotheſis than he himſelf does.

28. He farther tells us in this ſixth Chapter, that *we ſee all Beings, becauſe God wills that That which is in him that repreſents them ſhould be diſcover'd to us.* This tells us only, that there are Ideas of things in God, and that we ſee

them when he pleaſes to diſcover them; but what does this ſhew us more of the Nature of thoſe Ideas, or of the Diſcovery of them, wherein that conſiſts, than he that ſays, without pretending to know what they are, or how they are made, that Ideas are in our Minds when God pleaſes to produce them there, by ſuch Motions as he has appointed to do it? The next Argument for our *ſeeing all things in God*, is in theſe Words; *But the ſtrongeſt of all the Reaſons is the manner in which the Mind perceives all things: It is evident, and all the World knows it by Experience, that when we would think of any thing in particular, we at firſt caſt our View upon all Beings, and afterwards we apply our ſelves to the Conſideration of the Object which we deſire to think on.* This Argument has no other Effect on me, but to make me doubt the more of the Truth of this Doctrine. Firſt, Becauſe this, which he calls the *ſtrongeſt Reaſon of all*, is built upon Matter of Fact, which I cannot find to be ſo in my ſelf. I do not obſerve, that when I would think of a Triangle, I firſt think of *all Beings*; whether theſe Words *all Beings* are to be taken here in their proper Senſe, or very improperly for *Being* in general. Nor do I think my Country Neighbours do ſo, when they firſt wake in the Morning, who, I imagine, do not find it impoſſible to think of a lame Horſe they have, or their blighted Corn, till they have run over in their Minds *all Beings* that are, and then pitch on Dapple; or elſe begin to think of *Being* in general, which is *Being* abſtracted from all its inferiour Species, before they come to think of the Fly in their Sheep, or the Tares in their Corn. For I am apt to think that the greateſt part of Mankind very ſeldom, if ever at all, think of *Being* in general, *i. e.* abſtracted from all it's inferiour Species and Individuals. But taking it to be ſo, that a Carrier when he would think of a Remedy for his gall'd Horſe, or a Foot-boy for an Excuſe for ſome Fault he has committed, begins with caſting his Eye upon all things; how does this make out the Concluſion? Therefore *we can deſire to ſee all Objects, whence it follows, that all Beings are preſent to our Minds.* Which Preſence ſignifies that we ſee them, or elſe it ſignifies nothing at all. They are all actually always ſeen by us; which, how true, let every one judge.

29. The Words, wherein he purſues this Argument ſtand thus, *Now it is indubitable that we cannot deſire to ſee any particular Object without ſeeing it already, although confuſedly, and in general. So that being able to deſire to ſee all Beings, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, it is certain that all Beings are preſent to our Spirits; and it ſeems all Beings could not be preſent to our Spirits, but becauſe God is preſent to 'em*, i. e. *he that contains all things in the Simplicity of his Being.* I muſt leave it to others to judge how far it is blameable in me; but ſo it is, that I cannot make to my ſelf the Links of this Chain to hang together; and methinks if a Man would have ſtudied Obſcurity, he could not have writ more unintelligible than this. *We can deſire to ſee all Beings, ſometimes one, ſometimes another; therefore we do already ſee all things, becauſe we cannot deſire to ſee any particular Object, but what we ſee already confuſedly and in general.* The Diſcourſe here is about Ideas, which he ſays are real Things, and we ſee in God. In taking this along with me, to make it prove any thing, to his Purpoſe, the Argument muſt, as it ſeems to me, ſtand thus: We can deſire to have all Ideas, ſometimes one, ſometimes another; therefore we have already all Ideas, becauſe we cannot deſire to have any particular Idea, but what we have already *confuſedly* and *in general.* What can be meant here by having any *particular* Idea *confuſedly and in general*, I confeſs I cannot conceive, unleſs it be a Capacity in us to have them, and in that Senſe the whole Argument amounts to no more but this: We have all Ideas, becauſe we are capable of having all Ideas, and ſo proves not at all that we actually have them by being united to God, who *contains them all in the Simplicity of his Being.* That any thing elſe is, or can be meant by it, I do not ſee; for that which we deſire to ſee, being nothing but what we ſee already (for if it can be any elſe, the Argument falls and proves nothing) and that which we deſire to ſee, being, as we are told here, ſomething particular, *ſometimes one thing, ſometimes another*; that which we do ſee muſt be particular too; but how to ſee a particular thing in general, is paſt my Comprehenſion. I cannot conceive how a blind Man has the particular Idea of Scarlet confuſedly

fuſedly or in general, when he has it not at all; and yet that he might deſire to have it, I cannot doubt, no more than I doubt that I can deſire to perceive, or to have the Ideas of thoſe things that God has prepar'd for thoſe that love him, tho' they be ſuch as Eye hath not ſeen, nor Ear hath not heard, nor hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive, ſuch as I have yet no Idea of. He who deſires to know what Creatures are in *Jupiter*, or what God hath prepar'd for them that love him, hath, 'tis true, a Suppoſition that there is ſomething in *Jupiter*, or in the Place of the Bleſſed; but if that be to have the particular Ideas of things there, enough to ſay that we ſee them already, no Body can be ignorant of any thing. He that has ſeen one thing hath ſeen all things; for he has got the general Idea of Something. But this is not, I confeſs, ſufficient to convince me, that hereby we ſee all things *in the Simplicity of God's Being, which comprehends all things.* For if the Ideas I ſee are all, as our Author tells us, real Beings in him, 'tis plain they muſt be ſo many real diſtinct Beings in him; and if we ſee them in him, we muſt ſee them as they are, diſtinct particular Things, and ſo ſhall not ſee them confuſedly and in general. And what it is to ſee any Idea (to which I do not give a Name) confuſedly, is what I do not well underſtand. What I ſee I ſee, and the Idea I ſee is diſtinct from all others that are not the ſame with it: Beſides, I ſee them as they are in God, and as he ſhews them me. Are they in God confuſedly? Or does he ſhew them me confuſedly?

30. *Secondly*, This *ſeeing of all things*, becauſe we *can deſire to ſee all things*, he makes a Proof that *they are preſent* to our Minds; and if they *be preſent, they can no ways be preſent but by the Preſence of God, who contains them all in the Simplicity of his Being.* This Reaſoning ſeems to be founded on this, that the Reaſon of ſeeing all things, is their being preſent to our Minds; becauſe God, in whom they are, is preſent. This, though the Foundation he ſeems to build on, is liable to a very natural Objection, which is, that then we ſhould actually always ſee all things, becauſe in God, who is preſent, they are all actually preſent to the Mind. This he has endeavour'd to obviate, by ſaying we ſee all the Ideas in God, which he is pleas'd *to diſcover to us*; which indeed is an Anſwer to this Objection; but ſuch an one as over-turns his whole Hypotheſis, and renders it uſeleſs and as unintelligible as any of thoſe he has for that Reaſon laid aſide. He pretends to explain to us how we come to perceive any thing, and that is by having the Ideas of them preſent in our Minds; for the Soul cannot perceive things at a diſtance, or remote from it. And thoſe Ideas are preſent to the Mind, only becauſe God, in whom they are, is preſent to the Mind. This ſo far hangs together, and is of a piece. But when after this I am told, that their Preſence is not enough to make them be ſeen, but God muſt do ſomething farther to diſcover them to me, I am as much in the Dark as I was at firſt; and all this Talk of their Preſence in my Mind explains nothing of the Way wherein I perceive them, nor ever will, till he alſo makes me underſtand, what God does more than make them preſent to my Mind, when he diſcovers them to me. For I I think no Body denies, I am ſure I affirm, that the Ideas we have, are in our Minds by the Will and Power of God, though in a way that we conceive not, nor are able to comprehend. God, ſays our Author, is ſtrictly united to the Soul, and ſo the Ideas of things too. But yet that Preſence or Union of their's is not enough to make them ſee, but God muſt ſhew or exhibit them; and what does God do more than make them preſent to the Mind when he ſhews them? Of that there is nothing ſaid to help me over this Difficulty, but that when God ſhews them, we ſee them; which in ſhort ſeems to me to ſay only thus much, that when we have theſe Ideas we have them, and we owe the having of them to our Maker, which is to ſay no more than I do with my Ignorance. We have the Ideas of Figures and Colours by the Operation of exteriour Objects on our Senſes, when the Sun ſhews them us; but how the Sun ſhews them us, or how the Light of the Sun produces them in us; what, and how the Alteration is made in our Souls, I know not; nor does it appear, by any thing our Author ſays, that he knows any more what God does when he ſhews them us, or what it is that is done upon our Minds, ſince the Preſence of them to our Minds, he confeſſes, does it not.

31. *Thirdly*,

31. *Thirdly*, One thing more is incomprehenſible to me in this Matter, and that is, how the *Simplicity of God's Being* ſhould contain in it a Variety of real Beings, ſo that the Soul can diſcern them in him diſtinctly one from another; it being ſaid *C.* 5: That the Ideas in God *are not different from God himſelf.* This ſeems to me to expreſs a Simplicity made up of Variety, a thing I cannot underſtand. God I believe to be a ſimple Being, that by his Wiſdom knows all things, and by his Power can do all things; but how He does it, I think my ſelf leſs able to comprehend, than to contain the Ocean in my Hand, or graſp the Univerſe with my Span. *Ideas are real Beings*, you ſay; if ſo, 'tis evident they muſt be diſtinct *real Beings*; for there is nothing more certain than that there are diſtinct Ideas; and they are in God, in whom we ſee them. There they are then actually diſtinct, or elſe we could not ſee them diſtinct in him. Now theſe diſtinct real Beings that are in God, are they either Parts, or Modifications of the Deity, or comprehended in him as Things in a place? For beſides theſe three, I think we can ſcarce think of another way wherein we can conceive them to be in him, ſo that we can ſee them. For to ſay they are in him *eminentèr*, is to ſay they are not in him actually and really to be ſeen; but only if they are in him *eminentèr*, and we ſee them only in him, we can be ſaid to ſee them only *eminentèr* too. So that though it cannot be denied that God ſees and knows all things; yet when we ſay we ſee all things in him, it is but a metaphorical Expreſſion to cover our Ignorance, in a Way that pretends to explain our Knowledge; ſeeing things in God ſignifying no more than that we perceive them we know not how.

32. He farther adds, That he *does not believe that one can well give an Account of the Manner wherein the Mind knows many abſtract and general Truths, but by the Preſence of him who can enlighten the Mind after a thouſand different Faſhions.* It is not to be denied that God can enlighten our Minds after a thouſand different Faſhions; and it cannot alſo be denied, that thoſe thouſand different Faſhions may be ſuch, as we comprehend not one of them. The Queſtion is, whether this Talk of ſeeing all things in God does make us clearly, or at all, comprehend one of them; if it did ſo to me, I ſhould gratefully acknowledge that then I was ignorant of nine hundred ninety nine of the thouſand, whereas I muſt yet confeſs my ſelf ignorant of them all.

33. The next Paragraph, if it proves any thing, ſeems to me to prove that the Idea we have of God is God himſelf, it being Something as he ſays *uncreated.* The Ideas that Men have of God are ſo very different, that it would be very hard to ſay it was God himſelf. Nor does it avail to ſay they would all have the ſame, if they would apply their Minds to the Contemplation of Him; for this being brought here to prove that God is preſent in all Men's Minds, and that therefore they ſee Him, it muſt alſo, in my Apprehenſion, prove that He being immutably the ſame, and they ſeeing Him muſt needs ſee Him all alike.

34. In the next Section we are told that we have *not only the Idea of Infinite, but before that of Finite.* This being a thing of Experience, every one muſt examine himſelf; and it being my Misfortune to find it otherwiſe in my ſelf, this Argument, of courſe, is like to have the leſs Effect on me, who therefore cannot ſo eaſily admit the Inference, *viz. Thus the Mind perceives not one thing, but in the Idea it has of Infinite.* And I cannot but believe many a Child can tell Twenty, have the Idea of a ſquare Trencher, or a round Plate, and have the diſtinct clear Ideas of Two and Three, long before he has any Idea of *Infinite* at all.

40. The laſt Argument which he tells us is a Demonſtration that we ſee all things in God, is this; *God has made all things for himſelf; but if God made a Spirit or Mind, and gave it the Sun for its Idea, or the immediate Object of its Knowledge, God would have made that Spirit or Mind for the Sun, and not for himſelf.* The natural Inference from this Argument ſeems to me to be this, therefore God has given himſelf for the Idea, or immediate Object of the Knowledge of all humane Minds. But Experience too manifeſtly contradicting this, our Author hath made another Concluſion, and ſays thus, *It is neceſſary then that the Light which he gives the Mind, ſhould make us know ſomething that is in him,*

v. g. Becauſe *all things that came from God cannot be but for God.* Therefore a covetous Man ſees in God the Money, and a *Perſian* the Sun that he worſhips; and thus God is the *immediate Object* of the Minds, both of the one and the other. I confeſs this Demonſtration is loſt on me, and I cannot ſee the Force of it. All things, it is true, are made for God, *i. e.* for his Glory; and He will be glorified even by thoſe rational Beings, who would not apply their Faculties to the Knowledge of him.

41. But the next Paragraph explains this. *God could not then make a Soul for to know his Works, were it not that the Soul ſees God after a Faſhion in ſeeing his Works,* juſt *after ſuch a Faſhion,* that if he never ſaw more of him, he would never know any thing of a God, nor believe there was any ſuch Being. A Child, as ſoon as he is born, ſees a Candle, or before he can ſpeak, the Ball he plays with; theſe he *ſees in God* whom he has yet no Notion of. Whether this be enough to make us ſay that the Mind is made for God, and this be the Proof of it, other People muſt judge for themſelves. I muſt own that if this were the Knowledge of God, which intelligent Beings were made for, I do not ſee but they might be made for the Knowledge of God without knowing any thing of him; and thoſe that deny him, were made for the Knowledge of him. Therefore I am not convinced of the Truth of what follows, That *we do not ſee any one thing, but by the natural Knowledge which we have of God.* Which ſeems to me a quite contrary Way of arguing to what the Apoſtle uſes, where he ſays, that *the inviſible things of God are ſeen by the viſible things that he has made.* For it ſeems to me a quite contrary way of arguing, to ſay we ſee the Creator in, or by the Creatures, and we ſee the Creatures in the Creator. The Apoſtle begins our Knowledge in the Creatures, which lead us to the Knowledge of God, if we will make uſe of our Reaſon: Our Author begins our Knowledge in God, and by that leads us to the Creatures.

42. But to confirm his Argument, he ſays, *All the particular Ideas we have of the Creatures are but Limitations of the Idea of the Creator.* As for Example, I have the Idea of the Solidity of Matter, and of the Motion of Body; what is the Idea of God that either of theſe limits? And when I think of the Number Ten, I do not ſee how that any way concerns or limits the Idea of God.

38. The Diſtinction he makes a little lower between *Sentiment* and *Idea,* does not at all clear to me, but cloud his Doctrine. His Words are, *It muſt be obſerved, that I do not ſay that we have the Sentiment of material things in God, but that it is from God that acts in us; for God knows ſenſible things, but feels them not. When we perceive any ſenſible thing, there is in our Perception Sentiment and pure Idea.* If by *Sentiment,* which is the Word he uſes in *French,* he means the Act of Senſation, or the Operation of the Soul in perceiving; and by *pure Idea,* the immediate Object of that Perception, which is the Definition of Ideas he gives us here in the firſt Chapter, there is ſome Foundation for it, taking Ideas for real Beings or Subſtances. But taken thus, I cannot ſee how it can be avoided, but that we muſt be ſaid to ſmell a Roſe in God, as well as to ſee a Roſe in God; and the Scent of the Roſe that we ſmell, as well as the Colour and Figure of the Roſe that we ſee, muſt be in God; which ſeems not to be his Senſe here, and does not well agree with what he ſays concerning the Ideas we ſee in God, which I ſhall conſider in its due place. If by *Sentiment* here he means ſomething that is neither the Act of Perception nor the Idea perceiv'd, I confeſs I know not what it is, nor have any Conception at all of it. When we ſee and ſmell a Violet, we perceive the Figure, Colour and Scent of that Flower. Here I cannot but ask whether all theſe three are *pure Ideas,* or all *Sentiments?* If they are all *Ideas,* then according to his Doctrine they are all in God; and then it will follow, that as I ſee the Figure of the Violet in God; ſo alſo I ſee the Colour of it, and ſmell the Scent of it in God, which way of Speaking he does not allow, nor can I blame him. For it ſhews a little too plainly the Abſurdity of that Doctrine, if he ſhould ſay we ſmell a Violet, taſte Wormwood, or feel Cold in God; and yet I can find no Reaſon why the Action of one of our Senſes is applied only to God, when we uſe them all as well as our Eyes in receiving Ideas. If the Figure, Colour and Smell are all of them *Sentiments,* then they are none of them in God, and ſo this whole Buſineſs of ſeeing in God

God is out of doors. If (as by what he ſays in his *Eclairciſſements*, it appears to me to be his Meaning) the Figure of the Violet be to be taken for an *Idea*, but its *Colour* and *Smell* for *Sentiments*: I confeſs it puzzles me to know by what Rule it is, that in a Violet the purple Colour, whereof whilſt I write this I ſeem to have as clear an Idea in my Mind as of its Figure, is not as much an Idea as the Figure of it; eſpecially, ſince he tells me in the firſt Chapter here, which is concerning the Nature of Ideas, that *by this Word Idea he underſtands here nothing elſe, but what is the immediate or neareſt Object of the Mind when it perceives any thing.*

39. The *Sentiment*, ſays he in the next Words, *is a Modification of our Soul.* This Word *Modification* here, that comes in for Explication, ſeems to me to ſignifie nothing more than the Word to be explained by it; *v. g.* I ſee the purple Colour of a Violet, this, ſays he, is *Sentiment*: I deſire to know what *Sentiment* is? That, ſays he, is a *Modification of the Soul.* I take the Word, and deſire to ſee what I can conceive by it concerning my Soul; and here, I confeſs, I can conceive nothing more, but that I have the Idea of Purple in my Mind, which I had not before, without being able to apprehend any thing the Mind does or ſuffers in this, beſides barely having the Idea of Purple; and ſo the good Word *Modification* ſignifies nothing to me more than I knew before; *v. g.* That I have now the Idea of Purple in it, which I had not ſome Minutes ſince. So that though they ſay Senſations are Modifications of the Mind; yet having no manner of Idea what that Modification of the Mind is, diſtinct from that very Senſation, *v. g.* the Senſation of a red Colour or a bitter Taſte; 'Tis plain this Explication amounts to no more than that a Senſation is a Senſation, and the Senſation of Red or Bitter is the Senſation of *Red* or *Bitter*; for if I have no other Idea, when I ſay it is a Modification of the Mind, than when I ſay it is the Senſation of *Red* or *Bitter*, 'tis plain Senſation and Modification ſtand both for the ſame Idea, and ſo are but two Names of one and the ſame Thing. But to examine their Doctrine of Modification a little farther. Different Sentiments are different Modifications of the Mind. The Mind or Soul that perceives, is one immaterial indiviſible Subſtance. Now I ſee the White and Black on this Paper, I hear one ſinging in the next Room, I feel the Warmth of the Fire I ſit by, and I taſte an Apple I am eating, and all this at the ſame time. Now I ask, take *Modification* for what you pleaſe, can the ſame unextended indiviſible Subſtance have different, nay inconſiſtent and oppoſite (as theſe of White and Black muſt be) Modifications at the ſame time? Or muſt we ſuppoſe diſtinct Parts in an indiviſible Subſtance, one for black, another for white, and another for red Ideas, and ſo of the reſt of thoſe infinite Senſations which we have in Sorts and Degrees; all which we can diſtinctly perceive, and ſo are diſtinct Ideas, ſome whereof are oppoſite, as Heat and Cold, which yet a Man may feel at the ſame time? I was ignorant before how Senſation was performed in us: This they call an Explanation of it! Muſt I ſay now I underſtand it better? If this be to cure one's Ignorance, 'tis a very ſlight Diſeaſe, and the Charm of two or three inſignificant words will at any time remove it, *probatum eſt.* But let it ſignifie what it will when I recollect the Figure of one of the Leaves of a Violet, is not that a new Modification of my Soul, as well as when I think of its purple Colour? Does my Mind do or ſuffer nothing a-new when I ſee that Figure in God?

40. The Idea of that Figure, you ſay is in God; let it be ſo, but it may be there, and I not ſee it, that's allow'd; when I come to ſee it, which I did not before, is there no new Modification, as you call it, of my Mind? If there be, then ſeeing of Figure in God, as well as having the Idea of Purple, is *a Modification of the Mind*, and this Diſtinction ſignifies nothing. If ſeeing that Figure in God now, which a Minute or two ſince I did not ſee at all, be no new Modification or Alteration in my Mind, no different Action or Paſſion from what was before, there is no Difference made in my Apprehenſion between ſeeing and not ſeeing. The Ideas of Figures, our Author ſays, are in God, and are real Beings in God; and God being united to the Mind, theſe are alſo united to it. This all ſeems to me to have ſomething very obſcure and unconceivable in it, when I come to examine Particulars;

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but let it be granted to be as clear as any one would ſuppoſe it; yet it reaches not the main Difficulty, which is in *ſeeing*. How after all do I ſee? The Ideas are in God, they are real Things, they are intimately united to my Mind, becauſe God is ſo, but yet I do not ſee them. How at laſt after all this Preparation, which hitherto is ineffectual, do I come to ſee them? And to that I am told, *when God is pleaſed to diſcover them to me.* This in good earneſt ſeems to me to be nothing but going a great Way about to come to the ſame place, and this learned Circuit thus ſet out, brings me at laſt no farther than this, That I ſee or perceive, or have Ideas when it pleaſes God I ſhould, but in a Way I cannot comprehend; and this I thought without all this ado.

41. This *Sentiment* he tells us in the next Words, *'tis God cauſes in us, and he can cauſe it in us, although he has it not, becauſe he ſees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them.* This I take to be ſaid to ſhew the Difference between *Sentiments* and *Ideas* in us. *V. g. Figures* and *Numbers* are Ideas, and they are in God. *Colours* and *Smells*, &c. are *Sentiments* in us, and not Ideas in God. *Firſt*, As to our ſelves I ask, Why, when I recollect in my Memory a Violet, the Purple Colour as well as Figure is not an Idea in me? The making then the Picture of any viſible thing in my Mind, as of a Landſkape I have ſeen, compoſed of Figure and Colour, the Colour is not an Idea, but the Figure is an Idea, and the Colour a *Sentiment*. Every one I allow may uſe his Words as he pleaſes, but if it be to inſtruct others, he muſt, when he uſes two Words where others uſe but one, ſhew ſome Ground of the Diſtinction. And I do not find but the Colour of the Marigold I now think of, is as much *the immediate Object of my Mind*, as its Figure; and ſo according to his Definition is an *Idea*. Next as to God, I ask whether before the Creation of the World, the Idea of the whole Marigold Colour as well as Figure was not in God? *God*, ſays he, *can cauſe thoſe Sentiments in us, becauſe he ſees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them.* God before he created any Soul, knew all that he would make it capable of. He reſolved to make it capable of having the Perception of the Colour as well as Figure of a Marigold; he had then the Idea of that Colour that he reſolv'd to make it capable of, or elſe he made it capable (with Reverence let it be ſpoken) of he knew not what: And if he knew what it ſhould be capable of, he had the Idea of what he knew: for before the Creation there was nothing but God, and the Ideas he had. 'Tis true the Colour of that Flower is not actually in God, no more is its Figure actually in God; but we that can conſider no other Underſtanding, but in Analogy to our own, cannot conceive otherwiſe but as the Ideas of the Figure, Colour and Situation of the Leaves of a Marigold is in our Minds, when we think of that Flower in the Night when we ſee it not; ſo it was in the Thoughts of God before he made that Flower. And thus we conceive him to have the Idea of the Smell of a Violet, of the Taſte of Sugar, the Sound of a Lute or Trumpet, and of the Pain and Pleaſure that accompanies any of theſe or other Senſations which he deſign'd we ſhould feel, though he never felt any of them; as we have the Ideas of the Taſte of a Cherry in Winter, or the Pain of a Burn when it is over. This is what I think we conceive of the Ideas in God, which we muſt allow to have diſtinctly repreſented to him all that was to be in time, and conſequently the Colours, Odours, and other Ideas they were to produce in us. I cannot be ſo bold as to pretend to ſay what thoſe Ideas are in God, or to determine that they are real Beings; but this I think I may ſay, that the Idea of the Colour of a Marigold, or the Motion of a Stone, are as much real Beings in God, as the Idea of the Figure or Number of its Leaves.

42. The Reader muſt not blame me for making uſe here all along of the Word *Sentiment*, which is our Author's own, and I underſtood it ſo little, that I knew not how to tranſlate it into any other. He concludes, *That he believes there is no Appearance of Truth in any other Ways of explaining theſe things, and that this of ſeeing all things in God, is more than probable.* I have conſidered with as much Indifferency and Attention as is poſſible; and I muſt own it appears to me as little or leſs intelligible than any of the reſt; and the Sum-

mary of his Doctrine, which he here subjoyns, is to me wholly incomprehensible. His Words are, *Thus our Souls depend on God all manner of ways: For as it is he which makes them feel Pleasure and Pain, and all other Sensations, by the natural Union which he has made between them and our Bodies, which is nothing else but his Decree and general Will: So it is he, who by the natural Union which he has made betwixt the Will of Man, and the Representation of Ideas, which the Immensity of the Divine Being contains, makes them know all that they know; and this natural Union is also nothing but his general Will.* This Phrase of the Union of our Wills to the Ideas contain'd in God's Immensity, seems to me a very strange one, and what Light it gives to his Doctrine I truly cannot find. It seem'd so unintelligible to me, that I guess'd it an Error in the Print of the Edition I us'd, which was the 4*to*. Printed at *Paris*, 78, and therefore consulted the 8*vo*. Printed also at *Paris*, and found it *Will* in both of them. Here again *the Immensity of the Divine Being* being mention'd as that which *contains* in it the *Ideas* to which our *Wills* are united; which Ideas being only those of Quantity, as I shall shew hereafter, seems to me to carry with it a very gross Notion of this Matter, as we have above remark'd. But that which I take notice of principally here, is, that this Union of our *Wills* to the Ideas contain'd in God's Immensity, does not at all explain our seeing of them. This Union of our *Wills* to the Ideas, or, as in other places, of our Souls to God, is, says he, nothing but the Will of God. And after this Union, our seeing them is only when God discovers them, *i. e.* our having them in our Minds, is nothing but the Will of God; all which is brought about in a Way we comprehend not. And what then does this explain more than when one says, our Souls are united to our Bodies by the Will of God, and by the Motion of some Parts of our Bodies? *V. g.* the Nerves or Animal Spirits have Ideas or Perceptions produc'd in them, and this is the Will of God. Why is not this as intelligible and as clear as the other? Here is the by Will of God given Union and Perception in both Cases; but how that Perception is made in both Ways, seems to me equally incomprehensible. In one, God discovers Ideas in himself to the Soul united to him when he pleases; and in the other, he discovers Ideas to the Soul, or produces Perception in the Soul united to the Body by Motion, according to Laws establish'd by the good Pleasure of his Will; but how it is done in the one or the other, I confess my Incapacity to comprehend. So that I agree perfectly with him in his Conclusion, that *there is nothing but God that can enlighten us*; but a clear Comprehension of the Manner how He does it, I doubt I shall not have, 'till I know a great deal more of him and my self, than in this State of Darkness and Ignorance our Souls are capable of.

43. In the next, *Chap.* 7. he tells us, *there are four Ways of knowing*; *the first is to know things by themselves*: and thus, he says, *We know God alone*; and the Reason he gives of it is this, because *at present he alone penetrates the Mind, and discovers himself to it.*

First, I would know what it is to penetrate a thing that is unextended? These are Ways of speaking, which taken from Body, when they are applied to Spirit, signifie nothing, nor shew us any thing but our Ignorance. To God's penetrating our Spirits, he joyns his *discovering himself*; as if one were the Cause of the other, and explain'd it: But I not conceiving any thing of the Penetration of an unextended thing, it is lost upon me. But next God penetrates our Souls, and therefore we *see him by a direct and immediate View*, as he says in the following words. The Ideas of all things which are in God, he elsewhere tells us, are not at all different from God himself; and if God's penetrating our Minds be the Cause of our direct and immediate seeing God, we have a direct and immediate View of all that we see; for we see nothing but God and Ideas; and 'tis impossible for us to know that there is any thing else in the Universe; for since we see, and can see nothing but God and Ideas, how can we know there is any thing else which we neither do nor can see? But if there be any thing to be understood by this *Penetration* of our Souls, and we have a direct View of God by this *Penetration*, why have we not also a *direct and immediate View* of other separate Spirits besides God? To this he says, that there is none but God alone who at *present* penetrates

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our Spirits. This he ſays, but I do not ſee for what Reaſon, but becauſe it ſuits with his Hypotheſis: But he proves it not, nor goes about to do it, unleſs the *direct and immediate View*, he ſays, we have of God, be to be taken as a Proof of it. But what is *that direct and immediate View* we have of God that we have not of a Cherubim? The Ideas of Being, Power, Knowledge, Goodneſs, Duration, make up the complex Idea we have of one, and of the other; but only that in the one we join the Idea of Infinite to each ſimple Idea, that makes our complex one, but to the other, that of Finite. But how have we a more *direct or immediate View* of the Idea of Power, Knowledge or Duration, when we conſider them in God, than when we conſider them in an Angel? The View of theſe Ideas ſeem to be the ſame. Indeed we have a clearer Proof of the Exiſtence of God than of a Cherubim, but the Idea of either, when we have it in our Minds, ſeems to me to be there by an equally *direct and immediate View*. And 'tis about the Ideas which are in our Minds that I think our Author's Enquiry here is, and not about the real Exiſtence of thoſe things whereof we have Ideas, which are two very remote things.

45. *Perhaps 'tis God alone*, ſays our Author, *who can enlighten our Minds by his Subſtance*. When I know what the *Subſtance* of God is, and what it is to be *enlightened by that Subſtance*, I ſhall know what I alſo ſhall think of it; but at preſent I confeſs my ſelf in the Dark as to this Matter; nor do theſe good Words of *Subſtance* and *Enlightening*, in the Way they are here uſed, help me one Jot out of it.

46. He goes on, *one cannot conceive*, ſays he, *that any thing created can repreſent what is infinite*. And I cannot conceive that there is any poſitive comprehenſive Idea in any finite Mind that does repreſent it fully and clearly as it is. I do not find that the Mind of Man has Infinity, poſitively and fully repreſented to it, or comprehended by it; which muſt be, if his Argument were true, that therefore God enlightens our Minds by his proper Subſtance; becauſe no created Thing is big enough to repreſent what is infinite; and therefore what makes us conceive his Infinity, is the Preſence of his own infinite Subſtance in our Minds: Which to me manifeſtly ſuppoſes, that we comprehend in our Minds God's infinite Subſtance, which is preſent to our Minds; for if this be not the Force of his Argument, where he ſays, *Nothing created can repreſent what is infinite; the Being that is without Bounds, the Being immenſe, the Being univerſal, cannot be perceived by an Idea*, i. e. *by a particular Being, by a Being different from the univerſal infinite Being it ſelf*. It ſeems to me that this Argument is founded on a Suppoſition of our comprehending the infinite Subſtance of God in our Minds, or elſe I ſee not any Force in it, as I have already ſaid. I ſhall take notice of one or two things in it that confound me, and that is, that he calls God here *the univerſal Being*; which muſt either ſignifie that Being which contains, and is made up as one comprehenſive Aggregate of all the reſt, in which Senſe the Univerſe may be called *the univerſal Being*; or elſe it muſt mean Being in general, which is nothing but the Idea of *Being* abſtracted from all inferiour Diviſions of that general Notion, and from all particular Exiſtence. But in neither of theſe Senſes can I conceive God to *be the univerſal Being*, ſince I cannot think the Creatures either to be a Part or a Species of him. Next he calls the Ideas that are in God, *particular Beings*. I grant whatever exiſts is particular, it cannot be otherwiſe; but that which is particular in Exiſtence, may be univerſal in Repreſentation, which I take to be all the univerſal Beings we know, or can conceive to be. But let *univerſal* or *particular Beings* be what they will, I do not ſee how our Authour can ſay, that God is an *univerſal Being*, and the Ideas we ſee in him *particular Beings*; ſince he in another place tells us, that the Ideas we ſee in God are not at all different from God. *But*, ſays he, *as to particular Beings it is not hard to conceive that they can be repreſented by the infinite Being which contains them, and contains them after a very ſpiritual Manner, and conſequently very intelligible*. It ſeems as impoſſible to me, that an infinite ſimple Being, in whom there is no Variety, nor Shadow of Variety, ſhould repreſent a finite Thing, as that a finite Thing ſhould repreſent an infinite; nor do I ſee how its *containing all things in it after a very ſpiritual Manner, makes*

it ſo very intelligible; ſince I underſtand not what it is to contain a material thing *Spiritually*, nor the Manner how God contains any thing in himſelf, but either as an Aggregate contains all things which it is made up of; and ſo indeed that Part of him may be ſeen, which comes within the Reach of our View. But this way of *containing all things* can by no means belong to God, and to make things thus viſible in him, is to make the material World a Part of him, or elſe as having a Power to produce all things; and in this way, 'tis true, God *contains all things* in himſelf, but in a way not proper to make the *Being* of God a Repreſentative of thoſe things to us; for then his *Being* being the Repreſentative of the Effects of that Power, it muſt repreſent to us all that he is capable of producing, which I do not find in my ſelf that it does.

Secondly, The ſecond way of knowing things, he tells us, *is by Ideas, that is, by ſomething that is different from them*; and thus we *know things when they are not intelligible by themſelves, either becauſe they are corporeal, or becauſe they cannot penetrate the Mind, or diſcover themſelves to it*; and this is the way *we know corporeal Things*. This Reaſoning I do not underſtand: *Firſt*, Becauſe I do not underſtand why a Line or a Triangle is not as *intelligible* as any thing that can be nam'd; for we muſt ſtill carry along with us, that the Diſcourſe here is about our Perception, or what we have any Idea or Conception of in our own Minds. *Secondly*, Becauſe I do not underſtand what is meant by the *penetrating* a Spirit; and till I can comprehend theſe upon which this Reaſoning is built, this Reaſoning cannot work on me. But from theſe Reaſons he concludes, *thus it is in God, and by their Ideas that we ſee Bodies and their Properties; and 'tis for this Reaſon that the Knowledge we have of them is moſt perfect.* Whether others will think that what we ſee of Bodies, is ſeen in God, by ſeeing the Ideas of them that are in God, muſt be left to them. Why I cannot think ſo I have ſhewn; but the Inference he makes here from it, I think, few will aſſent to, that we know Bodies and their Properties moſt perfectly. For who is there that can ſay, he knows the Properties either of Body in general, or of any one particular Body perfectly? One Property of Body in general, is to have Parts cohering and united together, for where-ever there is Body, there is Coheſion of Parts; but who is there that perfectly underſtands that Coheſion? And as for particular Bodies, who can ſay that he perfectly underſtands Gold or a Loadſtone, and all its Properties? But to explain himſelf, he ſays, That *the Idea we have of Extenſion, ſuffices to make us know all the Properties whereof Extenſion is capable, and that we cannot deſire to have an Idea more diſtinct, and more fruitful of Extenſion, of Figures, and of Motions, than that which God has given us of them.* This ſeems to me a ſtrange Proof that we ſee *Bodies and their Properties in God*, and *know them perfectly*, becauſe God has given us diſtinct and fruitful Ideas of Extenſion, Figure and Motion; for this had been the ſame whether God had given theſe Ideas by ſhewing them in himſelf, or by any other way; and his ſaying, that God *has given us* as *diſtinct and fruitful Ideas* of them as we can *deſire*, ſeems as if our Author himſelf had ſome other Thoughts of them. If he thought we ſee them in God, he muſt think we ſee them as they are in themſelves, and there would be no room for ſaying, God had given them us as *diſtinct* as we could deſire: The calling them *fruitful*, ſhews this yet more; for one that thinks he ſees the Ideas of Figures in God, and can ſee no Idea of a Figure but in God, with what Thought can he call any one of them *Feconde*, which is ſaid only of ſuch things as produce others? Which Expreſſion of his ſeems to proceed only from this Thought in him, That when I have once got the Idea of Extenſion, I can frame the Ideas of what Figures, and of what Bigneſs I pleaſe. And in this I agree with him, as appears in what I have ſaid *L.* 2. *C.* 13. But then this can by no means proceed from a Suppoſition, that I ſee theſe Figures only in God; for there they do not produce one another, but are there, as it were, in their firſt Pattern to be ſeen, juſt ſuch, and ſo many as God is pleas'd to ſhew them to us. But 'twill be ſaid, our Deſire to ſee them is the occaſional Cauſe of God's ſhewing them us, and ſo we ſee whatever Figure we deſire. Let it be ſo, this does not make any Idea *Feconde*, for here is no Production of one out of another: But as to the occaſional Cauſe, can

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any one ſay that is ſo? I, or our Author, deſire to ſee an Angle next in Greatneſs to a right Angle; did upon this God ever ſhew him or me ſuch an Angle? That God knows, or has in himſelf the Idea of ſuch an Angle, I think will not be deny'd; but that he ever ſhew'd it to any Man, how much ſoever he deſir'd it, I think may be doubted. But after all, how comes it by this Means that we have a *perfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties*, when ſeveral Men in the World have not the ſame Idea of Body, and this very Author and I differ in it? He thinks bare Extenſion to be Body; and I think Extenſion alone makes not Body, but Extenſion and Solidity; thus either he, or I, one of us, has a wrong and imperfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties. For if Bodies be Extenſion alone and nothing elſe, I cannot conceive how they can move and hit one againſt another, or what can make diſtinct Surfaces in an uniform ſimple Extenſion. A ſolid extended Thing I can conceive moveable; but then, if I have a clear View of Bodies and their Properties in God, I muſt ſee the Idea of Solidity in God, which yet I think by what our Author has ſaid in his *Eclairciſſements*, he does not allow that we do. He ſays farther, *That whereas the Ideas of things that are in God contain all their Properties, he that ſees their Ideas may ſee ſucceſſively all their Properties.* This ſeems to me not to concern our Ideas more, whether we ſee them in God, or have them otherwiſe. Any Idea that we have, whenceſoever we have it, contains in it all the Properties it has, which are nothing but the Relations it has to other Ideas, which are always the ſame. What he ſays concerning the *Properties*, that we may *ſucceſſively know them*, is equally true, whether we ſee them in God, or have them by any other Means. They that apply them as they ought to the Conſideration of their Ideas, may ſucceſſively come to the Knowledge of ſome of their Properties; but that they may *know all their Properties*, is more than I think the Reaſon proves, which he ſubjoins in theſe Words, *For when one ſees the things as they are in God, one ſees them always in a moſt perfect manner.* We ſee, for Example in God, the Idea of a Triangle, or a Circle; does it hence follow, that we *can know all the Properties* of either of them? He adds, that the Manner of ſeeing them *would be infinitely perfect, if the Mind which ſees them in God was infinite.* I confeſs my ſelf here not well to comprehend his Diſtinction between ſeeing after a manner [*tres-parfait*] *moſt perfect* and *infinitely perfect*; he adds, *That which is wanting to the Knowledge that we have of Extenſion, Figures and Motion, is not a Defect of the Idea which repreſents it, but of our Mind which conſiders it.* If by *Ideas* be meant here the real Objects of our Knowledge, I eaſily agree, that the Want of Knowledge in us is a Defect in our Minds, and not in the things to be known. But if by *Ideas* be here meant the Perception or Repreſentation of Things in the Mind, that I cannot but obſerve in my ſelf to be very imperfect and defective, as when I deſire to perceive what is the Subſtance of Body or Spirit, the Idea thereof fails me. To conclude, I ſee not what there is in this Paragraph that makes any thing for the Doctrine of *Seeing all things in God.*

47. *The third way of knowing is by Conſciouſneſs or interiour Sentiments; and thus, he ſays, we know our Souls, and 'tis for this Reaſon that the Knowledge we have of them is imperfect, we know nothing of our Souls but what we feel within our ſelves.* This Confeſſion of our Author brings me back, do what I can, to that Original of all our Ideas which my Thoughts led me to when I writ my Book, *viz.* Senſation and Reflection; and therefore I am forc'd to ask any one who is of our Author's Principles, whether God had not the Idea of mine, or of an human Soul before he created it? Next whether that Idea of an human Soul be not as much a *real Being* in God as the Idea of a Triangle? If ſo, why does not my Soul, being intimately united to God, as well ſee the Idea of my Soul which is in him, as the Idea of a Triangle which is in him? And what Reaſon can there be given, why God ſhews the Idea of a Triangle to us, and not the Idea of our Souls, but this, That God has given us external Senſation to perceive the one, and none to perceive the other, but only internal Senſation to perceive the Operation of the latter? He that pleaſes may read what our Author ſays in the Remainder of this, and the two or three next Paragraphs, and ſee whether it carries him beyond where my Ignorance ſtop'd, I muſt own that me it does not.

48. *This*

48. *This,* [*i. e.* the Ignorance we are in of our own Souls,] says he, *may serve to prove that the Ideas that represent any thing to us that is without us are not Modifications of our Souls; for if the Soul saw all things by considering its own proper Modifications, it should know more clearly its own Essence, or its own Nature than that of Bodies, and all the Sensations or Modifications whereof it is capable, than the Figures or Modifications of which Bodies are capable. In the mean time it knows not that it is capable of any such Sensation by Sight as it has of it self, but only by Experience; instead that it knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea that it has of Extension. There are, moreover, certain Sensations, as Colours and Sounds, which the greatest part of Men cannot discover whether they are Modifications of the Soul; and there are Figures which all Men do not discover by the Idea of Extension to be Modifications of Bodies.* This Paragraph is, as he tells us, to prove, *That the Ideas that represent to us something without us, are not Modifications of the Soul;* but instead of that, it seems to prove that Figure is the Modification of Space, and not of our Souls. For if this Argument had tended to prove, *That the Ideas that represent any thing without us were not Modifications of the Soul,* he should not have put the Mind's not knowing what Modifications it self was capable of, and knowing what Figures Space was capable of, in Opposition one to another; but the Antithesis must have lain in this, that the Mind knew it was capable of the Perception of Figure or Motion without any Modification of it self, but was not capable of the Perception of Sound or Colour without a Modification of it self. For the Question here is not whether Space be capable of Figure, and the Soul not; but whether the Soul be capable of perceiving, or having the Idea of Figure, without a Modification of it self, and not capable of having the Idea of Colour without a Modification of it self. I think now of the Figure, Colour and Hardness of a Diamond that I saw some time since: In this Case I desire to be inform'd how my Mind knows that the Thinking on, or the Idea of the Figure, is not a Modification of the Mind; but the Thinking on, or having an Idea of the Colour or Hardness is a Modification of the Mind? 'Tis certain there is some Alteration in my Mind when I think of a Figure which I did not think of before, as well as when I think of a Colour that I did not think of before. But one I am told is seeing it in God, and the other a Modification of my Mind. But supposing one is seeing in God, is there no Alteration in my Mind between seeing and not seeing? And is that to be called a Modification or no? For when he says seeing a Colour, and hearing a Sound, is a Modification of the Mind, what does it signifie but an Alteration of the Mind from not perceiving to perceiving that Sound or Colour? And so when the Mind sees a Triangle, which it did not see before, what is this but an Alteration of the Mind from not seeing to seeing, whether that Figure be seen in God or no? And why is not this Alteration of the Mind to be call'd a Modification, as well as the other? Or indeed what Service does that Word do us in the one Case or the other, when it is only a new Sound brought in without any new Conception at all? For my Mind when it sees a Colour or Figure is alter'd, I know, from the not having such or such a Perception to the having it; but when, to explain this, I am told that either of these Perceptions is a Modification of the Mind, what do I conceive more, than that from not having such a Perception my Mind is come to have such a Perception? Which is what I as well knew before the Word *Modification* was made use of, which by its Use has made me conceive nothing more than what I conceived before.

49. One thing I cannot but take notice of here by the bye, that he says, That *the Soul knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea it has of Extension,* which is true. And afterwards he says, that *there are no Figures, which all Men do not discover by the Idea they have of Extension to be Modifications of Body.* One would wonder why he did not say *Modifications* of Extension, rather than as he does the *Modifications of Body,* they being *discover'd by the Idea of Extension;* but the Truth would not bear such an Expression. For 'tis certain that in pure Space or Extension, which is not terminated, there is truly no Distinction of Figures, but in distinct Bodies that are terminated there are distinct Figures, because simple Space or Extension, being in it self uniform, inseparable, immoveable, has in it no such Modifications or Distinction

ſtinction of Figures. But it is *capable*, as he ſays, but of what? Of Bodies of all ſorts of Figures and Magnitudes, without which there is no Diſtinction of Figures in Space. Bodies that are ſolid, ſeparable, terminated and moveable, have all ſorts of Figures, and they are Bodies alone that have them: And ſo Figures are properly Modifications of Bodies, for pure Space is not any where terminated nor can be, whether there be or be not Body in it, it is uniformly continued on. This that he plainly ſaid here, to me plainly ſhews that Body and Extenſion are two Things, though much of our Author's Doctrine be built upon their being one and the ſame.

50. The next Paragraph is to ſhew us the Difference between Ideas and Sentiments in this, that *Sentiments are not tied to Words; ſo that he that never had ſeen a Colour, or felt Heat, could never be made to have thoſe Senſations by all the Definitions one could give him of them.* This is true of what he calls *Sentiments*; and as true alſo of what he calls *Ideas*. Shew me one who has not got by Experience, *i. e.* by ſeeing or feeling the Idea of Space or Motion, and I will as ſoon by Words make one, who never felt what Heat is, have a Conception of Heat, as he, that has not by his Senſes perceiv'd what Space or Motion is, can by Words be made to conceive either of them. The Reaſon why we are apt to think theſe Ideas belonging to Extenſion, got another way than other Ideas, is becauſe our Bodies being extended, we cannot avoid the Diſtinction of Parts in our ſelves; and all that is for the Support of our Lives, being by Motion apply'd to us, it is impoſſible to find any one who has not by Experience got thoſe Ideas; and ſo by the Uſe of Language learnt what Words ſtand for them, which by Cuſtom came to excite them in his Mind, as the Names of Heat and Pleaſure do excite in the Mind of thoſe who have by Experience got them, the Ideas they are by Uſe annexed to. Not that Words or Definitions can teach or bring into the Mind one more than another of thoſe I call ſimple Ideas; but can by Uſe excite them in thoſe, who having got them by Experience, know certain Sounds to be by Uſe annexed to them as the Signs of them.

51. *Fourthly, The fourth way of knowing*, he tells us, *is by Conjecture, and thus only we know the Souls of other Men, and pure Intelligences, i. e.* We know them not at all; but we probably think there are ſuch Beings really exiſting in *rerum naturâ*. But this looks to me beſides our Author's buſineſs here, which ſeems to be to examine what Ideas we have, and how we came by them. So that the Thing here conſider'd, ſhould in my Opinion be, not whether there were any Souls of Men or pure Intelligences any where exiſting, but what Ideas we have of them, and how we came by them. For when he ſays, we know not Angels, either *in themſelves*, or *by their Ideas*, or *by Conſciouſneſs*, what in that place does *Angel* ſignifie? What Idea in him does it ſtand for? Or is it the Sign of no Idea at all, and ſo a bare Sound without Signification? He that reads this ſeventh Chapter of his with Attention, will find that we have ſimple Ideas as far as our Experience reaches, and no farther. And beyond that we know nothing at all, no not even what thoſe Ideas are that are in us, but only that they are Perceptions in the Mind, but how made we cannot comprehend.

52. In his *Eclairciſſements* on the Nature of Ideas, p. 535. of the Quarto Edition, he ſays, that *he is certain that the Ideas of Things are unchangeable.* This I cannot comprehend, for how can I know that the Picture of any Thing is like that Thing, when I never ſee that which it repreſents? For if theſe Words do not mean that Ideas are true unchangeable Repreſentations of Things, I know not to what purpoſe they are. And if that be not their Meaning, then they can only ſignifie, that the Idea I have once had will be unchangeably the ſame as long as it recurs the ſame in my Memory; but when another different from that comes into my Mind, it will not be that. Thus the Idea of an Horſe, and the Idea of a Centaur, will, as often as they recur in my Mind, be unchangeably the ſame; which is no more than this, the ſame Idea will be always the ſame Idea; but whether the one or the other be the true Repreſentation of any Thing that exiſts, that, upon his Principles, neither our Author nor any body elſe can know.

53. What

53. What he says here of *Universal Reason*, which *enlightens* every one, *whereof all Men* partake, seems to me nothing else but the Power Men have to consider the Ideas they have one with another, and by thus comparing them, find out the Relations that are between them; and therefore if an intelligent Being at one End of the World, and another at the other End of the World, will consider twice two and four together, he cannot but find them to be equal, *i. e.* to be the same Number. These Relations 'tis true, are *infinite*, and God, who knows all Things, and their Relations as they are, knows them all, and so his Knowledge is infinite. But Men are able to discover more or less of these Relations, only as they apply their Minds to consider any sort of Ideas, and to find out intermediate ones, which can shew the Relation of those Ideas, which cannot immediately be compared by *Juxta-position*. But then what he means by that *infinite Reason* which Men consult, I confess my self not well to understand. For if he means that they consider a Part of those Relations of Things which are infinite, that is true; but then, this is a very improper way of speaking, and I cannot think that a Man of his Parts would use it to mean nothing else by it. If he means, as he says, *p.* 536. That this infinite and universal Reason, whereof Men partake, and which they consult, is the Reason of God himself; I can by no Means assent to it. *First*, Because I think we cannot say God reasons at all; for he has at once a View of all Things. But Reason is very far from such an Intuition, it is a laborious and gradual Progress in the Knowledge of Things, by comparing one Idea with a second, and a second with a third, and that with a fourth, *&c.* to find the Relation between the first and the last of these in this Train, and in Search for such intermediate Ideas, as may shew us the Relation we desire to know, which sometimes we find, and sometimes not. This way therefore of finding Truth, so painful, uncertain, and limited, is proper only to Men or finite Understandings, but can by no Means be suppos'd in God; it is therefore in God Understanding or Knowledge. But then to say that we partake in the Knowledge of God, or consult his Understanding, is what I cannot receive for true. God has given me an Understanding of my own; and I should think it Presumption in me to suppose I apprehend any thing by God's Understanding, saw with his Eyes, or shared of his Knowledge. I think it more possible for me to see with other Men's Eyes, and understand with another Man's Understanding, than with God's; there being some Proportion between mine and another Man's Understanding, but none between mine and God's. But if this *infinite Reason which we consult*, be at last nothing but those infinite unchangeable Relations which are in Things, some of which we make a Shift to discover, this indeed is true, but seems to me to make little to our Author's Purpose, of seeing all Things in God; and that *if we see not all Things by the natural Union of our Minds with the universal and infinite Reason, we should not have the Liberty to think on all Things*, as he expresseth it, *p.* 538. To explain himself farther concerning this universal *Reason*, or as he there calls it by another Name, *Order*, *p.* 539. he says, That *God contains in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures that he has created, or can create, after an intelligible Manner. Intelligible* to himself, that's true, but *intelligible* to Men, at least to me, that I do not find; unless *by containing in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures*, be meant, that there is no Perfection in any Creature, but there is a greater in God, or that there is in God greater Perfection than all the Perfection in the Creatures taken together. And therefore though it be true what follows in the next Words, *that it is by these intelligible Perfections that God knows the Essence of every Thing*; yet it will not follow from hence, or from any thing else that he has said, that those *Perfections in God*, which contain in them the Perfections of all the Creatures, are *the immediate Objects of the Mind of Man*, or that they are so the Objects of the Mind of Man, that he can in them see the Essences of the Creatures. For I ask in which of the Perfections of God does a Man see the Essence of an Horse or an Ass, of a Serpent or a Dove, of Hemlock or Parsley? I for my part, I confess, see not the Essence of any of these Things in any of the Perfections of God, which I have any Notion of. For indeed I see not the distinct Essence either of these Things at all, or know wherein it consists. And therefore I cannot comprehend the Force of the Inference,

ference, which follows in these Words, *Then the intelligible Ideas or Perfections that are in God, which represent to us what is out of God, are absolutely necessary and unchangeable.* That the Perfections that are in God are necessary and unchangeable, I readily grant: But that the *Ideas* that are *intelligible* to God, or are in the Understanding of God (for so we must speak of him whilst we conceive of him after the manner of Men) can be seen by us; or, that the Perfections that are in God represent to us the Essences of Things that are out of God, that I cannot conceive. The Essence of Matter, as much as I can see of it, is Extension, Solidity, Divisibility and Mobility; but in which of the Perfections of God do I see this Essence? To another Man, as to our Author perhaps, the Essence of Body is quite another thing; and when he has told us what to him is the Essence of Body, it will be then to be consider'd in which of the Perfections of God he sees it. For example, let it be pure Extension alone, the Idea then that God had in himself of the Essence of Body before Body was created, was the Idea of pure Extension; when God then created Body he created Extension, and then Space, which existed not before, began to exist. This, I confess, I cannot conceive; but we see in the Perfections of God the *necessary* and *unchangeable* Essences of Things. He sees one Essence of Body in God, and I another; Which is that *necessary* and *unchangeable* Essence of Body which is contain'd in the Perfections of God, his or mine? Or indeed how do or can we know there is any such Thing existing as Body at all? For we see nothing but the Ideas that are in God; but Body it self we neither do nor can possibly see at all; and how then can we know that there is any such Thing existing as Body, since we can by no means see or perceive it by our Senses, which is all the Way we can have of knowing any corporeal Thing to exist? But 'tis said, God shews us the Ideas in himself, on occasion of the Presence of those Bodies to our Senses. This is *gratis dictum*, and begs the Thing in Question; and therefore I desire to have it prov'd to me that they are present. I see the Sun, or an Horse; no, says our Author, that is impossible, they cannot be seen, because being Bodies they cannot be united to my Mind, and be present to it. But the Sun being risen, and the Horse brought within convenient distance, and so being present to my Eyes, God shews me their Ideas in himself: And I say God shews me these Ideas when he pleases, without the Presence of any such Bodies to my Eyes. For when I think I see a Star at such a distance from me, which truly I do not see, but the Idea of it which God shews me, I would have it prov'd to me that there is such a Star existing a Million of Millions of Miles from me when I think I see it, more than when I dream of such a Star. For 'till it be prov'd that there is a Candle in the Room by which I write this, the Supposition of my seeing in God the Pyramidical Idea of its Flame upon occasion of the Candle's being there, is begging what is in Question. And to prove to me that God exhibits to me that Idea upon occasion of the Presence of the Candle, it must first be proved to me that there is a Candle there, which upon these Principles can never be done.

Farther, We see the *necessary and unchangeable Essences of things* in the Perfections of God. Water, a Rose, and a Lion, have their distinct Essences one from another, and all other things; what I desire to know are these distinct Essences, I confess I neither see them in nor out of God, and in which of the Perfections of God do we see each of them?

Pag. 504. I find these Words, *It is evident that the Perfections that are in God which represent created or possible Beings, are not at all equal: That those for example that represent Bodies, are not so noble as those for example that represent Spirits; and amongst those themselves, which represent nothing but Body, or nothing but Spirits, there are more perfect one than another to Infinity. This is conceivable clearly, and without Pain, though one finds some Difficulty to reconcile the Simplicity of the Divine Being, with this Variety of intelligible Ideas which he contains in his Wisdom.* This Difficulty is to me insurmountable, and I conclude it always shall be so, till I can find a way to make Simplicity and Variety the same. And this Difficulty must always cumber this Doctrine, which supposes that the Perfections of God are the Representatives to us of whatever we perceive of the Creatures;

for then thoſe Perfections muſt be many, and diverſe, and diſtinct one from another, as thoſe Ideas are that repreſent the different Creatures to us. And this ſeems to me to make God formally to contain in him all the diſtinct Ideas of all the Creatures, and that ſo, that they might be ſeen one after another. Which ſeems to me after all the Talk of Abſtraction to be but a little leſs groſs Conception than of the Sketches of all the Pictures that ever a Painter draws, kept by him in his Cloſet, which are there all to be ſeen one after another, as he pleaſes to ſhew them. But whilſt theſe abſtract Thoughts produce nothing better than this, I the eaſier content my ſelf with my Ignorance which roundly thinks thus. God is a ſimple Being, Omniſcient, that knows all things poſſible; and Omnipotent, that can do or make all things poſſible. But how he knows, or how he makes, I do not conceive: His ways of knowing as well as his ways of creating, are to me incomprehenſible; and if they were not ſo, I ſhould not think him to be God, or to be perfecter in Knowledge than I am. To which our Author's Thoughts ſeem in the cloſe of what is above-cited ſomewhat to encline, when he ſays, *The Variety of intelligible Ideas which God contains in his Wiſdom*; whereby he ſeems to place this Variety of Ideas in the Mind or Thoughts of God, as we may ſo ſay, whereby 'tis hard to conceive how we can ſee them, and not in the Being of God, where they are to be ſeen as ſo many diſtinct Things in it.

A

DISCOURSE

OF

MIRACLES.

TO diſcourſe of Miracles without defining what one means by the Word Miracle, is to make a Shew, but in Effect to talk of nothing.

A Miracle then I take to be a ſenſible Operation, which, being above the Comprehenſion of the Spectator, and in his Opinion contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Courſe of Nature, is taken by him to be Divine.

He that is preſent at the Fact, is a Spectator: He that believes the Hiſtory of the Fact, puts himſelf in the place of a Spectator.

This Definition, 'tis probable, will not eſcape theſe two Exceptions.

1. That hereby what is a Miracle is made very uncertain; for it depending on the Opinion of the Spectator, that will be a Miracle to one which will not be ſo to another.

In anſwer to which, it is enough to ſay, that this Objection is of no Force, but in the Mouth of one who can produce a Definition of a Miracle not liable to the ſame Exception, which I think not eaſie to do; for it being agreed, that a Miracle muſt be that which ſurpaſſes the Force of Nature in the eſtabliſh'd, ſteady Laws of Cauſes and Effects, nothing can be taken to be a Miracle but what is judg'd to exceed thoſe Laws. Now every one being able to judge of thoſe Laws only by his own Acquaintance with Nature, and Notions of its Force (which are different in different Men) it is unavoidable that That ſhould be a Miracle to one, which is not ſo to another.

2. Another Objection to this Definition, will be, that the Notion of a Miracle thus enlarged, may come ſometimes to take in Operations that have nothing Extraordinary or Supernatural in them, and thereby invalidate the Uſe of Miracles for the atteſting of Divine Revelation.

To which I anſwer, not at all, if the Teſtimony which Divine Revelation receives from Miracles be rightly conſider'd.

To know that any Revelation is from God, it is neceſſary to know that the Meſſenger that delivers it is ſent from God, and that cannot be known but by ſome Credential given him by God himſelf. Let us ſee then whether Miracles, in my Senſe, be not ſuch Credentials, and will not infallibly direct us right in the Search of Divine Revelation.

It is to be conſider'd, that Divine Revelation receives Teſtimony from no other Miracles, but ſuch as are wrought to witneſs his Miſſion from God who delivers the Revelation. All other Miracles that are done in the World,

how many or great ſoever, Revelation is not concern'd in. Caſes wherein there has been, or can be Need of Miracles for the Confirmation of Revelation, are fewer than perhaps is imagin'd. The heathen World, amidſt an infinite and uncertain Jumble of Deities, Fables and Worſhips, had no room for a divine Atteſtation of any one againſt the reſt. Thoſe Owners of many Gods were at liberty in their Worſhip; and no one of their Divinities pretending to be the one only true God, no one of them could be ſuppos'd in the Pagan Scheme to make Uſe of Miracles to eſtabliſh his Worſhip alone, or to aboliſh that of the other; much leſs was there any Uſe of Miracles to confirm any Articles of Faith, ſince no one of them had any ſuch to propoſe as neceſſary to be believ'd by their Votaries. And therefore I do not remember any Miracles recorded in the *Greek* or *Roman* Writers, as done to confirm any one's Miſſion and Doctrine. Conformable hereunto we find St. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* i. 22. takes notice that the *Jews* ('tis true) requir'd Miracles, but as for the *Greeks* they look'd after ſomething elſe; they knew no Need or Uſe there was of Miracles to recommend any Religion to them. And indeed it is an aſtoniſhing Mark how far the God of this World had blinded Men's Minds, if we conſider that the Gentile World receiv'd and ſtuck to a Religion, which, not being deriv'd from Reaſon, had no ſure Foundation in Revelation. They knew not its Original, nor the Authors of it, nor ſeem'd concern'd to know from whence it came, or by whoſe Authority deliver'd; and ſo had no Mention or Uſe of Miracles for its Confirmation. For though there were here and there ſome Pretences to Revelation, yet there were not ſo much as Pretences to Miracles that atteſted it.

If we will direct our Thoughts by what has been, we muſt conclude that Miracles, as the Credentials of a Meſſenger delivering a Divine Religion, have no Place but upon a Suppoſition of One only true God; and that it is ſo in the Nature of the thing, and cannot be otherwiſe, I think will be made appear in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe. Of ſuch who have come in the Name of the One only true God, profeſſing to bring a Law from him, we have in Hiſtory a clear Account but of three, *viz. Moſes*, *Jeſus*, and *Mahomet*. For what the *Perſees* ſay of their *Zoroaſter*, or the *Indians* of their *Brama* (not to mention all the wild Stories of the Religions farther Eaſt) is ſo obſcure, or ſo manifeſtly fabulous, that no Account can be made of it. Now of the three before-mention'd, *Mahomet* having none to produce, pretends to no Miracles for the vouching his Miſſion; ſo that the only Revelations that come atteſted by Miracles, being only thoſe of *Moſes* and *Chriſt*, and they confirming each other, the Buſineſs of Miracles, as it ſtands really in Matter of Fact, has no manner of Difficulty in it; and I think the moſt ſcrupulous or ſceptical cannot from Miracles raiſe the leaſt Doubt againſt the Divine Revelation of the Goſpel.

But ſince the Speculative and Learned will be putting of Caſes which never were, and it may be preſum'd never will be; ſince Scholars and Diſputants will be raiſing of Queſtions where there are none, and enter upon Debates, whereof there is no Need; I crave leave to ſay, that he who comes with a Meſſage from God to be deliver'd to the World, cannot be refus'd Belief if he vouches his Miſſion by a Miracle, becauſe his Credentials have a Right to it. For every rational thinking Man muſt conclude as *Nicodemus* did, *We know that thou art a Teacher come from God, for no Man can do theſe Signs which thou doſt, except God be with him.*

For Example, *Jeſus* of *Nazareth* profeſſes himſelf ſent from God: He with a Word calms a Tempeſt at Sea: This one looks on as a Miracle, and conſequently cannot but receive his Doctrine: Another thinks this might be the Effect of Chance, or Skill in the Weather and no Miracle, and ſo ſtands out; but afterwards ſeeing him walk on the Sea, owns that for a Miracle and believes: Which yet upon another has not that Force, who ſuſpects it may poſſibly be done by the Aſſiſtance of a Spirit: But yet the ſame Perſon, ſeeing afterwards our Saviour cure an inveterate Palſie by a Word, admits that for a Miracle, and becomes a Convert: Another over-looking it in this Inſtance, afterwards finds a Miracle in his giving Sight to one born Blind, or in raiſing the Dead, or his raiſing himſelf from the Dead, and ſo receives his

his Doctrine as a Revelation coming from God. By all which it is plain, that where the Miracle is admitted, the Doctrine cannot be rejected; it comes with the Aſſurance of a Divine Atteſtation to him that allows the Miracle, and he cannot queſtion its Truth.

The next thing then is, what ſhall be a ſufficient Inducement to take any extraordinary Operation to be a Miracle, *i. e.* wrought by God himſelf for the Atteſtation of a Revelation from him?

And to this I anſwer, the carrying with it the Marks of a greater Power than appears in Oppoſition to it. For,

1. Firſt, This removes the main Difficulty where it preſſes hardeſt, and clears the Matter from Doubt, when extraordinary and ſupernatural Operations are brought to ſupport oppoſite Miſſions, about which methinks more Duſt has been rais'd by Men of Leiſure than ſo plain a Matter needed. For ſince God's Power is paramount to all, and no Oppoſition can be made againſt him with an equal Force to his; and ſince his Honour and Goodneſs can never be ſuppos'd to ſuffer his Meſſenger and his Truth to be born down by the Appearance of a greater Power on the ſide of an Impoſtor, and in favour of a Lye; wherever there is an Oppoſition, and two pretending to be ſent from Heaven claſh, the Signs, which carry with them the evident Marks of a greater Power, will always be a certain and unqueſtionable Evidence, that the Truth and Divine Miſſion are on that ſide on which they appear. For though the Diſcovery, how the lying Wonders are or can be produc'd, be beyond the Capacity of the ignorant, and often beyond the Conception of the moſt knowing Spectator, who is therefore forc'd to allow them in his Apprehenſion to be above the Force of Natural Cauſes and Effects; yet he cannot but know they are not Seals ſet by God to his Truth for the atteſting of it, ſince they are oppos'd by Miracles that carry the evident Marks of a greater and ſuperior Power, and therefore they cannot at all ſhake the Authority of one ſo ſupported. God can never be thought to ſuffer that a Lie, ſet up in Oppoſition to a Truth coming from him, ſhould be back'd with a greater Power than he will ſhew for the Confirmation and Propagation of a Doctrine which he has reveal'd, to the End it might be believ'd. The producing of Serpents, Blood and Frogs, by the *Egyptian* Sorcerers and by *Moſes*, could not to the Spectators but appear equally miraculous, which of the Pretenders then had their Miſſion from God: And the Truth on their ſide could not have been determin'd if the Matter had reſted there. But when *Moſes*'s Serpent eat up their's, when he produced Lice which they could not, the Deciſion was eaſie. 'Twas plain *Jannes* and *Jambres* acted by an inferiour Power, and their Operations, how marvellous and extraordinary ſoever, could not in the leaſt bring in Queſtion *Moſes*'s Miſſion; that ſtood the firmer for this Oppoſition, and remain'd the more unqueſtionable after this, than if no ſuch Signs had been brought againſt it.

So likewiſe the Number, Variety and Greatneſs of the Miracles, wrought for the Confirmation of the Doctrine deliver'd by *Jeſus Chriſt*, carry with them ſuch ſtrong Marks of an extraordinary Divine Power, that the Truth of his Miſſion will ſtand firm and unqueſtionable, till any one riſing up in Oppoſition to him ſhall do greater Miracles than he and his Apoſtles did. For any thing leſs will not be of Weight to turn the Scales in the Opinion of any one, whether of an inferiour or more exalted Underſtanding. This is one of thoſe palpable Truths and Trials, of which all Mankind are Judges; and there needs no Aſſiſtance of Learning, no deep Thought to come to a Certainty in it. Such Care has God taken that no pretended Revelation ſhould ſtand in Competition with what is truly Divine, that we need but open our Eyes to ſee and be ſure which came from him. The Marks of his over-ruling Power accompany it; and therefore to this Day we find, that where-ever the Goſpel comes, it prevails to the beating down the ſtrong Holds of *Satan*, and the diſlodging the Prince of the Power of Darkneſs, driving him away with all his living Wonders; which is a ſtanding Miracle, carrying with it the Teſtimony of Superiority.

What

What is the uttermoſt Power of natural Agents or created Beings, Men of the greateſt Reach cannot diſcover; but that it is not equal to God's Omnipotency is obvious to every one's Underſtanding; ſo that the ſuperior Power is an eaſie, as well as ſure Guide to Divine Revelation, atteſted by Miracles, where they are brought as Credentials to an Embaſſy from God.

And thus upon the ſame Grounds of Superiority of Power, unconteſted Revelation will ſtand too.

For the explaining of which, it may be neceſſary to premiſe,

1. That no Miſſion can be look'd on to be Divine, that delivers any thing derogating from the Honour of the one, only, true, inviſible God, or inconſiſtent with natural Religion and the Rules of Morality: Becauſe God having diſcovered to Men the Unity and Majeſty of his Eternal Godhead, and the Truths of natural Religion and Morality by the Light of Reaſon, he cannot be ſuppoſed to back the contrary by Revelation; for that would be to deſtroy the Evidence and the Uſe of Reaſon, without which Men cannot be able to diſtinguiſh Divine Revelation from Diabolical Impoſture.

2. That it cannot be expected that God ſhould ſend any one into the World on purpoſe to inform Men of things indifferent, and of ſmall Moment, or that are knowable by the Uſe of their natural Faculties. This would be to leſſen the Dignity of his Majeſty in Favour of our Sloth, and in Prejudice to our Reaſon.

3. The only Caſe then wherein a Miſſion of any one from Heaven can be reconciled to the high and awful Thoughts Men ought to have of the Deity, muſt be the Revelation of ſome ſupernatural Truths relating to the Glory of God, and ſome great Concern of Men. Supernatural Operations atteſting ſuch a Revelation may, with reaſon, be taken to be Miracles, as carrying the Marks of a ſuperior and over-ruling Power, as long as no Revelation accompanied with Marks of a greater Power appears againſt it. Such ſupernatural Signs may juſtly ſtand good, and be received for Divine, *i. e.* wrought by a Power ſuperior to all, 'till a Miſſion atteſted by Operations of a greater Force ſhall diſprove them: Becauſe it cannot be ſuppoſed, God ſhould ſuffer his Prerogative to be ſo far uſurp'd by any inferior Being, as to permit any Creature, depending on him, to ſet his Seals, the Marks of his Divine Authority, to a Miſſion coming from him. For theſe ſupernatural Signs being the only Means God is conceived to have to ſatisfie Men as rational Creatures of the Certainty of any thing he would reveal, as coming from himſelf, can never conſent that it ſhould be wreſted out of his Hands, to ſerve the Ends and eſtabliſh the Authority of an inferior Agent that rivals him. His Power being known to have no equal, always will, and always may be ſafely depended on, to ſhew its Superiority in vindicating his Authority, and maintaining every Truth that he hath revealed. So that the Marks of a ſuperior Power accompanying it, always have been, and always will be a viſible and ſure Guide to divine Revelation; by which Men may conduct themſelves in their examining of revealed Religions, and be ſatisfied which they ought to receive as coming from God; though they have by no means Ability preciſely to determine what is, or is not above the Force of any created Being; or what Operations can be performed by none but a divine Power, and require the immediate Hand of the Almighty. And therefore we ſee 'tis by that our Saviour meaſures the great Unbelief of the *Jews*, John xv. 24. ſaying, *If I had not done among them the Works which no other Man did, they had not had Sin, but now have they both ſeen and hated both me and my Father*; declaring, that they could not but ſee the Power and Preſence of God in thoſe many Miracles he did, which were greater than ever any other Man had done. When God ſent *Moſes* to the Children of *Iſrael* with a Meſſage, that now according to his Promiſe he would redeem them by his Hand out of *Egypt*, and furniſh'd him with Signs and Credentials of his Miſſion; it is very remarkable what God himſelf ſays of thoſe Signs, *Exod.* iv. 8. *And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the Voice of the firſt Sign* (which was turning his Rod into a Serpent) that *they will believe, and the Voice of the latter Sign* (which was the making his Hand leprous by putting it in his Boſom;)

God

God farther adds, *v.* 9. *And it ſhall come to paſs, if they will not believe alſo theſe two Signs, neither hearken unto thy Voice, that thou ſhalt take of the Water of the River and pour upon the dry Land: And the Water which thou takeſt out of the River ſhall become Blood upon the dry Land.* Which of thoſe Operations was or was not above the Force of all created Beings, will, I ſuppoſe, be hard for any Man, too hard for a poor Brick-maker to determine; and therefore the Credit and certain Reception of the Miſſion, was annex'd to neither of them, but the prevailing of their Atteſtation was heighten'd by the Increaſe of their Number; two ſupernatural Operations ſhewing more Power than one, and three more than two. God allow'd that it was natural, that the Marks of greater Power ſhould have a greater Impreſſion on the Minds and Belief of the Spectators. Accordingly the *Jews*, by this Eſtimate judg'd of the Miracles of our Saviour, *John* vii. 31. where we have this Account, *And many of the People believ'd on him, and ſaid when Chriſt cometh will he do more Miracles than theſe which this Man hath done?* This perhaps, as it is the plaineſt, ſo it is alſo the ſureſt way to preſerve the Teſtimony of Miracles in its due Force to all Sorts and Degrees of People. For Miracles being the Baſis on which Divine Miſſion is always eſtabliſhed, and conſequently that Foundation on which the Believers of any Divine Revelation muſt ultimately bottom their Faith, this Uſe of them would be loſt, if not to all Mankind, yet at leaſt to the ſimple and illiterate (which is the far greateſt Part) if Miracles be defined to be none but ſuch Divine Operations as are in themſelves beyond the Power of all created Beings, or at leaſt Operations contrary to the fix'd and eſtabliſh'd Laws of Nature. For as to the latter of thoſe, what are the fix'd and eſtabliſh'd Laws of Nature, Philoſophers alone, if at leaſt they, can pretend to determine. And if they are to be Operations performable only by Divine Power, I doubt whether any Man learned or unlearned, can in moſt Caſes be able to ſay of any particular Operation, that can fall under his Senſes, that it is certainly a Miracle. Before he can come to that Certainty, he muſt know that no created Being has a Power to perform it. We know good and bad Angels have Abilities and Excellencies exceedingly beyond all our poor Performances or narrow Comprehenſions. But to define what is the utmoſt Extent of Power that any of them has, is a bold Undertaking of a Man in the Dark, that pronounces without ſeeing, and ſets Bounds in his narrow Cell to things at an infinite Diſtance from his Model and Comprehenſion.

Such Definitions therefore of Miracles, however ſpecious in Diſcourſe and Theory, fail us when we come to Uſe, and an Application of them in particular Caſes. 170½.

Theſe Thoughts concerning Miracles, were occaſioned by my reading Mr. Fleetwood's Eſſay on Miracles, *and the Letter writ to him on that Subject. The one of them defining a Miracle to be an extraordinary Operation performable by God alone: And the other writing of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.*

J. LOCKE.

Part of a Fourth

LETTER

FOR

TOLERATION, &c.

SIR,

A Freſh revival of the Controverſie formerly between you and me, is what I ſuppoſe no Body did expect from you after twelve Years Silence. But Reputation (a ſufficient Cauſe for a new War) as you give the World to underſtand, hath put Reſolution into your Heart, and Arms into your Hands to make an Example of me, to the Shame and Confuſion of all thoſe who could be ſo injurious to you, as to think you could quit the Opinion you had appeared for in Print, and agree with me in the Matter of Toleration. 'Tis viſible how tender even Men of the moſt ſetled Calmneſs are in Point of Reputation, and 'tis allow'd the moſt excuſable Part of human Frailty; and therefore no Body can wonder to ſee a *Report thought injurious*, labour'd againſt with Might and Main, and the Aſſiſtance and Cauſe of Religion it ſelf taken in and made uſe of to put a Stop to it. But yet for all this there are ſober Men who are of Opinion, that it better becomes a Chriſtian Temper, that Diſputes, eſpecially of Religion, ſhould be waged purely for the Sake of Truth, and not for our own: Self ſhould have nothing to do in them. But ſince as we ſee it will croud it ſelf in, and be often the principal Agent, your Ingenuity in owning what has brought you upon the Stage again, and ſet you on work, after the Eaſe and Quiet you reſolutely maintain'd your ſelf in ſo many Years, ought to be commended, in giving us a View of the diſcreet Choice you have made of a Method ſuited to your Purpoſe, which you publiſh to the World in theſe Words, *P.* 2. *Being deſirous to put a ſtop to a Report ſo injurious (as well as groundleſs) as I look upon this to be, I think it will be no improper way of doing it, if I thus ſignifie to you and the Reader, that I find nothing more convincing in this your long Letter, than I did in your two former; giving withal a brief* Specimen *of the Anſwerableneſs of it. Which I chooſe to do upon a few Pages at the beginning, where you have placed your greateſt Strength, or at leaſt ſo much of it, as you think ſufficient to put an End to this Controverſie.*

Here we have your Declaration of War, of the Grounds that mov'd you to it, and of your compendious way to aſſured Victory, which I muſt own is very new and very remarkable. You chooſe a few Pages out of the beginning of my third Letter; in theſe, you ſay, *I have placed my greateſt Strength.* So that, what I have there ſaid being baffled, it gives you a juſt Triumph over

my whole *long Letter*; and all the reſt of it being but pitiful, weak, impertinent Stuff, is by the Overthrow of this forlorn Hope fully confuted.

This is called anſwering by *Specimen*. A new way, which the World owes to your Invention, an Evidence that whilſt you ſaid nothing you did not ſpare thinking. And indeed it was a noble Thought, a Stratagem, which I believe ſcarce any other but your ſelf would have found out in a Meditation of twice twelve Years, how to anſwer Arguments without ſaying a Word to them, or ſo much as reciting them; and, by examining ſix or ſeven Pages in the beginning of a Book, reduce to nothing above three hundred Pages of it that follow. This is indeed a *deciſive Stroke* that lays all flat before you. Who can ſtand againſt ſuch a Conqueror, who, by barely attacking of one, kills an hundred? This would certainly be an admirable way, did it not degrade the Conqueror, whoſe Buſineſs is to do; and turn him into a meer talking Gazeteer, whoſe Boaſts are of no Conſequence. For after Slaughter of Foes, and routing of Armies by ſuch a dead-doing Hand, no Body thinks it ſtrange to find them all alive again ſafe and ſound upon their Feet, and in a Poſture of defending themſelves. The Event, in all ſorts of Controverſies, hath often better inſtructed thoſe who have, without bringing it to Trial, preſumed on the Weakneſs of their Adverſaries. However, this which you have ſet up, of confuting without arguing, cannot be deny'd to be a ready way, and well thought on to ſet you up high, and your Reputation ſecure in the Thoughts of your believing Readers, if that be (as it ſeems it is) your Buſineſs. But, as I take it, tends not at all to the informing their Underſtandings, and making them ſee the Truth and Grounds it ſtands on. That perhaps is too much for the profane Vulgar to know; it is enough for them that you know it for them, and have aſſured them, that you can, when you pleaſe to condeſcend ſo far, confound all that any one offers againſt your Opinion. An implicit Faith of your being in the right, and aſcribing Victory to you, even in Points whereof you have ſaid nothing, is that which ſome ſort of Men think moſt uſeful, and ſo their Followers have but Tongues for their Champion to give him the Praiſe and Authority he aims at, 'tis no matter whether they have any Eyes for themſelves to ſee on which ſide the Truth lies. Thus methinks you and I both find our Account in this Controverſie under your Management; you in ſetting your Reputation ſafe from the Blemiſh it would have been to it that you were brought over to my Opinion; and I in ſeeing (if you will forgive me ſo preſumptuous a Word) that you have left my Cauſe ſafe in all thoſe Parts you have ſaid nothing to, and not very much damaged in that Part you have attacked, as I hope to ſhew the indifferent Reader. You enter upon your *Specimen*, *p.* 2. by minding me that *I tell you*, " That I doubt not but to let you ſee that if you will " be true to your own Principles, and ſtand to what you have ſaid, you " muſt carry ſome Degrees of Force to all thoſe Degrees which in Words " you declare againſt, even to the Diſcipline of Fire and Faggot. " And you ſay, *if I make my Word good; you aſſure me you will carry a Faggot your ſelf to the burning what you have written for ſo unmerciful and outragious a Diſcipline: But till I have done that, you ſuppoſe the Diſcipline you have endeavour'd to defend, may remain ſafe and unhurt, as it is, in its own Nature, harmleſs and ſalutary to the World.*

To promiſe fairly, is then the Part of an honeſt Man, when the time of Performance is not yet come. But it falls out unluckily here; for you who have undertaken, by anſwering ſome Parts of my ſecond Letter, to ſhew the *Anſwerableneſs* of the whole, that inſtead of anſwering, you promiſe to retract, if I *make good my Word*, in proving upon *your own Principles you muſt carry your ſome degrees of Force to Fire and Faggot.*

Sir, My Endeavours to make my Word good, have lain before you a pretty competent time, the World is witneſs of it, and will, as I imagine, think it time for you, ſince you your ſelf have brought this Queſtion upon the Stage, either to acknowledge that I have made my Word good, or, by invalidating my Arguments, ſhew that I have not. He, that after a Debt of ſo many Years, only promiſes what brave things he will do hereafter, is hardly thought upon the *Exchange* to do what he ought. The Account in his Hand

Hand requires to be made up and balanced; and that will ſhew not what he is to promiſe, but, if he be a fair Man, what he is to perform. If the Schools make longer Allowances of time, and admit Evaſions for Satisfaction, 'tis fit you uſe your Privilege, and take more time to conſider; only I crave leave in the mean while to refer my Reader to what I ſaid on this Argument, *Chap.* 4. of my third Letter, that he may have a View of your Way of anſwering by *Specimen*, and judge whether all that I have there urged be anſwered by what you ſay here, or what you promiſe here be ever like to be performed.

The next Sample you give, to *ſhew the Anſwerableneſs* of my Letter, is not much more lucky than the former; it may be ſeen, *p.* 3. and 4. where you ſay, *That I tell you*, p. 1. " That you have alter'd the Queſtion "; *for it ſeems*, p. 26. *you tell me the Queſtion between us is*, " Whether the Magiſtrate has any " Right to uſe Force, to bring Men to the True Religion? *Whereas*, p. 76. " you your ſelf, *I ſay*, own the Queſtion to be, Whether the Magiſtrate " has a Right to uſe Force in Matters of Religion? " *Which Affirmation of mine, you muſt take leave to tell me, is a meer Fiction, for neither* p. 76. *nor any where elſe, do you own the Queſtion to be what I ſay you do.*

And as to " uſing Force in Matters of Religion " (*which you ſay are my Words, not your's*) *if I mean by it the uſing Force to bring Men to any other Religion beſides the True; you are ſo far from owning the Queſtion to be, Whether the Magiſtrate has a Right to uſe Force for ſuch a purpoſe, that you have always thought it out of queſtion, that no Man in the World, Magiſtrate or other, can have any Right to uſe either Force, or any other Means that I can name, to bring Men to any Falſe Religion, how much ſoever he may perſuade himſelf that it is True.*

It is not therefore from any Alteration, but from the true State of the Queſtion, that " You take occaſion, *as I complain without cauſe*, to lay a load on me, for " charging you with the Abſurdities of a Power in the Magiſtrates to puniſh " Men, to bring them to their Religion." *But it ſeems, having little to ſay againſt what you do aſſert*, you ſay, *I find it neceſſary my ſelf to alter the Queſtion, and to make the World believe that you aſſert what you do not, that I may have ſomething before me which I can confute.*

In this Paragraph you poſitively deny, that it is any where owned by you as the Queſtion between us, *Whether the Magiſtrate has a Right of uſing Force in Matters of Religion?* Indeed theſe Words are not as they are cited in *p.* 76. of your former Letter; but he that will turn over the Leaf, may, in *p.* 78. read theſe Words of your's, *viz.* that *You refer it to me, whether I in ſaying, no Body has a Right, or you in ſaying, the Magiſtrate has a Right in uſing Force in Matters of Religion, have moſt Reaſon.* Though you poſitively tell me, That *neither* p. 76. *nor any where elſe, do you own the Queſtion to be what I ſay you do.* And now let the Reader judge between us. I ſhould not perhaps have ſo much as taken notice of this, but that you who are ſo ſparing of your Anſwer, that you think a brief *Specimen* upon ſome few Pages of the beginning of my Letter, ſufficient to confute all I have ſaid in it, do yet ſpend the better Part of two Pages on this; which if I had been miſtaken in, it had been of no great Conſequence; of which I ſee no other Uſe you have, but to caſt on me ſome civil Reflections of your Faſhion, and fix on me the Imputation of *Fiction, meer Fiction*; a Compliment which I ſhall not return you, though you ſay, " USING FORCE IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, are my Words, not your's. Whether they are your Words or not, let *p.* 78. of your former Letter decide, where you own your ſelf to ſay, that *The Magiſtrate has a Right to uſe Force in Matters of Religion.* So that this, as I take it, is a *Specimen* of your being very poſitive in a Miſtake, and about a plain Matter of Fact, about an Action of your own, and ſo will ſcarce prove a *Specimen* of the Anſwerableneſs of all I ſay in my Letter, unleſs we muſt allow that Truth and Falſhood are equally anſwerable, when you declare againſt either of them.

The next part of your *Specimen* we have, *p.* 4, 5. where you tell me that I undertake to prove, that " If upon your Grounds the Magiſtrate be obliged " to uſe Force to bring Men to the true Religion; it will neceſſarily fol- " low, that every Magiſtrate, who believes his Religion to be true, is obliged " to uſe Force to bring Men to his.

Now becauſe this Undertaking is ſo neceſſary for me; and my whole Cauſe ſeems to depend upon the Succeſs of it: You ſhall the more carefully conſider how well I perform it. But before you do this, it will be fit to let me know, in what Senſe you grant my Inference, and in what Senſe you deny it. Now that every Magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to uſe ſome moderate Penalties (which is all the Force you ever contended for) to bring Men to his Religion, you freely grant; becauſe that muſt needs be the True Religion; ſince no other can, upon ſuch Grounds, be believed to be true. But that any Magiſtrate, who upon weak and deceitful Grounds, believes a falſe Religion to be true (and he can never do it upon better Grounds) is obliged to uſe the ſame (or any other) means, to bring Men to his Religion, this you flatly deny; nor can it by any Rules of Reaſoning, be inferred from what you aſſert.

Here you tell me you grant my Inference in this Senſe, *viz. That every Magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is bound to uſe Force to bring Men to it.*

Here you grant that every Magiſtrate, without knowing that his Religion is true, is oblig'd, upon his believing it to be true, to uſe Force to bring Men to it; indeed you add, who believes it to be true *upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds.* So you have got a Diſtinction, and that always ſets off a Diſputant, though many times it is of no Uſe to his Argument. For here let me ask you who muſt be Judge, whether the Grounds, upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be juſt and ſufficient? Muſt the Magiſtrate himſelf judge for himſelf, or muſt you judge for him? A third Competitor in this Judgment I know not where you will find for your Turn. If every Magiſtrate muſt judge for himſelf, whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, are *juſt and ſufficient Grounds*, your Limitation of the Uſe of Force to ſuch only as believe *upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds*, bating that it is an Ornament to your Stile and Learning, might have been ſpared, ſince it leaves my Inference untouch'd in the full Latitude I have expreſs'd it concerning every Magiſtrate, there not being any one Magiſtrate excluded thereby from an Obligation to uſe Force to bring Men to his own Religion by this your Diſtinction. For if every Magiſtrate, who upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, be obliged to uſe Force to bring Men to his Religion, and every Magiſtrate be himſelf Judge, whether the *Grounds* he believes upon, *be juſt and ſufficient*; it is viſible every Magiſtrate is obliged to uſe Force to bring Men to his Religion; ſince any one, who believes any Religion to be true, cannot but judge the Grounds, upon which he believes it to be true, are juſt and ſufficient; for if he judged otherwiſe, he could not then believe it to be true. If you ſay, you muſt judge for the Magiſtrate, then what you grant is this, That every Magiſtrate who upon Grounds that you judge to be juſt and ſufficient, believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to uſe Force to bring Men to his Religion. If this be your Meaning, as it ſeems not much remote from it, you will do well to ſpeak it out, that the Magiſtrates of the World may know who to have recourſe to in the Difficulty you put upon them, in declaring them under an Obligation to uſe Force to bring Men to the true Religion; which they can neither certainly know, nor muſt venture to uſe Force to bring Men to, upon their own Perſuaſion of the Truth of it, when they have nothing but one of theſe two (*viz.*) Knowledge, or Belief that the Religion they promote is true, to determine them. Neceſſity has at laſt (unleſs you would have the Magiſtrate act in the Dark, and uſe his Force wholly at random) prevailed on you to grant that the Magiſtrate may uſe Force to bring Men to that Religion which he believes to be true; but ſay you, his Belief muſt be *upon juſt and ſufficient Grounds.* The ſame Neceſſity remaining ſtill, muſt prevail with you to go one Step farther, and tell me whether the Magiſtrate himſelf muſt be Judge, Whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be juſt and ſufficient, or whether you are to be Judge for him? If you ſay the firſt, my Inference ſtands good, and this Queſtion, I think, is yielded, and at an end. If you ſay you are to be Judge for the Magiſtrates, I ſhall congratulate to the Magiſtrates of the World the Way you have found out for them to acquit themſelves of their Duty, if you will

will but pleaſe to publiſh it, that they may know where to find you; for in truth, Sir, I prefer you, in this Caſe, to the Pope; though you know that old Gentleman at *Rome* has long ſince laid Claim to all Deciſions of this Kind, and alledges Infallibility for the Support of his Title; which indeed will ſcarce be able to ſtand at *Rome*, or any where elſe, without the Help of Infallibility. But of this perhaps more in the next Paragraph.

You go on with your *Specimen* in your next Paragraph, *p.* 5. which I ſhall crave Leave of my Reader to ſet down at large, it being a moſt exact and ſtudied Piece of artificial Fencing, wherein, under the Cover of good Words, and the Appearance of nice Thinking, nothing is ſaid; and therefore may deſerve to be kept not as a *Specimen* of your Anſwering, for, as we ſhall ſee, you anſwer nothing, but as a *Specimen* of your Skill in ſeeming to ſay ſomething where you have nothing to anſwer. You tell me that I ſay, *p.* 2. that "I ſuppoſe "that you will grant me (*what he muſt be a hard Man indeed that will not grant*) "that any thing laid upon the Magiſtrate as a Duty, is ſome Way or other "practicable. Now the Magiſtrate being obliged to uſe Force in Matters of "Religion, but yet ſo as to bring Men only to the true Religion, he will "not be in any Capacity to perform this Part of his Duty, unleſs the Re- "ligion he is to promote, be what he can certainly know, or elſe what it "is ſufficient for him to believe to be the true: Either his Knowledge or "his Opinion muſt point out that Religion to him, which he is by Force to "promote." *Where, if by Knowing, or Knowledge, I mean the Effect of ſtrict Demonſtration; and by Believing or Opinion, any ſort of Aſſent or Perſuaſion how ſlightly ſoever grounded: Then you muſt deny the Sufficiency of my Diviſion; becauſe there is a third Sort or Degree of Perſuaſion which though not grounded upon ſtrict Demonſtration; yet in Firmneſs and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability; being grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid Proof, as leaves no reaſonable Doubt in an attentive and unbyaſſed Mind: So that it approaches very near to that which is produced by Demonſtration, and is therefore as it reſpects Religion, very frequently and familiarly called in Scripture not Faith or Belief only, but Knowledge, and in divers places full Aſſurance; as might eaſily be ſhewn, if that were needful. Now this kind of Perſuaſion, this Knowledge, this full Aſſurance Men may, and ought to have of the true Religion: But they can never have it of a falſe one. And this it is that muſt point out that Religion to the Magiſtrate, which he is to promote by the Method you contend for.*

Here the firſt thing you do, is to pretend an Uncertainty of what I mean by *Knowing or Knowledge, and by Believing or Opinion.* Firſt, As to Knowledge, I have ſaid *certainly know.* I have called it *Viſion, Knowledge and Certainty, Knowledge properly ſo called.* And for Believing or Opinion, I ſpeak of *Believing with Aſſurance*, and ſay, that Believing in the higheſt Degree of Aſſurance is not Knowledge. That whatever is not capable of Demonſtration, is not, unleſs it be ſelf-evident, capable to produce Knowledge, how well grounded and great ſoever the Aſſurance of Faith may be wherewith it is received. That I grant, that a ſtrong Aſſurance of any Truth, ſettled upon prevalent and well-grounded Arguments of Probability, is often called Knowledge in popular Ways of Talking; but being here to diſtinguiſh between Knowledge and Belief, to what Degrees of Confidence ſoever raiſed, their Boundaries muſt be kept, and their Names not confounded, with more to the ſame Purpoſe. *P.* 2, 3 and 4. whereby it is ſo plain, that by Knowledge I mean the Effect of ſtrict Demonſtration; and by Believing or Opinion, I mean any Degree of Perſuaſion even to the higheſt Degree of Aſſurance; that I challenge you your ſelf to ſet it down in plainer and more expreſs Terms. But no Body can blame you for not finding your Adverſary's Meaning, let it be ever ſo plain, when you can find nothing to anſwer to it. The Reaſon therefore which you alledge for the denying the Sufficiency of my Diviſion, is no Reaſon at all. Your pretended Reaſon is becauſe there is *a third ſort or Degree of Perſuaſion; which, though not grounded upon ſtrict Demonſtration; yet in Firmneſs and Stability does far exceed that which is built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability*, &c. Let it be ſo, that there is a Degree of Perſuaſion not grounded upon ſtrict Demonſtration, far exceeding that which is built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability. But let me ask you what

what Reaſon can this be to deny the Sufficiency of my Diviſion, becauſe there is, as you ſay, a third Sort or Degree of Perſuaſion, when even that which you call this third Sort or Degree of Perſuaſion is contained in my Diviſion? This is a *Specimen* indeed, not of anſwering what I have ſaid, but of not anſwering; and for ſuch I leave it to the Reader. *A Degree of Perſuaſion, though not grounded on ſtrict Demonſtration, yet in Firmneſs and Stability far exceeding that which is built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability*, you call *here a third Sort or Degree of Perſuaſion.* Pray tell me which are the two other Sorts; for Knowledge upon ſtrict Demonſtration, is not Belief or Perſuaſion, but wholly above it. Beſides, if the Degrees of *Firmneſs in Perſuaſion* make different *Sorts of Perſuaſion*, there are not only three, but three hundred *Sorts of Perſuaſion*; and therefore the naming of your third Sort was with little Ground, and to no purpoſe or Tendency to an Anſwer; though the drawing in ſomething like a Diſtinction be always to the Purpoſe of a Man who hath nothing to anſwer, it giving Occaſion for the Uſe of many good Words; which, tho' nothing to the Point, ſerve to cover the Diſputant's ſaying nothing under the Appearance of Learning, to thoſe who will not be at the Pains to examine what he ſays.

You ſay, *Every Magiſtrate is by the Law of Nature under an Obligation to uſe Force to bring Men to the True Religion.* To this I urge, that the Magiſtrate hath nothing elſe to determine him in the Uſe of Force, for Promotion of any Religion one before another, but only his own Belief or Perſuaſion of the Truth of it. Here you had nothing to do, but fairly to grant or deny; but inſtead thereof you firſt raiſe a groundleſs Doubt, as I have ſhewn, about my Meaning, whereof there could be no Doubt at all to any one who would but read what I had ſaid; and thereupon having got a Pretence for a Diſtinction, you ſolemnly tell the World *there is a third Sort of Perſuaſion, which, though not grounded on ſtrict Demonſtration; yet in Firmneſs and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability, leaving no Doubt, approaching near to Knowledge, being full Aſſurance.* Well, the Magiſtrate hath a *Perſuaſion of Firmneſs and Stability, has full Aſſurance*; muſt he be determin'd by this his *full Aſſurance* in the promoting of that Religion by Force, of whoſe Truth he is in ſo high a Degree of Perſuaſion ſo fully aſſured? *No*, ſay you, *it muſt be grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid Proof as leaves no reaſonable Doubt in an attentive and unbyaſs'd Mind.* To which the Magiſtrate is ready to reply, that he, upon his Grounds, can ſee no reaſonable Doubt, and that his is an attentive and unbyaſs'd Mind, of all which he himſelf is to be Judge, 'till you can produce your Authority to judge for him; though, in the Concluſion, you actually make your ſelf Judge for him. 'Tis *ſuch a Kind of Perſuaſion, ſuch a full Aſſurance muſt point out to the Magiſtrate that Religion he is to promote by Force, which can never be had but of the true Religion:* Which is in effect, as every one may ſee, the Religion that you judge to be true, and not the Religion the Magiſtrate judges to be true. For pray tell me, muſt the Magiſtrate's full Aſſurance point out to him the Religion which he is by Force to promote, or muſt he by Force promote a Religion, of whoſe Truth he hath no Belief, no Aſſurance at all? If you ſay the firſt of theſe, you grant that every Magiſtrate muſt uſe Force to promote his own Religion, for that is the Religion whereof he has ſo full Aſſurance, that he ventures his eternal State upon it. Ay, ſay you, that is for Want of *Attention*, and becauſe he is not *unbyaſs'd*. 'Tis like he will ſay the ſame of you, and then you are quits. And that he ſhould by Force promote that Religion which he believes not to be true, is ſo abſurd, that I think you can neither expect it, nor bring your ſelf to ſay it. Neither of theſe therefore being Anſwers that you can make uſe of, that which lies at the Bottom, though you give it but covertly, is this, That the Magiſtrate ought by Force to promote the Religion that you believe with full Aſſurance to be true. This would do admirably well for your Purpoſe, were not the Magiſtrate intitled to ask, who made you a Judge for him in the Caſe? And ready to retort your own Words upon you, that 'tis Want of *Attention* and *Unbyaſſedneſs* in you, that puts your Religion paſt Doubt with you upon your Proofs of it. Try when you pleaſe with a *Bramin*, a *Mahometan*, a *Papiſt*, *Lutheran*, *Quaker*, *Anabaptiſt*, *Presbyterian*,

Presbyterians, &c. you will find if you argue with them, as you do here with me, that the Matter will reſt here between you, and that you are no more a Judge for any of them than they are for you. Men in all Religions have equally ſtrong Perſuaſions, and every one muſt judge for himſelf; nor can any one judge for another, and you laſt of all for the Magiſtrate, that the Ground you build upon, that *Firmneſs and Stability of Perſuaſion in the higheſt Degree of Aſſurance leaves no Doubt, can never be had of a falſe Religion* being falſe, all your Talk of full Aſſurance, pointing out to the Magiſtrate the true Religion that he is obliged by Force to promote, amounts to no more but his own Religion, and can point out no other to him.

However, in the next Paragraph you go on with your *Specimen*, and tell me, *Hence appears the Impertinency of all I diſcourſe*, p. 2, 3, 4. *concerning the Difference between Faith and Knowledge: Where the thing I was concern'd to make out, if I would ſpeak to the Purpoſe, was no other but this, That* " there are as clear and " ſolid Grounds for the Belief of Falſe Religions, as there are for the Belief " of the True: *Or*, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe " and embrace Falſe Religions as they can the True." *This, you confeſs, is a Point, which*, you ſay, *when I have well cleared and eſtabliſhed it, will do my buſineſs, but nothing elſe will. And therefore my Talk of Faith and Knowledge, however it may amuſe ſuch as are prone to admire all that I ſay, will never enable me, before better Judges, from the Duty of every Magiſtrate to uſe moderate Penalties for promoting the true Religion, to infer the ſame Obligation to lie upon every Magiſtrate in reſpect to his Religion, whatever it be.*

Where the Impertinency lies will be ſeen, when 'tis remember'd, that the Queſtion between us is not what Religion has the moſt clear and ſolid Grounds for the Belief of it, much leſs whether *there are as clear and ſolid Grounds for the Belief of Falſe Religions, as there are for the Belief of the True*, i. e. whether Falſhood has as much Truth in it as Truth it ſelf? A Queſtion, which, I gueſs, no Man, but one of your great Pertinency could ever have propos'd. But the Queſtion here between you and me, is what muſt point out to the Magiſtrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote, that ſo he may be able to perform the Duty that you pretend is incumbent on him by the Law of Nature; and here I prov'd, that having no certain demonſtrative Knowledge of the true Religion, all that was left him to determine him in the Application of Force (which you make the proper Inſtrument of promoting the true Religion) for the promoting the true Religion, which was only his Perſuaſion, Belief, or Aſſurance of the true Religion, which was always his own; and ſo in this State, the Religion, which by Force the Magiſtrates of the World muſt of neceſſity promote, muſt be either their own, or none at all. Thus the Argument ſtanding between us, I am apt to think the World may be of Opinion, that it had been pertinent to your Cauſe to have anſwer'd my Argument, if you had any thing to anſwer; which ſince you have not done, this *Specimen* alſo of the Facility, wherewith you can anſwer all I have ſaid in the third Letter, may be joyn'd to the former, and be a *Specimen* of ſomething elſe than what you intended it. For in truth, Sir, the endeavouring to ſet up a new Queſtion abſurd in it ſelf, and nothing at all to the Purpoſe, without offering any thing to clear the Difficulty you were preſſed with, will to underſtanding Readers appear pertinent in one that ſets himſelf up for an arrant Drawcanſir, and is giving *Specimens* of himſelf, that nothing can ſtand in his way.

'Tis with the ſame Pertinency that to this Propoſition, *That there are as clear and ſolid Grounds for the Belief of a Falſe Religion as there are for the Belief of the True*, you join this following as an equivalent, *Or that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace Falſe Religions as they can the True*; and you would fain have it thought that your Cauſe is gain'd, unleſs I will maintain theſe two abſurd Propoſitions, which my Argument has nothing to do with. And you ſeem to me to build upon theſe two falſe Propoſitions.

I. That in the want of Knowledge and Certainty, of which is the true Religion, nothing is fit to ſet the Magiſtrate upon doing his Duty in imploying of Force to make Men conſider and embrace the true Religion, but the higheſt Perſuaſion and full Aſſurance of its Truth. Whereas his own Perſuaſion

ſuaſion of the Truth of his own Religion, in what degree ſoever it be, ſo he believes it to be true, will, if he thinks it his Duty by Force to promote the true, be ſufficient to ſet him on Work. Nor can it be otherwiſe, ſince his own Perſuaſion of his own Religion, which he judges ſo well grounded as to venture his future State upon it, cannot but be ſufficient to ſet him upon doing what he takes to be his Duty in bringing others to the ſame Religion.

II. Another falſe Suppoſition you build upon is this, that the true Religion is always embrac'd with the firmeſt Aſſent. There is ſcarce any one ſo little acquainted with the World, that hath not met with Inſtances of Men moſt unmoveably confident, and fully aſſur'd in a Religion which was not the true. Nor is there among the many abſurd Religions of the World, almoſt any one that does not find Votaries to lay down their Lives for it; and if that be not *firm Perſuaſion* and *full Aſſurance* that is ſtronger than the Love of Life, and has Force enough to make a Man throw himſelf into the Arms of Death, it is hard to know what is *firm Perſwaſion* and *full Aſſurance*. *Jews* and *Mahometans* have frequently given Inſtances of this higheſt Degree of Perſuaſion. And the *Bramins* Religion in the Eaſt is entertain'd by its Followers with no leſs Aſſurance of its Truth, ſince it is not unuſual for ſome of them to throw themſelves under the Wheels of a mighty Chariot, wherein they on ſolemn Days draw the Image of their God about in Proceſſion, there to be cruſh'd to Death, and ſacrifice their Lives in Honour of the God they believe in. If it be objected, that thoſe are Examples of mean and common Men, but the great Men of the World, and the Heads of Societies, do not ſo eaſily give themſelves up to a confirm'd Bigotry. I anſwer, The Perſuaſion they have of the Truth of their own Religion, is viſibly ſtrong enough to make them venture themſelves, and uſe Force to others upon the Belief of it. Princes are made like other Men, believe upon the like Grounds that other Men do, and act as warmly upon that Belief, though the Grounds of their Perſuaſion be in themſelves not very clear, or may appear to others to be not of the utmoſt Solidity. Men act by the Strength of their Perſuaſion, though they do not always place their Perſuaſion and Aſſent on that ſide, on which in reality the Strength of Truth lies. Reaſons that are not thought of, not heard of, not rightly apprehended, nor duly weighed, make no Impreſſion on the Mind: And Truth, how richly ſoever ſtor'd with them, may not be aſſented to, but lie neglected. The only Difference between Princes and other Men herein, is this, that Princes are uſually more poſitive in Matters of Religion, but leſs inſtructed. The Softneſs and Pleaſures of a Court, to which they are uſually abandon'd when young, and Affairs of State which wholly poſſeſs them when grown up, ſeldom allow any of them time to conſider and examine that they may embrace the true Religion. And here your Scheme, upon your own Suppoſition, has a fundamental Error that over-turns it. For you affirming that Force, your way apply'd, is the *neceſſary* and *competent Means* to bring Men to the true Religion, you leave Magiſtrates deſtitute of theſe neceſſary and competent Means of being brought to the true Religion, tho' that be the readieſt way, in your Scheme the only way, to bring other Men to it, and is contended for by you as the only Method.

But farther, you will perhaps be ready to reply, that you do not ſay barely, that Men may not as firmly, but that they cannot as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace falſe Religions as they can the true. This, be it as true as it will, is of no manner of Advantage to your Cauſe. For here the Queſtion, neceſſary to be conſider'd in your way of arguing returns upon you, who muſt be the Judge whether the Magiſtrate believes and embraces his Religion rationally or no? If he himſelf be Judge, then he does act rationally, and it muſt have the ſame Operation on him, as if it were the moſt rational in the World: If you muſt be Judge for him, whether his Belief be rational or no, why may not others judge for him as well as you: Or at leaſt he judge for you, as well as you for him; at leaſt till you have produc'd your Patent of Infallibility and Commiſſion of Superintendency over the Belief of the Magiſtrates of the Earth, and ſhewn the Commiſſion whereby you are appointed the Director of the Magiſtrates of the World in their Belief, which is or is not the true Religion; do not think

think this ſaid without Cauſe, your whole Diſcourſe here has no other Tendency, but the making your ſelf Judge of what Religion ſhould be promoted by the Magiſtrate's Force; which, let me tell you by the way, every warm Zealot in any Religion, has as much a Right to be as you. I beſeech you tell me, are you not *perſuaded*, nay, *fully aſſured*, that the Church of *England* is in the right, and all that diſſent from Her are in the Wrong? Why elſe would you have Force us'd to make them conſider and conform? If then the Religion of the Church of *England* be, as you are *fully aſſured*, the only true Religion, and the Magiſtrate muſt ground his Perſuaſion of the Truth of his Religion, on ſuch clear and ſolid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no falſe one can have, and by that Perſuaſion the Magiſtrate muſt be directed in the Uſe of Force (for all this in Effect, you ſay, in the ſixth and beginning of the ſeventh Pages) what is this but covertly to ſay, that it is the Duty of all Magiſtrates to uſe Force to bring Men to embrace the Religion of the Church of *England?* Which ſince it plainly follows from your Doctrine, and I think you cannot deny to be your Opinion, and what in effect you contend for, you will do well to ſpeak it out in plain Words, and then there will need no more to be ſaid in the Queſtion.

And now I deſire it may be conſider'd, what Advantage this Suppoſition of Force, which is ſuppos'd put into the Magiſtrate's Hands by the Law of Nature to be us'd in Religion, brings to the true Religion, which muſt unavoidably in the State of things in the World act againſt it, for one that uſes Force for it. I ſay, that this Uſe of Force in the Magiſtrate's Hand is barely ſuppos'd by you from the Benefit it is like to produce; but it being Demonſtration, that the Prejudice that will accrue to the true Religion from ſuch a Uſe of Force, is five hundred times more than the Advantages can be expected from it, the natural and unavoidable Inference from your own ground of Benefit, is, that God never gave any ſuch Power to the Magiſtrate; and there it will reſt till you can, by ſome better Argument prove the Magiſtrate to have ſuch a Power; To which give me leave to add one Word more.

You ſay the Magiſtrate is obliged by the Law of Nature to uſe Force to promote the true Religion; muſt he ſtand ſtill and do nothing till he certainly know which is the true Religion? If ſo, the Commiſſion is loſt, and he can never do his Duty; for to certain Knowledge of the true Religion he can in this World never arrive. May he then act upon *firm Perſwaſion and full Aſſurance, grounded upon ſuch clear and ſolid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no falſe one can have?* And then indeed you have diſtinguiſh'd your ſelf into a ſafe Retreat. For who can doubt but your *third ſort or degree of Perſuaſion*, if that be your Meaning, will determine the Magiſtrate to the true Religion, when it is grounded on thoſe which are the Proofs only of the true Religion, which if it be all that you intend by your *full Aſſurance* (which is the Title you give to this your *third ſort or degree of Perſuaſion*) I muſt deſire you to apply this in Anſwer to my Argument. I ſay, Magiſtrates in general have nothing to determine them in their Application of Force but their own Perſuaſion; and your Anſwer is, the Magiſtrates of the true Religion have their own Perſuaſion to determine them; but of all the other Magiſtrates, which are above an hundred, I might ſay a thouſand to one, you ſay nothing at all; and thus, by the Help of a Diſtinction, the Queſtion is reſolved. I ſay the Magiſtrates are not in a Capacity to perform their Duty, if they be oblig'd to uſe Force to promote the true Religion, ſince they have nothing to determine them but their own Perſuaſion of the Truth of any Religion; which, in the Variety of Religions which the Magiſtrates of the World have embrac'd, cannot direct them to the true. Yes, ſay you, their Perſuaſion, who have embrac'd the true Religion, will direct them to the true Religion. Which amounts at laſt to no more but this, That the Magiſtrate that is in the right is in the right. A very true Propoſition without doubt; but whether it removes the Difficulty I propoſed any better than begging the Queſtion, you were beſt conſider. There are five hundred Magiſtrates of falſe Religions for one that is of the true; I ſpeak much within Compaſs; 'tis a Duty incumbent on them all, ſay you, to uſe Force to bring Men to the true Religion. My Queſtion is, how can this be compaſſed by Men who are unavoidably determin'd by the Perſuaſion of the Truth of their own Religion? 'Tis anſwer'd,

they who are of the true Religion will perform their Duty. A great Advantage ſurely to true Religion, and worth the contending for, that it ſhould be the Magiſtrate's Duty to uſe Force for promoting the true Religion, when in the State of things that is at preſent in the World, and always hitherto has been, one Magiſtrate in five hundred will uſe Force to promote the true Religion, and the other four hundred ninety nine to promote falſe ones.

But perhaps you will tell me, That you do not allow that Magiſtrates, who are of falſe Religions, ſhould be determin'd by their own Perſuaſions, which are *built upon ſlight Appearances of Probability*; but ſuch as are *grounded upon clear and ſolid Proofs*, which the true Religion alone has. In Anſwer to this, I ask, Who muſt be Judge whether his Perſuaſion be grounded on clear and ſolid Proofs, the Magiſtrate himſelf, or you for him? If the Magiſtrate himſelf, then we are but where we were; and all that you ſay here, with the Diſtinction that you have made about ſeveral ſorts of Perſuaſion, ſerves only to lead us round about to the ſame place: For the Magiſtrate, of what Religion ſoever, muſt, notwithſtanding all you have ſaid, be determin'd by his own Perſuaſion. If you ſay you muſt be Judge of the Clearneſs and Solidity of the Proofs upon which the Magiſtrate grounds the Belief of his own Religion, it is time you ſhould produce your Patent, and ſhew the Commiſſion whereby you act.

There are other Qualifications you aſſign of the *Proof*, on which you tell us *your third ſort or degree of Perſuaſion is grounded*; and that is ſuch *as leaves no reaſonable Doubt in an attentive and unbyaſs'd Mind:* Which unleſs you muſt be Judge what is *a reaſonable Doubt, and which is an attentive and unbyaſs'd Mind*, will do you no manner of Service. If the Magiſtrate muſt be Judge for himſelf in this Caſe, you can have nothing to ſay to him; but if you muſt be Judge, then any Doubt about your Religion will be unreaſonable, and his not embracing and promoting your Religion will be Want of Attention and an unbyaſs'd Mind. But let me tell you, give but the ſame Liberty of judging for the Magiſtrate of your Religion to the Men of another Religion, which they have as much Right to as you have to judge for the Magiſtrate of any other Religion in the Points mentioned, all this will return upon you. Go into *France* and try whether it be not ſo. So that your Plea for the Magiſtrate's uſing Force for promoting the true Religion, as you have ſtated it, gives as much Power and Authority to the King of *France* to uſe it againſt his diſſenting Subjects, as to any other Prince in *Chriſtendom* to uſe it againſt their's; name which you pleaſe.

The Fallacy in making it the Magiſtrate's Duty to promote by Force the only true Religion, lies in this, That you allow your ſelf to ſuppoſe the Magiſtrate, who is of your Religion, to be well-grounded, attentive and unbyaſs'd, and fully and firmly aſſured that his Religion is true: but that other Magiſtrates of other Religions different from your's are not ſo; Which what is it but to erect your ſelf into a State of Infallibility above all other Men of different Perſuaſions from your's, which yet they have as good a Title to as your ſelf?

Having thus advanced your ſelf into the Chair, and given your ſelf the Power of deciding for all Men, which is, and which is not the true Religion, it is not to be wonder'd you ſo roundly pronounce *all my Diſcourſe*, p. 2, 3, 4. *concerning the Difference between* Faith *and* Knowledge *to be Impertinency*; and ſo Magiſterially to tell me, *That the thing I was there concern'd to make out, if I would ſpeak to the Purpoſe, was no other but this, That there are as clear and as ſolid Grounds for the Belief of falſe Religions, as there are for Belief of the true: Or, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace falſe Religions as they can the true.*

The *Impertinency* in theſe two or three Pages I ſhall leave to ſhift for it ſelf in the Judgment of any indifferent Reader; and will only, at preſent, examine what you tell *I was concern'd to make out if I would ſpeak to the Purpoſe.*

My Buſineſs there was to prove, That the Magiſtrate being taught that it was his Duty to uſe Force to promote the true Religion, it would thence unavoidably follow, that not having Knowledge of the Truth of any Religion, but only Belief that it was true to determine him in his Application

of

of Force, he would take himſelf in Duty bound to promote his own Religion by Force; and thereupon Force would inevitably be uſed to promote falſe Religions, upon thoſe very Grounds upon which you pretend to make it ſerviceable only to the true: And this, I ſuppoſe, I have in thoſe Pages evidently proved, though you think not fit to give any other Anſwer to what I there ſay, but that it is impertinent; and I ſhould have proved ſomething elſe, which you would have done well, by a plain and clear Deduction, to have ſhewn from my Words.

[*The two following Leaves of the Copy are either loſt or miſlaid.*]

After this new Invention of your's, *of anſwering by Specimen*, ſo happily found out for the Eaſe of your ſelf and other Diſputants of Renown, that ſhall pleaſe to follow it, I cannot preſume you ſhould take notice of any thing I have to ſay: You have aſſumed the Privilege, by ſhewing your Strength againſt one Argument, to pronounce all the reſt baffled; and therefore to what Purpoſe is it to offer Difficulties to you, who can blow them all off with a Breath? But yet to apologize for my ſelf to the World, for being of Opinion that it is not always from want of *Conſideration*, *Attention*, or *being unbyaſs'd*, that Men with *Firmneſs of Perſuaſion* embrace, and with *full Aſſurance* adhere to the wrong Side in Matters of Religion; I ſhall take the Liberty to offer the famous Inſtance of the two *Raynolds*, Brothers, both Men of Learning and Parts; whereof the one being of the Church of *England*, and the other of the Church of *Rome*, they both deſiring each other's Converſion to the Religion which he himſelf was of, that they writ to one another about it; and with ſuch Appearance of ſolid and clear Grounds on both Sides, that they were wrought upon by them: Each chang'd his Religion, and that with ſo *firm a Perſuaſion*, and *full an Aſſurance* of the Truth of that which he turn'd to; that no Endeavours or Arguments of either of them could ever after move the other, or bring him back from what he had perſuaded him to. If now I ſhould ask to which of theſe two, *full Aſſurance* pointed out the true Religion? You no doubt, if you would anſwer at all, would ſay, To him that embrac'd that of the Church of *England*, and a Papiſt would ſay the other: But if an indifferent Man were ask'd whether this *full Aſſurance* was ſufficient to point out the true Religion to either of them, he muſt anſwer, No; for if it were, they muſt neceſſarily have been both of the ſame Religion.

To ſum up then what you anſwer to my ſaying, "It cannot be the Ma-"giſtrate's Duty to uſe Force to promote the true Religion, becauſe he is "not in a Capacity to perform that Duty; for not having a certain Know-"ledge, but only his own Perſuaſion to point out to him which is the "true Religion, if he be ſatisfied 'tis his Duty to uſe Force to promote the "true Religion, it will inevitably follow, that he muſt always uſe it to "promote his own." To which you anſwer, That a Perſuaſion of a low Degree is not ſufficient to point out that Religion to the Magiſtrate which he is to promote by Force; but that a *Firmneſs and Stability of Perſuaſion, a full Aſſurance is that which is to point out to the Magiſtrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote.* Where, if *by Firmneſs and Stability of Perſuaſion and full Aſſurance*, you mean what the Words import, 'tis plain you confeſs the Magiſtrate's Duty is to promote his own Religion by Force; for that is the Religion which his *firm Perſuaſion* and *full Aſſurance* points out to him. If by *full Aſſurance* you mean any thing but the Strength of Perſuaſion, you contradict all that you have ſaid about *Firmneſs* and *Stability*, and *Degrees of Perſuaſion*; and having in that Senſe allow'd the Sufficiency of my Diviſion, where I ſay, "Knowledge or Opinion muſt point out that Religion to him, which "he is by Force to promote;" retract it again, and inſtead thereof under the Name of *full Aſſurance*, you ſubſtitute and put in *true Religion*, and ſo Firmneſs of Perſuaſion is in effect laid by, and nothing but the Name made uſe of: For pray tell me, Is Firmneſs of Perſuaſion, or being of the true Religion, either of them by it ſelf, ſufficient to point out to the Magiſtrate that Religion which it is his Duty to promote by Force? For they do not always go together. If being of the true Religion by it ſelf may do

it, your mentioning Firmneſs of Perſuaſion, grounded on ſolid Proof that leaves no Doubt, is to no Purpoſe, but to miſlead your Reaſon; for every one that is of the true Religion, does not arrive at that high Degree of Perſuaſion, that *full Aſſurance*, which approaches that which is very near to that which is produced by Demonſtration. And in this Senſe of *full Aſſurance*, which you ſay Men may have of the true Religion, and can never have of a falſe one, your Anſwer amounts to this, That *full Aſſurance*, in him that embraces the true Religion, will point out the Religion he is by Force to promote: Where 'tis plain, that by *Fulneſs of Aſſurance* you do mean not the Firmneſs of his Perſuaſion that points out to him the Religion which he is by Force to promote (for any lower Degree of Perſuaſion to him that embraces the true Religion would do it as certainly; and to one that embraces not the true Religion, the higheſt Degree of Perſuaſion would even in your Opinion do nothing at all) but his being of the true Religion, is that which alone guides him to his Duty of promoting the true Religion by Force. So that to my Queſtion, how ſhall a Magiſtrate, who is perſuaded that it is his, and every Magiſtrate's Duty to promote the true Religion by Force, be determin'd in his Uſe of Force? You ſeem to ſay his *firm Perſuaſion* or *full Aſſurance* of the Truth of the Religion he ſo promotes muſt determine him; and preſently, in other Words, you ſeem to lay the Streſs upon his actually being of the true Religion. The firſt of theſe Anſwers is not true; for I have ſhewn, that Firmneſs of Perſuaſion may and does point out to Magiſtrates falſe Religions as well as the true: And the ſecond is much-what the ſame, as if to one, who ſhould ask what ſhould enable a Man to find the right Way who knows it not, it ſhould be anſwered, the being in it. One of theſe muſt be your Meaning, (chooſe which you pleaſe of them) if you have any Meaning at all in your ſixth, and Beginning of the ſeventh Page, to which I refer the Reader; where, if he find nothing elſe, he cannot fail to find a *Specimen* of School-play, of talking uncertainly in the utmoſt Perfection, nicely and artificially worded, that it may ſerve for a *Specimen* of a Maſter-picce in that Kind, but a *Specimen* of the Anſwerableneſs of my Letter will require, as I imagine, a little more plain Dealing. And to ſatisfie Readers, that have not attain'd to the Admiration of skilfully ſaying nothing; you muſt directly inform them, whether Firmneſs of Perſuaſion be or be not ſufficient in a Magiſtrate to enable him to do his Duty in promoting the true Religion by Force, or elſe this you have pitch'd on will ſcarce be a Sample of the Anſwerableneſs of all I have ſaid.

But you ſtand poſitive in it, and that is like a Maſter, that it cannot be inferr'd from the Magiſtrate's being obliged to promote by Force the true Religion, that every Magiſtrate is obliged to promote by Force his own Religion. And that for the ſame Reaſon you had given before, more perplex'd and obſcurely, *viz. Becauſe there is this perpetual Advantage on the Side of the true Religion, that it may and ought to be believed on clear and ſolid Grounds, ſuch as will appear the more ſo, the more they are examined: Whereas no other Religion can be believed ſo, but upon ſuch Appearances only as will not bear a juſt Examination.*

This would be an Anſwer to what I have ſaid, if it were ſo that all Magiſtrates ſaw the Preponderancy of the Grounds of Belief, which are on the Side of the true Religion; but ſince it is not the Grounds and Reaſons of a Truth that are not ſeen, that do or can ſet the Magiſtrate upon doing his Duty in the Caſe; but 'tis the Perſuaſion of the Mind, produc'd by ſuch Reaſons and Grounds as do affect it, that alone does, or is capable, to determine the Magiſtrate in the Uſe of Force, for performing of his Duty; it neceſſarily follows, that if two Magiſtrates have equally ſtrong Perſuaſions concerning the Truth of their Religions reſpectively, they muſt both be ſet on work thereby, or neither; for though one be of a falſe, and the other of the true Religion; yet the Principle of Operation, that alone which they have to determine them, being equal in both, they muſt both be determined by it; unleſs it can be ſaid, that one of them muſt act according to that Principle, which alone can determine, and the other muſt act againſt it; that is, do what he cannot do; be determined to one thing, by what at the ſame time determines him to another. From which Incapacity in Magiſtrates

giſtrates to perform their Duty by Force to promote the true Religion, I think it may juſtly be concluded, that to uſe Force for the promoting any Religion, cannot be their Duty.

You tell us, 'tis by the Law of Nature Magiſtrates are obliged to promote the true Religion by Force. It muſt be own'd, that if this be an Obligation of the Law of Nature, very few Magiſtrates over-look it, ſo forward are they to promote that Religion by Force which they take to be true. This being the Caſe, I beſeech you tell me what was *Huaina Capac*, Emperor of *Peru* oblig'd to do? Who, being perſuaded of his Duty to promote the true Religion, was not yet within diſtance of knowing or ſo much as hearing of the Chriſtian Religion, which really is the true, (ſo far was he from a Poſſibility to have his Belief grounded upon the ſolid and clear Proofs of the true Religion.) Was he to promote the true Religion by Force? That he neither did nor could know any thing of, ſo that That was morally impoſſible for him to do. Was he to ſit ſtill in the Neglect of his Duty incumbent on him? That is in effect to ſuppoſe it a Duty and no Duty at the ſame time. If upon his not knowing which is the true Religion, you allow it his Duty to promote it by Force, the Queſtion is at an End: You and I are agreed, that it is not the Magiſtrate's Duty by Force to promote the true Religion. If you hold it in that Caſe to be his Duty: What remains for him to do, but to uſe Force to promote that Religion which he himſelf is ſtrongly, nay perhaps to the higheſt Degree of Firmneſs, perſuaded is the true? Which is the granting what I contend for, that, if the Magiſtrate be obliged to promote by Force the true Religion, it will thence follow, That he is obliged to promote by Force that Religion which he is perſuaded is the true; ſince, as you will have it, Force was given him to that End, and it is his Duty to uſe it, and he hath nothing elſe to determine it to that End but his own Perſuaſion. So that one of theſe two Things muſt follow, either That in that Caſe it ceaſes to be his Duty, or elſe he muſt promote his own Religion; chooſe you which you pleaſe ***

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS

Relating to the

LIFE

OF

Anthony First EARL of *Shaftsbury*.

To which are added,

Three LETTERS writ by the E. of *Shaftsbury* while Priſoner in the *Tower*; one to King *Charles* II; another to the Duke of *York*; and a third to a Noble Lord: Found with Mr. *Locke*'s MEMOIRS, *&c.*

BEING at *Oxford* in the beginning of the Civil War, (for he was on that Side as long as he had any Hopes to ſerve his Country there) he was brought one Day to King *Charles* I. by the Lord *Falkland* his Friend, then Secretary of State, and preſented to him as having ſomething to offer to his Majeſty worth his Conſideration. At this Audience he told the King that he thought he could put an End to the War if his Majeſty pleaſed, and would aſſiſt him in it. The King anſwer'd, that he was a very young Man for ſo great an Undertaking. Sir, reply'd he, that will not be the worſe for your Affairs, provided I do the Buſineſs; whereupon the King ſhewing a Willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this Purpoſe.

The Gentlemen and Men of Eſtates, who firſt engag'd in this War, ſeeing now after a Year or two that it ſeems to be no nearer the End than it was at firſt, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well ſatisfied, would be glad to be at Quiet at Home again, if they could be aſſur'd of a Redreſs of their Grievances, and have their Rights and Liberties ſecur'd to them. This I am ſatisfied is the preſent Temper generally through all *England*, and particularly in thoſe Parts where my Eſtate and Concerns lie; if therefore your Majeſty will impower me to treat with the Parliament-Garriſons to grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Aſſurance that a general Amneſty

Amneſty (Arms being laid down on both Sides) ſhould reinſtate all things in the ſame Poſture they were before the War, and then a free Parliament ſhould do what more remain'd to be done for the Settlement of the Nation.

That he would begin and try the Experiment firſt in his own Country, and doubted not but the good Succeſs he ſhould have there, would open him the Gates of other adjoyning Garriſons, bringing them the News of Peace and Security in laying down their Arms.

Being furniſh'd with full Power according to his Deſire, away he goes to *Dorſetſhire*, where he managed a Treaty with the Garriſons of *Pool*, *Weymouth*, *Dorcheſter*, and others; and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his Hands, as the other were to have been ſome few Days after.

Prince Maurice. But Prince *Maurice*, who commanded ſome of the King's Forces, being with his Army then in thoſe Parts, no ſooner heard that the Town was ſurrender'd, but he preſently march'd into it, and gave the Pillage of it to his Soldiers. This Sir *A.* ſaw with the utmoſt Diſpleaſure, and could not forbear to expreſs his Reſentments to the Prince; ſo that there paſs'd ſome pretty hot Words between them; but the Violence was committed, and thereby his Deſign broken. All that he could do was, that he ſent to the other Garriſons, he was in Treaty with, to ſtand upon their Guard, for that he could not ſecure his Articles to them, and ſo this Deſign prov'd abortive and died in Silence.

This Project of his for putting an End to a Civil War, which had ſufficiently harraſs'd the Kingdom, and no Body could tell what fatal Conſequences it might have, being thus fruſtrated, it was not long before his active Thoughts, always intent upon ſaving his Country (the Good of that being that by which he ſteer'd his Counſels and Actions through the whole Courſe of his Life) it was not long before he ſet his Head upon framing another Deſign to the ſame Purpoſe. The firſt Project of it took its Riſe in a Debate between him and Serjeant *Fountain* in an Inn at *Hungerford*, where they accidentally met, and both diſliking the Continuance of the War, and deploring the Ruin it threaten'd, it was ſtarted between them, that the Countries all through *England*, ſhould arm and endeavour to ſuppreſs the Armies on both Sides. This Propoſal, which, in one Night's Debate, look'd more like a well-meant Wiſh than a form'd Deſign, he afterwards conſider'd more at leiſure, framed and faſhioned into a well-order'd and practical Contrivance, and never left working in it 'till he had brought moſt of the ſober and well-intention'd Gentlemen of both Sides all through *England* into it. This was that which gave Riſe to that third Sort of Army, which of a ſudden ſtarted up in ſeveral Parts of *England*, with ſo much Terror to the Armies both of King and Parliament, and had not ſome of thoſe who had engag'd in it, and

Clubmen. had undertaken to riſe at the Time appointed, fail'd, the *Clubmen*, for ſo they were called, had been ſtrong enough to carry their Point, which was to make both Sides lay down their Arms, and if they would not do it, to force them to it; to declare for a general Amneſty, to have the then Parliament diſſolv'd, and to have a new one call'd for redreſſing the Grievances, and ſettling the Nation. This Undertaking was not a Romantick Fancy, but had very promiſing Grounds of Succeſs; for the Yeomanry and Body of the People had ſuffer'd already very much by the War, and the Gentry and Men of Eſtates had abated much of their Fierceneſs, and wiſh'd to return to their former Eaſe, Security and Plenty, eſpecially perceiving that the Game, particularly on the King's Side, began to be play'd out of their Hands, and that it was the Soldiers of Fortune who were beſt look'd upon at Court, and had the Commands and Power put into their Hands.

He had been for ſome time before in *Dorſetſhire*, forming and combining the Parts of this great Machine, till at length he got it to begin to move. But thoſe, who had been forward to enter into the Deſign, not being ſo vigorous and reſolute, when the time was to appear and act; and the Court, who had learnt or ſuſpected that it had its Riſe and Life from him, having ſo ſtrict an Eye upon him that he could not maintain Correſpondence with diſtant Countries, and animate the ſeveral Parts as it was neceſſary, before it was his time to ſtir, He receiv'd a very civil and more than ordinary Letter

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from the King to come to him at *Oxford*; but he wanted not Friends there to inform him of the Danger it would be to him to appear there, and to confirm him in the Suſpicion that the King's Letter put him in, that there was ſomething elſe meant him, and not ſo much Kindneſs as that expreſſed. Beſides, the Lord *Goring*, who lay with an Army in thoſe parts, had Orders from Court to ſeize him, and had civilly ſent him Word, that he would come ſuch a Day and dine with him. All this together made him ſee that he could be no longer ſafe at home, nor in the King's Quarters; he therefore went, whither he was driven, into the Parliament Quarters, and took Shelter in *Portſmouth*. Thus, for endeavouring to ſave his King and Country, he was baniſh'd from the Side he had choſen. And the Court, that was then in high Hopes of nothing leſs than perfect Conqueſt, and being Maſters of all, had a great Averſion to moderate Counſels, and to thoſe of the Nobility and Gentry of their Party, who were Authors or Favourers of any ſuch Propoſals as might bring Things to a Compoſition. Such Well-wiſhers to their Country, though they had ſpent much, and ventur'd all on the King's Side, when they appear'd for any other End of the War but Dint of Arms, and a total Reduction of the Parliament by Force, were counted Enemies; and any Contrivance carried on to that End was interpreted Treaſon.

A Perſon of his Conſideration thus rejected and caſt off by the King, and taking Sanctuary with them, was receiv'd by the Parliament with open Arms; and though he came in from the other Side, and put himſelf into their Hands without any Terms; yet there were thoſe among them that ſo well knew his Worth, and what Value they ought to put upon it, that he was ſoon after offer'd conſiderable Imployments under them, and was actually truſted with Command, without ſo much as ever being queſtion'd concerning what he knew of Perſons or Counſels on the other Side, where they knew that his great Penetration and forward Mind, would not let him live in Ignorance among the great Men who were moſt of them his Friends, and all his Acquaintance.

But though he was not ſuffer'd to ſtay among thoſe with whom he had imbark'd, and had liv'd in Confidence with, and was forc'd to go over to the Parliament, he carried thither himſelf only, and nothing of any Body's elſe; he left them and all their Concerns, Actions, Purpoſes, Counſels perfectly behind him, and no Body of the King's Side could complain of him after the Day he went from his Houſe, where he could be no longer ſafe, that he had any Memory of what he had known when one of them.

This Forgetfulneſs ſo becoming a Gentleman, and a Man of Honour, he had eſtabliſh'd ſo firmly in his own Mind, that his Reſolution to perſiſt in it was like afterwards to coſt him no little Trouble. Mr. *Denzil Hollis* (afterwards the Lord *Hollis*) had been one of the Commiſſioners imploy'd by the Parliament in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had there had ſome ſecret and ſeparate Tranſactions with the King; this could not be kept ſo ſecret, but that it got ſome Vent, and ſome of the Parliament had ſome Notice of it. Mr. *Hollis* being afterwards attacked in Parliament by a contrary Party, there wanted nothing perfectly to ruin him, but ſome Witneſs to give Credit to ſuch an Accuſation againſt him. Sir *A. Aſhley Cooper* they thought fit for their Purpoſe, they doubted not but he knew enough of it, and they made ſure that he would not fail to embrace ſuch a fair and unſought-for Opportunity of ruining Mr. *Hollis*, who had been long his Enemy upon a Family-Quarrel, which he had carried ſo far, as, by his Power in the Houſe, to hinder him from ſitting in the Parliament upon a fair Election for that Parliament. Upon this Preſumption he was ſummon'd to the Houſe, and being called in, was there asked, whether when he was at *Oxford* he knew not, or had not heard ſomething concerning Mr. *Hollis*'s ſecret Tranſaction with the King at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. To this Queſtion he told them he could anſwer nothing at all; for though poſſibly what he had to ſay would be to the clearing of Mr. *Hollis*; yet he could not allow himſelf to ſay any thing in the Caſe, ſince whatever anſwer he made, it would be a Confeſſion that if he had known any thing to the Diſadvantage of Mr. *Hollis*, he would have

taken that diſhonourable Way of doing him a Prejudice, and wreak his Revenge on a Man that was his Enemy.

Thoſe who had brought him there preſſed him mightily to declare, but in vain, tho' Threats were added of ſending him to the Tower. He perſiſting obſtinately ſilent was bid to withdraw, and thoſe who had depended upon his Diſcovery being defeated, and conſequently very much diſpleas'd, mov'd warmly for his Commitment; of which he, waiting in the Lobby, having notice, unmov'd expected his Doom, tho' ſeveral of his Friends coming out, were earneſt with him to ſatisfie the Houſe; but he kept firm to his Reſolution, and found Friends enough among the great Men of the Party that oppos'd Mr. *Hollis* to bring him off; who very much applauded the Generoſity of his Carriage, and ſhew'd that Action ſo much to deſerve the Commendation, rather than the Cenſure of that Aſſembly, that the angry Men were aſham'd to inſiſt farther on it, and ſo drop'd the Debate.

Some Days after Mr. *Hollis* came to his Lodging, and having in Terms of great Acknowledgment and Eſteem expreſs'd his Thanks for his late Behaviour in the Houſe, with reſpect to him: He reply'd, That he pretended not thereby to merit any thing of him, or to lay an Obligation on him; that what he had done, was not out of any Conſideration of him, but what was due to himſelf, and he ſhould equally have done, had any other Man been concern'd in it, and therefore he was perfectly as much at liberty as before, to live with him as he pleaſed. But with all, that he was not ſo ignorant of Mr. *Hollis*'s Worth, nor knew ſo little how to put a juſt Value on his Friendſhip, as not to receive it as a very great and ſenſible Favour, if he thought him a Perſon worthy on whom to beſtow it. Mr. *Hollis*, not leſs taken with his Diſcourſe than what had occaſion'd it, gave him freſh and repeated Aſſurances of his ſincere and hearty Friendſhip, which were receiv'd with ſuitable Expreſſions. And thus an old Quarrel between two Men of high Spirits and great Eſtates, Neighbours in the ſame County, ended in a ſound and firm Friendſhip, which laſted as long as they liv'd.

This Paſſage brings to my Mind what I remember to have often heard him ſay concerning a Man's Obligation to Silence, in regard of Diſcourſe made to him or in his Preſence: That it was not enough to keep cloſe and uncommunicated what had been committed to him with that Caution, but there was a general and tacit Truſt in Converſation, whereby a Man was oblig'd not to report again any thing that might be any way to the Speaker's Prejudice, tho' no Intimation had been given of a Deſire not to have it ſpoke again.

He was wont to ſay, that Wiſdom lay in the Heart and not in the Head, and that it was not the want of Knowledge, but the Perverſeneſs of the Will that fill'd Mens Actions with Folly, and their Lives with Diſorder.

That there was in every one, two Men, the Wiſe and the Fooliſh, and that each of them muſt be allowed his Turn. If you would have the Wiſe, the Grave, and the Serious always to rule and have the Sway, the Fool would grow ſo peeviſh and troubleſome, that he would put the wiſe Man out of Order, and make him fit for nothing: He muſt have his Times of being let looſe to follow his Fanſies, and play his Gambols, if you would have your Buſineſs go on ſmoothly.

I have heard him alſo ſay, that he deſired no more of any Man but that he would talk: If he would but talk, ſaid he, let him talk as he pleaſes. And indeed I never knew any one penetrate ſo quick into Men's Breaſts, and from a ſmall Opening, ſurvey that dark Cabinet, as he would. He would underſtand Men's true Errand as ſoon as they had open'd their Mouths, and begun their Story in appearance to another Purpoſe.

Sir *Rich. Onſlow* and He were invited by Sir *J. D.* to dine with him at *Chelſea*, and deſir'd to come early, becauſe he had an Affair of Concernment to communicate to them. They came at the time, and being ſat, he told them he had made Choice of them both for their known Abilities, and particular Friendſhip to him, for their Advice in a Matter of the greateſt Moment to him that could be. He had, he ſaid, been a Widower for many Years, and began to want ſome Body that might eaſe him of the Trouble of Houſe-

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keeping, and take some Care of him under the growing Infirmities of old Age; and to that Purpose had pitch'd upon a Woman very well known to him by the Experience of many Years, in fine, his House-keeper. These Gentlemen, who were not Strangers to his Family, and knew the Woman very well, and were besides very great Friends to his Son and Daughter, grown up, and both fit for Marriage, to whom they thought this would be a very prejudicial Match, were both in their Minds opposite to it; and to that Purpose Sir *Rich. Onslow* began the Discourse; wherein, when he came to that Part, he was entring upon the Description of the Woman, and going to set her out in her own Colours, which were such as could not have pleas'd any Man in his Wife. Sir *Anthony* seeing whither he was going, to prevent any Mischief, beg'd leave to interrupt him, by asking Sir *J.* a Question, which in short was this, *whether he were not already married?* Sir *J.* after a little Demur, answer'd, Yes truly he was married the Day before. Well then, reply'd Sir *Anthony*, there is no more need of our Advice; pray let us have the Honour to see my Lady and wish her Joy, and so to Dinner. As they were returning to *London* in their Coach, I am oblig'd to you, said Sir *Rich.* for preventing my running into a Discourse which could never have been forgiven me, if I had spoke out what I was going to say. But as for Sir *J.* he methinks ought to cut your Throat for your civil Question. How could it possibly enter into your Head to ask a Man, who had solemnly invited us on purpose to have our Advice about a Marriage he intended, had gravely proposed the Woman to us, and suffered us seriously to enter into the Debate, *whether he were already married or no?* The Man, and the Manner, reply'd Sir *Anthony*, gave me a Suspicion that having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the Authority of our Advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you see what came of it. This afforded them Entertainment till they came to Town, and so they parted.

Soon after the Restauration of King *Charles* II. the Earl of *Southampton* and he having dined together at the Chancellor's, as they were returning home, he said to my Lord *Southampton*, Yonder Mrs. *Ann Hide* (for so as I remember he stiled her) is certainly married to one of the Brothers. The Earl who was a Friend to the Chancellor, treated this as a Chimæra, and ask'd him how so wild a Fansie could get into his Head? Assure your self, Sir, reply'd he, it is so. A conceal'd Respect, however suppress'd, shewed it self so plainly in the Looks, Voice and Manner, wherewith her Mother carv'd to her, or offer'd her of every Dish, that 'tis impossible but it must be so. My Lord *S.* who thought it a groundless Conceit then, was not long after convinc'd by the Duke of *York*'s owning of her, that Lord *Ashley* was no bad Gueſſer.

I shall give one Instance more of his great Sagacity, wherein it prov'd of great Use to him in a Case of mighty Consequence. Having reason to apprehend what Tyranny the Usurpation of the Government by the Officers of the Army under the Title of the Committee of Safety might end in; he thought the first Step to Settlement was the breaking of them, which could not be done with any pretence of Authority, but that of the Long Parliament. Meeting therefore secretly with Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, and some others of the Members, they gave Commissions in the Name of the Parliament to be Major-General, one of the Forces about *London*, another of the West, *&c.* and this when they had not one Soldier. Nay, he often would tell it laughing, that when he had his Commission his great Care was where to hide it. Before this he had secur'd *Portsmouth*; for the Governour of it, Coll. *Metham*, being his old Acquaintance and Friend, he ask'd him one Day, meeting him by Chance in *Westminster-Hall*, whether he would put *Portsmouth* into his Hands if he should happen to have an Occasion for it? *Metham* promis'd it should be at his Devotion. These Transactions, tho' no Part of them were known in particular, yet causing some remote Preparations, alarm'd *Wallingford*-House, where the Committee of Safety sat, and made them so attentive to all Actions and Discoveries that might give them any Light, that at last they were fully persuaded there was something a

brewing againſt them, and that Matter for Commotions in ſeveral Parts was gathering. They knew the Vigour and Activity of Sir *A. Aſhley* and how well he ſtood affectionated to them, and therefore ſuſpected that he was at the Bottom of this Matter. To find what they could, and ſecure the Man they moſt apprehended, he was ſent for to *Wallingford*-Houſe, where *Fleetwood* examin'd him according to the Suſpicions he had of him; that he was laying Deſigns in the Weſt againſt them, and was working the People to an Inſurrection that he intended to Head there. He told them, he knew no Obligation he was under to give them an Account of his Actions, nor to make them any Promiſes; but to ſhew them how ill-grounded their Suſpicions were, he promiſed that he would not go out of Town without coming firſt and giving him an Account of it. *Fleetwood* knowing his Word might be rely'd on, ſatisfied with the Promiſe he had made, let him go upon his Parole. That which deceived them in the Caſe, was, that knowing his Eſtate and Intereſt lay in the Weſt, they preſumed, that That was his Poſt, and there certainly if any Stir was he would appear, ſince there lay his great Strength, and they had no Body elſe in View who could ſupply his Room, and manage that Part. But they were miſtaken, *Haſelrig*, upon the Knowledge that they ſhould have *Portſmouth*, forwardly took that Province; and he, who had Inſtruments at work in the Army quartered in and about *London*, and knew that muſt be the Place of moſt Buſineſs and Management, and where the Turn of Affairs would be, had choſen that.

Lambert, who was one of the Rulers at *Wallingford*-Houſe, happened to be away when he was there, and came not in till he was gone: When they told him that Sir *A. Aſhley* had been there, and what had paſſed, he blamed *Fleetwood* for letting him go, and told him they ſhould have ſecured him, for that certainly there was ſomething in it that they were deceiv'd in, and they ſhould not have parted ſo eaſily with ſo buſie and dangerous a Man as he was. *Lambert* was of a quicker Sight, and a deeper Reach than *Fleetwood*, and the reſt of that Gang, and knowing of what Moment it was to their Security to fruſtrate the Contrivances of that working and able Head, was reſolved, if poſſibly he could, to get him into his Clutches.

Sir *A. A.* coming home to his Houſe in Street in *Covent-Garden* one Evening, found a Man knocking at his Door. He ask'd his Buſineſs; the Man anſwered, It was with him, and fell a diſcourſing with him. Sir *A. A.* heard him out, and gave him ſuch an Anſwer as he thought proper, and ſo they parted, the Stranger out of the Entry where they ſtood, into the Street, and Sir *A. A.* along the Entry into the Houſe, but gueſſing by the Story the other told him, that the Buſineſs was but a Pretence, and that his real Errand he came about was ſomething elſe; when he parted from the Fellow went inwards, as if he intended to go into the Houſe, but as ſoon as the Fellow was gone, turned ſhort, and went out, and went to his Barber's which was but juſt by; where he was no ſooner got in, and got up Stairs into a Chamber, but his Door was beſet with Musketeers, and the Officer went in too with others to ſeize him; but not finding him, they ſearched every Corner and Crany of the Houſe diligently, the Officer declaring he was ſure he was in the Houſe, for he had left him there juſt now; as was true, for he had gone no farther than the Corner of the Half-Moon-Tavern, which was juſt by to fetch a File of Soldiers that he had left there in the *Strand* out of ſight, whilſt he went to diſcover whether the Gentleman he ſought were within or no; where doubting not to find him ſafely lodged, he return'd with his Mirmidons to his Houſe, ſure as he thought, of his Prey; but Sir *A. A.* ſaw thro' his made Story, and gave him the Slip. After this he was fain to get out of the way and conceal himſelf under a Diſguiſe; but he hid himſelf not lazily in a Hole, he made War upon them at *Wallingford*-Houſe *incognito*, as he was, and made them feel him, though he kept out of ſight. * Several Companies of their Soldiers drew up in *Lincolns-Inn-fields* without their Officers, and there put themſelves under the Command of ſuch Officers as he appointed them. The City began to rouſe it ſelf, and to ſhew manifeſt Signs of little Regard to *Wallingford*-Houſe, and he never left working, till he had rais'd a Spirit and Strength enough to declare openly

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for the old Parliament, as the only legal Authority then in *England*, which had any Pretence to claim and take on them the Government. For *Portſmouth* being put into the Hands of Sir *Arthur Haſelrig*, and the City ſhewing their Inclination, the Countries readily took into it, and by their concurrent Weight reinſtated the excluded Members in their former Adminiſtration. This was the firſt open Step he made towards the wreſting the Civil Power out of the Hands of the Army; who having thought *Richard, Oliver*'s Son, unworthy of it, had taken it to themſelves, executed by a Committee of their own Officers, where *Lambert* who had the chief Command and Influence in the Army had plac'd it, till he had modell'd things among them, ſo as might make way for his taking the ſole Adminiſtration into his own Hands; but Sir *A. A.* found a Way to ſtrip him of that as ſoon as the Parliament was reſtor'd.

The firſt thing he did was to get from them a Commiſſion to himſelf, and two or three more of the moſt weighty and popular Members of the Houſe, to have the Power of General of all the Forces in *England*, which they were to execute jointly. This was no ſooner done but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of Clerks who were immediately ſet to work to tranſcribe a great many Copies of the Form of a Letter, wherein they reciting, that it had pleas'd God to reſtore the Parliament to the Exerciſe of their Power, and that the Parliament had given to them a Commiſſion to Command the Army, they therefore commanded him (*viz.* the Officer to whom the Letter was directed) immediately with his Troop, Company, or Regiment, as it happen'd, to march to *N.* Theſe Letters were directed to the chief Officer of any part of the Army who had their Quarters together in any part of *England*. Theſe Letters were diſpatch'd away by particular Meſſengers that very Night, and coming to the ſeveral Officers ſo peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to aſſemble and debate among themſelves what to do; and having no other Intelligence but that the Parliament was reſtor'd, and that the City and *Portſmouth*, and other Parts of *England* had declar'd for them; the Officers durſt not diſobey, but all, according to their ſeveral Orders, march'd ſome one way, and ſome another; ſo that this Army, which was the great Strength of the Gentlemen of *Wallingford*-Houſe, was by this Means quite ſcatter'd and render'd perfectly uſeleſs to the Committee of Safety, who were hereby perfectly reduc'd under the Power of the Parliament, as ſo many diſarm'd Men to be diſpos'd of as they thought fit.

'Tis known, that whilſt the Long Parliament remain'd entire, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* was the Man of the greateſt Sway in it, and might have continued it on, if he would have follow'd Sir *A. A*'s Advice. But he was a haughty ſtiff Man, and ſo by ſtraining it a little too much, loſt all.

From the time of their Reconcilement already mention'd, they had been very hearty Friends; it happen'd one Morning that Sir *A. A.* calling upon Mr. *Hollis* in his way to the Houſe, as he often did, he found him in a great Heat againſt *Cromwell*, who had then the Command of the Army, and a great Intereſt in it. The Provocation may be read at large in the Pamphlets of that time, for which Mr. *Hollis* was reſolv'd, he ſaid, to bring him to Puniſhment. Sir *A. A.* diſſuaded him all he could from any ſuch Attempt, ſhewing him the Danger of it, and told him 'twould be ſufficient to remove him out of the way, by ſending him with a Command into *Ireland*. This *Cromwell*, as things ſtood, would be glad to accept; but this would not ſatisfie Mr. *Hollis*. When he came to the Houſe, the Matter was brought into Debate, and it was mov'd, that *Cromwell*, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. *Cromwell*, who was in the Houſe, no ſooner heard this, but he ſtole out, took Horſe, and rode immediately to the Army, which, as I remember, was at *Triploe-Heath*; there he acquainted them what the *Presbyterian* Party was a doing in the Houſe, and made ſuch Uſe of it to them, that they, who were before in the Power of the Parliament, now united together under *Cromwell*, who immediately led them away to *London*, giving out Menaces againſt *Hollis* and his Party as they march, who with *Stapleton* and ſome others were fain to fly, and thereby the Independent Party becoming

coming the ſtronger, they, as they call'd it, purg'd the Houſe, and turn'd out all the Presbyterian Party. *Cromwell*, ſome time after, meeting Sir *A. A.* told him, I am beholden to you for your Kindneſs to me, for you, I hear, were for letting me go without Puniſhment, but your Friend, God be thank'd, was not wiſe enough to take your Advice.

Monk, after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, and the Removal of *Richard*, marching with the Army he had with him into *England*, gave fair Promiſes all along in his Way to *London* to the Rump that were then ſitting, who had ſent Commiſſioners to him that accompanied him. When he was come to Town, though he had promiſed fair to the Rump and Commonwealth Party on one hand, and gave Hopes to the Royaliſts on the other; yet at laſt agreed with the *French* Ambaſſador to take the Government on himſelf, by whom he had Promiſe from *Mazarine* of Aſſiſtance from *France* to ſupport him in this Undertaking. This Bargain was ſtruck up between them late at Night, but not ſo ſecretly, but that his Wife, who had poſted herſelf conveniently behind the Hangings, where ſhe could hear all that paſs'd, finding what was reſolved, ſent her Brother *Clarges* away immediately with Notice of it to Sir *A. A.* She was zealous for the Reſtauration of the King, and had therefore promiſed Sir *A.* to watch her Husband, and inform him from time to time how Matters went. Upon this Notice Sir *A.* cauſed the Council of State, whereof he was one, to be ſummon'd, and when they were met, he deſired the Clerks might withdraw, he having Matter of great Importance to communicate to them. The Doors of the Council-Chamber being lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, he began to charge *Monk* not in a direct and open Accuſation, but in obſcure Intimations, and doubtful Expreſſions, giving Ground of Suſpicion, that he was playing falſe with them, and not doing as he promiſed. This he did ſo skilfully and intelligibly to *Monk*, that he perceived he was diſcover'd, and therefore in his Anſwer to him fumbled and ſeemed out of Order; ſo that the reſt of the Council perceiv'd there was ſomething in it, though they knew not what the Matter was; and the General at laſt averring that what had been ſuggeſted was upon groundleſs Suſpicions, and that he was true to his Principles, and ſtood firm to what he had profeſs'd to them, and had no ſecret Deſigns that ought to diſturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction; whereupon Sir *A. A.* cloſing with him, and making a farther Uſe of what he had ſaid than he intended: For he meant no more than ſo far as to get away from them upon this Aſſurance which he gave them. But Sir *A. A.* told him, that if he was ſincere in what he had ſaid, he might preſently remove all Scruples, if He would take away their Commiſſions from ſuch and ſuch Officers in his Army, and give them to thoſe whom he named, and that preſently before he went out of the Room. *Monk* was in himſelf no quick Man, he was guilty alone among a Company of Men who he knew not what they would do with him; for they all ſtruck in with Sir *A. A.* and plainly perceiv'd that *Monk* had deſign'd ſome foul Play. In theſe Straits being thus cloſe preſs'd, and knowing not how elſe to extricate himſelf, he conſented to what was propoſed, and ſo immediately before he ſtir'd, a great Part of the Commiſſions of his Officers were chang'd, and Sir *Edward Harley*, among the reſt, who was a Member of the Council, and there preſent, was made Governour of *Dunkirk* in the Room of Sir *William Lockhart*, and was ſent away immediately to take Poſſeſſion of it. By which Means the Army ceas'd to be at *Monk*'s Devotion, and was put into Hands that would not ſerve him in the Deſign he had undertaken. The *French* Ambaſſador, who had the Night before ſent away an Expreſs to *Mazarine*, poſitively to aſſure him that things went here as he deſired, and that *Monk* was fix'd by him in his Reſolution to take on himſelf the Government, was not a little aſtoniſh'd the next Day to find Things taking another Turn, and indeed this ſo much diſgraced him in the *French* Court, that he was preſently call'd Home, and ſoon after broke his Heart.

This was that which gave the great Turn to the Reſtauration of King *Charles* II. whereof Sir *A.* had laid the Plan in his Head a long time before, and had carried it on, *

Quantus

Quantus hîc ſitus ex titulis, quod rarò, diſcas.
Baro ASHLEY de Wimborne St. Giles,
Deinde Comes Shaftsburienſis,
Cancellarius Scaccarij. Ærarij Triumvir,
Magnus Angliæ Cancellarius,
CAROLO Secundo à Sanctioribus & Secretioribus Conciliis, &c.
Hæc non Sepulchri ornamenta, ſed Viri.
Quippe quæ nec Majoribus debuit nec favori.
Comitate, acumine, ſuadelâ, conſilio, animo, conſtantiâ, fide,
Vix Parem alibi invenias, Superiorem certè nullibi.
Libertatis Civilis, Eccleſiaſticæ
Propugnator ſtrenuus, indefeſſus.
Vitæ publicis commodis impenſæ memoriam & laudes,
Stante libertate, nunquam obliterabit
Tempus edax, nec edacior Invidia.
Servo pecori inutilia, inviſa magna exempla.

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Three Letters writ by the E. of Shaftsbury *whilſt Priſoner in the Tower; one to King* Charles II. *another to the D. of* York; *a third to a Noble Lord; found with Mr.* Locke's *Memoirs, relating to the Life of* Anthony *Firſt Earl of* Shaftsbury.

To King CHARLES II.

SIR,

THE Almighty God, the King of Kings permitted *Job* to diſpute with him, and to *order his Cauſe before him*; give me Leave therefore, Great Sir, to lay my Caſe before your Majeſty, and to plead not only my Innocence but my Merits towards your Majeſty; for *my Integrity will I hold faſt, and will not let it go; my Heart ſhall not reproach me ſo long as I live.*

I had the Honour to have a principal Hand in Your Reſtauration, neither did I act in it, but on a Principle of Piety and Honour: I never betray'd (as your Majeſty knows) the Party or Councils I was of. I kept no Correſpondence with, nor I made no ſecret Addreſſes to your Majeſty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private Terms or Articles for my ſelf, or Reward for what I had or ſhould do. In whatever I did toward the Service of your Majeſty, I was ſolely acted by the Senſe of that Duty I owed to God, the *Engliſh* Nation, and your Majeſty's juſt Right and Title. I ſaw the Hand of Providence that had led us through various Forms of Government, and had given Power into the Hands of ſeveral Sorts of Men, but He had given none of them a Heart to uſe it as they ſhould; they all fell to the Prey, ſought not the Good or Settlement of the Nation, endeavour'd only the Enlargement and Continuance of their own Authority, and graſp'd at thoſe very Powers they had complain'd of ſo much, and for which ſo bloody and ſo fatal a War had been raiſed and continued in the Bowels of the Nation. I obſerv'd the Leaders of the great Parties of Religion both Laity and Clergy ready and forward to deliver up the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to introduce an abſolute Dominion, ſo that Tyranny might be eſtabliſh'd in the Hands of thoſe that favour'd their Way, and with whom they might have Hopes to divide the preſent Spoil, having no Eye to Poſterity, or Thought of future things. One of the laſt Scenes of this Confuſion was General *Lambert*'s ſeizing of the Government in a Morning by Force of Arms, turning out the Parliament and their Council of State, and in their Room erecting a Committee of Safety. The News of this gives a great Surprize to General *Monk*, who commanded the Army in *Scotland.* * * * * *

To the D. of YORK.

SIR,

I Humbly confeſs I never thought my Perſon or my Principles acceptable to your Royal Highneſs; but at that Juncture of Time and Occaſion when I was committed, I had no Reaſon to expect you ſhould be my ſevere Enemy. Reputation is the greateſt Concern of great Dealers in the World; Great Princes are the greateſt Dealers; no Reputation more their Intereſt than to be thought merciful, Relievers of the Diſtreſſed, and Maintainers of the ancient Laws and Rights of their Country. This I ever wiſh may attend your Royal Highneſs, and that I may be one Inſtance of it.

To the Lord ———

My Lord,

I Had prepared this for your Meeting in *December*, but that being adjourn'd to the 3d of *April*, an Age to an old infirm Man, eſpecially ſhut up in a Winter's Priſon; forgive me if I ſay you owe your Self and your Poſterity as well as me, the endeavouring to remove ſo ſevere a Preſident on one of your Members; ſuch as I may truly ſay is the firſt of the Kind, and I pray heartily may be the laſt. Your Interceſſion to his Majeſty if it be general, is not
Eſter, c. 4. v. 13, 14. like to be refuſed; if you are ſingle, yet you have done honourably and what I ſhould have done for you.

A NEW

METHOD

OF A

Common-Place-Book.

Tranſlated out of FRENCH from the Second Volume of the *Bibliotheque Univerſelle.*

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EPISTOLA.] *A Letter from* 2. *Mr.* Locke *to Mr.* Toignard, *containing a New and Eaſie Method of a* Common-Place-Book, *to which an* Index *of two Pages is ſufficient.*

T length, Sir, in Obedience to you, I publiſh my *Method of a Common-Place-Book.* I am aſhamed that I defer'd ſo long complying with your Requeſt, but I eſteem'd it ſo mean a thing as not to deſerve publiſhing in an Age ſo full of uſeful Inventions as our's is. You may remember that I freely communicated it to you, and ſeveral others, to whom I imagined it would not be unacceptable. So that it was not to reſerve the ſole Uſe of it to my ſelf, that I declined publiſhing it. But the regard I had to the Publick, diſcouraged me from preſenting it with ſuch a Trifle. Yet my Obligations to you, and the Friendſhip between us, compel me now to follow your Advice. Your laſt Letter has perfectly determin'd me to it, and I am convinc'd that I ought not to delay publiſhing it, when you tell me that an Experience of ſeveral Years has 3. has ſhew'd its Uſefulneſs, and ſeveral of your Friends to whom you have communicated it. There is no need I ſhould tell you how uſeful it has been to me after five and twenty Years Experience, as I told you eight years ſince, when I had the Honour to wait on you at *Paris*, and when I might have been inſtructed by your learned and agreeable Diſcourſe. What I aim at now by this Letter, is to teſtifie publickly the Eſteem and Reſpect I have for you, and to convince you how much I am, Sir, your, *&c.*

Before I enter on my Subject, it is fit to acquaint the Reader, that this Tract is diſpoſed in the ſame manner that the Common-Place-Book *ought to be diſpoſed. It will be underſtood by reading what follows, what is the Meaning of the Latin Titles on the Top of the Backſide of each Leaf, and at the Bottom of this Page.*

EBIONITÆ.] *In eorum Evangelio, quod ſecundum Hebræos dicebatur, hiſtoria quæ habetur* Matth. xix. 16. *& ſeqq. ut alia quædam, erat interpolata in hunc Modum :* Dixit ad eum alter divitum, Magiſter, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit, ei, Ho- V mo, Legem & Prophetas fac. Re- 14. ſpondit ad eum, feci. Dixit ei : vade,

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4. I take a Paper Book of what Size I pleaſe. I divide the two firſt Pages that face one another by parallel Lines into five and twenty equal Parts, every fifth Line black, the other red. I then cut them perpendicularly by other Lines that I draw from the Top to the Bottom of the Page, as you may ſee in the Table prefix'd. I put about the Middle of each five Spaces one of the twenty Letters I deſign to make uſe of, and a little forward in each Space the five Vowels one below another in their natural Order. This is the *Index* to the whole Volume how big ſoever it may be.

The *Index* being made after this Manner, I leave a Margin in all the other Pages of the Book, of about the Largeneſs of an Inch in a Volume in Folio, or a little larger, and in a leſs Volume, ſmaller in Proportion.

If I would put any thing in my COMMON-PLACE-BOOK, I find out a Head to which I may refer it. Each

5. Each Head ought to be ſome important and eſſential Word to the Matter in Hand, and in that Word regard is to be had to the firſt Letter, and the Vowel that follows it; for upon theſe two Letters depend all the Uſe of the *Index*.

I omit three Letters of the Alphabet as of no Uſe to me, *viz.* K. Y. W. which are ſupplied by C. I. U. that are equivalent to them. I put the Letter Q. that is always follow'd with an U. in the fifth Space of Z. By throwing Q. laſt in my *Index*, I preſerve the Regularity of my *Index*, and diminiſh not in the leaſt its Extent; for it ſeldom happens that there is any Head begins with Z. U. I have found none in the five and twenty Years I have uſed this Method. If nevertheleſs it be neceſſary, nothing hinders but that one may make a Reference after Q. U. provided it be done with any kind of Diſtinction; but for more Exactneſs a Place may be aſſign'd for Q. U. below the *Index*, as I have formerly done. When I meet with any thing that I think fit to put into my *Common-Place-Book*, I firſt find a proper Head. Suppoſe, for Example, that the Head be EPISTOLA, I look unto the *Index* for the

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V 6. first Letter and the following Vowel which in this Inſtance are E I. if in the Space mark'd E I. there is any Number that directs me to the Page deſign'd for Words that begin with an E, and whoſe firſt Vowel, after the initial Letter, is I; I muſt then write under the Word *Epiſtola* in that Page what I have to remark. I write the Head in large Letters, and begin a little way out into the Margin, and I continue on the Line in Writing what I have to ſay. I obſerve conſtantly this Rule, that only the Head appears in the Margin, and that it be continued on without ever doubling the Line in the Margin, by which Means the Heads will be obvious at firſt Sight.

If I find no Number in the *Index* in the Space E I. I look into my Book for the firſt Backſide of a Leaf that is not written in, which, in a Book where there is yet nothing but the *Index*, muſt be *p.* 2. I write then in my *Index* after E. I. the Number 2. and the Head *Epiſtola* at the Top of the Margin of the ſecond Page, and all that I put under that Head in the ſame Page, as you ſee I have done in the ſecond Page of this *Method*. From that time the Claſs E. I. is wholly in Poſſeſſion of the ſecond and third Pages. They

7. They are to be employed only on Words that begin with an E. and whoſe neareſt Vowel is an I, as *Ebionitæ* (*ſee the Bottom of the third Page*) *Epiſcopus*, *Echinus*, *Edictum*, *Efficacia*, &c. The Reaſon why I begin always at the Top of the Back-ſide of a Leaf, and aſſign to one Claſs two Pages that face one another, rather than an entire Leaf, is, becauſe the Heads of the Claſs appear all at once, without the trouble of turning over a Leaf.

Every time that I would write a new Head, I look firſt in my *Index* for the Characteriſtick Letters of the Word, and I ſee by the Number that follows, what the Page is that is aſſign'd to the Claſs of that Head. If there is no Number, I muſt look for the firſt Backſide of a Page that is Blank. I then ſet down the Number in the *Index*, and deſign that Page with that of the right Side of the following Leaf to this new Claſs. Let it be, for Example, the Word *Adverſaria*; if I ſee no Number in the Space A. E. I ſeek for the firſt Back-ſide of a Leaf, which being at *p.* 4. I ſet down in the Space A. E. the Number 4. and in the fourth Page the Head ADVERSARIA with all that I write under it, as I have already informed you. From

V this Time the fourth Page with

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.] V. with the fifth that follows is 8. reſerved for the Claſs A. E. that is to ſay for the Heads that begin with an A, and whoſe next Vowel is an E; as for Inſtance *Aer*, *Aera*, *Ageſilaus*, *Acheron*, &c.

When the two Pages deſigned for one Claſs are full, I look forwards for the next Back-ſide of a Leaf that is blank. If it be that which immediately follows, I write at the Bottom of the Margin in the Page that I have filled the Letter V, that is to ſay, *Verte*, *turn over*; as likewiſe the ſame at the Top of the next Page. If the Pages that immediately follow are already fill'd by other Claſſes, I write at the Bottom of the Page laſt filled, V, and the Number of the next empty Back-ſide of a Page. At the Beginning of that Page I write down the Head, under which I go on with what I had to put in my *Common-Place-Book*, as if it had been in the ſame Page. At the Top of this new Back-ſide of a Leaf, I ſet down the Number of the Page I filled laſt. By theſe Numbers which refer to one another, the firſt whereof is at the Bottom of one Page, and the ſecond is at the Beginning of another, one joyns Matter that is ſeparated as if there was nothing between them. For by this reciprocal Reference of Numbers one may turn as one Leaf all thoſe that are between the two, even as if they were paſted 9. paſted together. You have an Example of this in the third and fourteenth Pages.

Every time I put a Number at the Bottom of a Page, I put it alſo into the *Index*; but when I put only an V, I make no Addition in the *Index*; the Reaſon whereof is plain.

If the Head is a Monoſyllable and begins with a Vowel, that Vowel is at the ſame time both the firſt Letter of the Word, and the Characteriſtick Vowel. Therefore I write the Word *Ars* in A a and *Os* in O o.

You may ſee by what I have ſaid, that one is to begin to write each Claſs of Words on the Back-ſide of a Page. It may happen, upon that Account, that the Back-ſide of all the Pages may be full, and yet there may remain ſeveral Pages on the Right Hand which are empty. Now if you have a Mind to fill your Book, you may aſſign theſe right Sides which are wholly blank, to new Claſſes.

If any one imagines that theſe hundred Claſſes are not ſufficient to comprehend all ſorts of Subjects without Confuſion, he may follow the ſame Method, and yet augment the Number to five Hundred, in adding a Vowel. But having experienc'd both the one and the other Method, I prefer the firſt; and Uſage will convince thoſe who ſhall try it how well it will ſerve the Purpoſe aim'd at, eſpecially if one V. has a Book for each Science,

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.] V. upon which one makes Col-
10. lections, or at leaſt two for the two Heads, to which one may refer all our Knowledge, *viz.* Moral Philoſophy and Natural.

You may add a third, which may be called the *Knowledge of Signs*, which relates to the Uſe of Words, and is of much more Extent than meer Criticiſm.

As to the Language in which one ought to expreſs the *Heads*, I eſteem the Latin Tongue moſt commodious, provided the Nominative Caſe be always kept to, for fear leſt in Words of two Syllables, or in Monoſyllables that begin with the Vowel, the Change which happens in oblique Caſes ſhould occaſion Confuſion. But it is not of much Conſequence what Language is made uſe of, provided there be no mixture in the Heads of different Languages.

To take notice of a Place in an Author from whom I quote ſomething, I make uſe of this Method: Before I write any thing, I put the Name of the Author in my *Common-Place-Book*, and under that Name the Title of the Treatiſe, the ſize of the Volume, the Time and Place of its Edition, and (what ought never to be omitted) the Number of Pages that the whole Book contains. For Example, I put into
11. to the Claſs, M. A. *Marſhami Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus, Græcus, & Diſquiſitiones fol.* Lond. 1672. *p.* 626. This Number of Pages ſerves me for the Future to mark the particular Treatiſe of this Author, and the Edition I make uſe of. I have no need to mark the Place, otherwiſe than in ſetting down the Number of the Page from whence I have drawn what I have wrote, juſt above the Number of Pages contain'd in the whole Volume. You will ſee an Example in *Acheruſia*, where the Number 259 is juſt above the Number 626, that is to ſay, the Number of the Page where I take my Matter, is juſt above the Number of Pages of the whole Volume. By this Means I not only ſave my ſelf the Trouble of writing *Canon Chronicus Ægyptiacus*, &c. but am able by the Rule of Three to find out the ſame Paſſage in any other Edition, by looking for the Number of its Pages; ſince the Edition I have uſed, which contains 626, gives me 259. You will not indeed always light on the very Page you want, becauſe of the Breaches that are made in different Editions of Books, and that are not always equal in Proportion; but you are never very far from the Place you want, and it is better to be able to find a Paſſage in turning over a few Pages, than to be obliged to turn
V. over a whole Book to find it,

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.] V. it, as it happens when the Book 12. has no *Index*, or when the *Index* is not exact.

ACHERON.] *Pratum, ficta mortuorum habitatio, est locus prope Memphin, juxta paludem quam vocant Acherusiam*, &c. This is a Passage out of *D. Siculus*, the Sense whereof is this: The Fields, where they feign that the Dead inhabit, are only a Place near *Memphis* near a Marsh call'd *Acherusia*, about which is a most delightful Country, where one may behold Lakes and Forests of *Lotus* and *Calamus*. It is with Reason that *Orpheus* said, the Dead inhabit these Places, because there the *Egyptians* celebrate the greatest Part and the most August of their Funeral Solemnities. They carry the Dead over the *Nile*, and through the Marsh of *Acherusia*, and there put them into subterraneous Vaults. There are a great many other Fables among the *Greeks* touching the State of the Dead, which very well agree with what is at this Day practised in *Egypt*. For they call the Boat in which the Dead are transported, *Baris*; and a certain Piece of Money is given to the Ferry-man for a Passage, who, in their Language, is called *Charon*. Near this Place is a Temple of *Hecate* in the Shade, *&c.* and the Gates of *Cocy-*

13. *Cocytus* and *Lethe* shut up with Bars of Brass. There are other Gates which are called the Gates of *Truth*, with the Statue of Justice before them, which has no Head. *Marsham.* $\frac{259}{626}$.

EBIO-

EBIONITÆ.] vade, vende omnia
14. quæ poſſides, & divide pauperibus, & veni, ſequere me. Cœpit autem Dives ſcalpere caput ſuum, & non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: quomodo dicis Legem feci & Prophetas? cùm ſcriptum ſit in lege, diliges proximum tuum ſicut teipſum: & ecce multi fratres tui filij Abrahæ amicti ſunt ſtercore, morientes præ fame, & domus tua plena eſt bonis multis, & non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et converſus dixit Simoni Diſcipulo ſuo ſedenti apud ſe: Simon, fili Johannæ, facilius eſt camelum intrare per foramen acûs quam divitem in regnum cœlorum, *Nimirum hæc ideo immutavit Ebion, quia Chriſtum nec Dei Filium, nec* νομοθέτλν, *ſed nudum interpretem Legis per Moſem datæ agnoſcebat.*

In the Goſpel of the *Ebionites*, which they called the Goſpel according to the *Hebrews*, the Story, that is in the XIXth of St. *Matth.* and in the 16th and following Verſes, was changed after this Manner: *One of the rich Men ſaid to him: Maſter, what ſhall I do that I may have Life? Jeſus ſaid to him: Obey the Law and the Prophets. He anſwer'd, I have done ſo. Jeſus ſaid unto him, go, ſell what thou haſt, divide it among the Poor, and then come and follow me. Upon which the rich Man began to ſcratch his Head, and to diſlike the Advice of Jeſus. And the Lord ſaid unto him, How can you ſay you have done*

15. *as the Law and Prophets direct you? ſince it is written in the Law, Thou ſhalt love thy Neighbour as thy ſelf, and there are many of thy Brethren, Children of Abraham, who are almoſt naked, and who are ready to die with hunger, while thy Houſe is full of good things, and yet thou giveſt them no Help nor Aſſiſtance. And turning himſelf towards Simon his Diſciple who ſat near him: Simon, Son of Johanna, ſaid he, it is eaſier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* *Ebion* chang'd this Paſſage, becauſe he did not believe *Jeſus Chriſt* to be the Son of God, nor a Law-giver, but a meer Interpreter of the Law of *Moſes*. *Grotius* $\frac{116}{100}$.

HÆRE-

HÆRETICI] *Noſtrum igitur fuit eligere & optare meliora,*
16. *ut ad veſtram correctionem aditum haberemus, non in contentione & æmulatione & perſecutionibus, ſed manſuetè conſolando, benevolè hortando, leniter diſputando, ſicut ſcriptum eſt, ſervum autem Domini non oportet litigare, ſed mitem eſſe ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, in modeſtia corripientem diverſa ſentientes. Noſtrum ergo fuit velle has partes expetere: Dei eſt volentibus & petentibus donare quod bonum eſt. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt quam rarum & arduum ſit carnalia phantaſmata piæ mentis ſerenitate ſuperare. Illi in vos ſæviant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate ſanetur oculus interioris hominis ut poſſit intueri ſolem ſuum —— Illi in vos ſæviant qui neſciunt quibus ſuſpiriis & gemitibus fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte poſſit intelligi Deus. Poſtremo illi in vos ſæviant qui nullo tali errore decepti ſunt, quali vos deceptos vident. In Catholicâ enim Eccleſiâ, ut omittam ſinceriſſimam ſapientiam, ad cujus cognitionem pauci ſpirituales in hâc vitâ perveniunt, ut eam ex minimâ quidem parte quia homines ſunt, ſed tamen ſine dubitatione, cognoſcant: cæteram quippe turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, ſed credendi ſimplicitas tutiſſimam facit. Auguſtinus.* Tom. vi.

17. vi. Col. 116. Fol. Baſiliæ. 1542. contra Epiſt. Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti.
" We were of Opinion, that
" other Methods were to be
" made choice of, and that,
" to recover you from your
" Errors, we ought not to
" perſecute you with Injuries and Invectives, or any
" ill Treatment, but endeavour to procure your attention by ſoft Words and
" Exhortations, which would
" ſhew the tenderneſs we
" have for you: According
" to that Paſſage of Holy Writ, The Servant
" of the Lord ought not to
" love Strife and Quarrels,
" but to be gentle, affable,
" and patient towards all
" Mankind, and to reprove
" with Modeſty thoſe who
" differ from him in Opinion. —— Let them only
" treat you with Rigour
" who know not how difficult it is to find out the
" Truth, and avoid Error.
" Let thoſe treat you with Rigour, who are ignorant how
" rare and painful a Work it is
" calmly to diſſipate the Carnal Phantoms that diſturb
" even a Pious Mind. Let thoſe
" treat you with Rigour, who
" are ignorant of the extream
" Difficulty that there is to
" purifie the Eye of the Inward
" Man, to render him capable
" of ſeeing the Truth, which
" is the Sun or Light of the
" Soul. Let thoſe treat you
" with Rigour, who have ne-
V " ver felt the Sighs and Groans
20. " that a Soul muſt have before

it

CONFESSIO FIDEI.] *Periculoſum nobis admodum atq; etiam miſerabile eſt, tot nunc fides exiſtere, quot voluntates: & tot nobis doctrinas eſſe quot mores: & tot cauſas blaſphemiarum pullulare quot vitia ſunt: dum aut ita fides ſcribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus intelliguntur. Et cum ſecundum unum Deum & unum Dominum, & unum baptiſma, etiam fides una ſit, excidimus ab eâ fide quæ ſola eſt: & dum plures fiant, id eſſe cœperunt ne ulla ſit; Conſcii enim nobis invicem ſumus poſt Nicæni conventus Synodum nihil aliud quam fidem ſcribi. Dum in verbis pugna eſt, dum de novitatibus quæſtio eſt, dum de ambiguis occaſio eſt, dum de Autoribus querela eſt, dum de ſtudiis certamen eſt, dum in conſenſu difficultas eſt, dum alter alteri anathema eſſe cœpit, prope jam nemo eſt Chriſti,* &c. *Jam vero proximi anni fides, quid jam de immutatione in ſe habet? Primum quæ* Homouſion *decernit taceri: ſequens rurſum quæ* Homouſion *decernit & prædicat. Tertium deinceps quæ* Uſiam *ſimpliciter à patribus præſumptam, per indulgentiam excuſat. Poſtremum quartum, quæ non excuſat, ſed condemnat,* &c. *De ſimilitudine autem filii Dei ad Deum Patrem, quod miſerabilis noſtri temporis eſt fides, ne non ex toto, ſed tantum ex portione ſit ſimilis? Egregii ſcilicet arbitri cœleſtium ſacramentorum conquiſitores, inviſibilium myſteriorum profeſſionibus*

bus de fide Dei calumniamur, annuas atq; menſtruas de Deo fides decernimus, decretis pœnitemus, pœnitentes defendimus, defenſos anathematizamus, aut in noſtri aliena, aut in alienis noſtra damnamus, & mordentes invicem jam abſumpti ſumus invicem. Hilarius, p. 211. in lib. ad Conſtantium Auguſtum. Baſil. 1550. fol. " It " is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous, that " there are at preſent as " many Creeds as there are " Opinions among Men, as " many Doctrines as Inclinations, and as many Sources " of Blaſphemy, as there are " Faults among us, becauſe " we make Creeds arbitrarily, " and explain them as arbitrarily. And as there is " but *one Faith*; ſo there is " but one only God, one " Lord, and one Baptiſm. " We renounce this *one Faith* " when we make ſo many different Creeds, and that Diverſity is the Reaſon why " we have no true Faith among us. We cannot be " ignorant, that ſince the " Council of *Nice*, we have " done nothing but make " Creeds. And while we " fight againſt Words, litigate about new Queſtions, " diſpute about Equivocal " Terms, complain of Authors, that every one may V " make his own Party tri- 24. " umph, while we cannot agree, " while

HÆRETICI.] " it can obtain
20. " any Knowledge of the Di-
" vine Being. To conclude,
" let thoſe treat you with
" Rigour, who never have
" been ſeduced into Errors,
" near a-kin to thoſe you are
" engaged in. I paſs over in
" Silence that pure Wiſdom,
" which but a few Spiritual
" Men attain to in this Life;
" ſo that though they know
" but in part, becauſe they
" are Men; yet nevertheleſs
" they know what they do
" know with Certainty: For
" in the Catholick Church, it
" is not Penetration of Mind,
" nor profound Knowledge,
" but Simplicity of Faith,
" which puts Men in a State
" of Safety.

Barbari quippe homines Romanæ imo potius Humanæ eruditionis expertes, qui nihil omnino ſciunt niſi quod à Doctoribus ſuis audiunt: quod audiunt hoc ſequuntur, ac ſic neceſſe eſt eos qui totius literaturæ ac ſcientiæ ignari, ſacramentum divinæ legis doctrina magis quam lectione cognoſcunt, doctrinam potius retinere quam legem. Itaq; eis traditio magiſtrorum ſuorum & doctrina inveterata, quaſi lex eſt, qui hoc ſciunt quod docentur. Hæretici ergo ſunt, ſed non ſcientes. Denique apud nos ſunt Hæretici, apud ſe non ſunt. Nam in tantum ſe Catholicos eſſe judicant ut nos ipſos titulo Hæreticæ appellationis infament. Quod ergo illi nobis ſunt & hoc nos illis. Nos eos injuriam divinæ ge-

21. *nerationi facere certi ſumus, quod minorem Patre Filium dicant. Illi nos injurioſos Patri exiſtimant, quia æquales eſſe credamus. Veritas apud nos eſt; ſed illi apud ſe eſſe præſumunt. Honor Dei apud nos eſt: Sed illi hoc arbitrantur, honorem divinitatis eſſe quod credunt. Inofficioſi ſunt, ſed illis hoc eſt ſummum Religionis officium. Impii ſunt, ſed hoc putant eſſe veram pietatem. Errant ergo, ſed bono animo errant, non odio ſed affectu Dei, honorare ſe Dominum atq; amare credentes. Quamvis non habeant rectam fidem, illi tamen hoc perfectam Dei æſtimant caritatem. Qualiter pro hoc ipſo falſæ opinionis errore in die Judicii puniendi ſunt, nullus ſcire poteſt niſi Judex. Interim idcirco eis, ut reor, patientiam Deus commodat, quia videt eos, etſi non rectè credere, affectu tamen piæ opinionis errare.* Salvinus. $\frac{162}{339}$.

This Biſhop ſpeaks here of the *Arian Goths* and *Vandals*. " They are, ſays he, *Barba-*
" *rians*, who have no Tincture
" of the *Roman* Politeneſs,
" and who are ignorant of
" what is very commonly
" known among other Men,
" and only know what their
" Doctors have taught them,
" and follow what they have
" heard them ſay. Men ſo ig-
" norant as theſe, find them-
" ſelves under a Neceſſity of
" learning the Myſteries of
" the Goſpel, rather by the
" Inſtructions that are gi-
V." ven them, than by Books.

HÆRETICI.] " The Tradition
22. " of their Doctors, and the
" received Doctrines are the
" only Rule they follow, be-
" cauſe they know nothing
" but what they have taught
" them. They are then Here-
" ticks, but they know it not.
" They are ſo in our Account,
" but they believe it not; and
" think themſelves ſo good Ca-
" tholicks, that they treat us
" as Hereticks, judging of us,
" as we do of them. We are
" perſuaded that they believe
" amiſs concerning the Divine
" Generation, when they main-
" tain the Son is inferiour to
" the Father; and they ima-
" gine that we rob the Father
" of his Glory who believe
" them both to be equal.
" We have the Truth on our
" Side, and they pretend it is
" on their's. We give to God
" his due honour, and they
" think they Honour him bet-
" ter. They fail in their Du-
" ty, but they imagine they
" perform perfectly well; and
" they make true Piety to
" conſiſt in what we call Im-
" pious. They are in a Mi-
" ſtake, but with a great deal
" of Sincerity; and it is ſo
" far from being an Effect of
" their Hatred, that it is a
" Mark of their Love of God,
" ſince by what they do they
" imagine they ſhew the grea-
" teſt Reſpect for the Lord,
" and Zeal for his Glory.
" Therefore, tho' they have
" not true Faith, they ne-
" vertheleſs look upon that
" which they have, as a per-
" fect Love of God. It belongs
" only
23. " only to the Judge of the U-
" niverſe to know how theſe
" Men will be puniſhed for
" their Errors at the laſt Day.
" Yet I believe God will ſhew
" Compaſſion towards them,
" becauſe he ſees their Heart
" is more right than their Be-
" lief, and that, if they are
" miſtaken, it is their Piety
" made them err.

CON-

CONFESSIO FIDEI] "while we
24. " anathematize one another,
" there is hardly one that ad-
" heres to *Jeſus Chriſt*. What
" Change was there not in
" the Creed laſt Year! The
" firſt Council ordained a Si
" lence upon the *Homouſion*;
" the ſecond eſtabliſhed it and
" would have us ſpeak; the
" third excuſes the Fathers of
" the Council, and pretends
" they took the Word *Ouſia*
" ſimply; the fourth condemns
" them inſtead of excuſing
" them. With Reſpect to the
" Likeneſs of the Son of God
" to the Father, which is the
" Faith of our deplorable
" Times, they diſpute whe-
" ther He is like in Whole
" or in Part. Theſe are rare
" Folks to unravel the Secrets
" of Heaven. Nevertheleſs
" it is for theſe Creeds about
" inviſible Myſteries that we
" calumniate one another, and
" for our Belief in God. We
" make Creeds every Year, nay
" every Moon, we repent of
" what we have done, we de-
" fend thoſe that repent, we
" anathematize thoſe we de-
" fended. So we condemn
" either the Doctrine of o-
" thers in our ſelves, or our
" own in that of others, and,
" reciprocally tearing one ano-
" ther to Pieces, we have been
" the Cauſe of each others
" Ruin.

The END of the Common-Place-Book.

SOME

Familiar LETTERS

BETWEEN

Mr. LOCKE,

AND

Several of his FRIENDS.

TO THE

READER.

THE following Letters, offer'd to your Peruſal, are the genuine Productions of thoſe Gentlemen to whom they are attributed.

They contain not only ſuch civil and polite Converſation as Friendſhip produces among Men of Parts, Learning, and Candour; but ſeveral Matters relating to Literature, and more particularly to Mr. Locke's *Notions, in his* Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, *and in ſome of his other Works: And therefore I cannot doubt of your Thanks for the Preſent I make you. For, though the Curioſity of ſome to ſee whatever drops from the Pens of Great Men, and to inform themſelves in their private Characters, their Tempers, Diſpoſitions and manner of converſing with their Friends, would perhaps have juſtified me in publiſhing any Letters of Mr.* Locke's, *and of his Friends to him (that were not Letters of mere Buſineſs) yet my Regard to what I take to be the more general Judg-*

ment

ment of the Publick, has determin'd me to publiſh ſuch only as have Relation to this twofold View, and ſhall determine me hereafter in a ſecond Volume, if Gentlemen that have any Letters of Mr. Locke's *by them think fit to communicate them to me.*

Mr,

Mr. *Locke* to Mr. *Molyneux.*

SIR, *London, 16 July, 1692.*

THOUGH the extraordinary Complement you were pleaſed to make me in the Epiſtle Dedicatory † eaſily perſuaded me from whom that Preſent was likely to come, when at my coming to Town I found your Book left for me by Mr. *Tooke* at my Bookſeller's; yet my Conſciouſneſs how little I could deſerve the one or the other from you, made me fear ſome Miſtake, till enquiring of Mr. *Tooke* himſelf, he aſſured me of the Favour you had done me. I will not pretend to return you ſuch Thanks as I ought, till I can write ſuch a Book as your's is. Only give me leave to ſay, that if my Trifle could poſſibly be an Occaſion of Vanity to me; you have done moſt to make it ſo, ſince I could ſcarce forbear to applaud my ſelf upon ſuch a Teſtimony from one, who ſo well underſtands Demonſtration, did I not ſee that thoſe, who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the Search of Truth, can be as civil and as complaiſant in their Dealing with thoſe whom they take to be Lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of Countenance at the Receipt of ſuch Obligations, without the Hopes of making ſuch Returns as I ought. Inſtead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you ſee that I am not ſorry I am obliged to you. The Bearer hereof, Dr. *Sibelius*, is a Friend of mine, who comes to *Dublin* with a Deſign to ſettle there, and I beg your Aſſiſtance of him in what lies in your way. I ſhall take it as a Favour done to me. And methinks I have reaſon now to expect it of you, ſince you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no Reaſon to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great Advances of Friendſhip towards me, and you ſee they are not loſt upon me. I am very ſenſible of them, and would make ſuch an Uſe of them as might aſſure you I ſhould take it for a new Favour, if you would afford me an Occaſion wherein I might, by any Service, tell you how much I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

I had the Honour to know one of your Name at *Leyden*, about ſeven or eight Years ſince. If he be any Relation of your's, and now in *Dublin*, I beg the favour of you to preſent my humble Service to him.

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† Before *A Treatiſe of Dioptricks*, printed at *London* 1692. wherein it is ſaid, That *to none do we owe for a greater Advancement in this Part of Philoſophy, (viz.* Logick,*) than to the incomparable Mr.* Locke, *who, in his* Eſſay of Human Underſtanding, *hath rectified more received Miſtakes, and delivered more profound Truths, eſtabliſhed on Experience and Obſervation, for the Direction of Man's Mind in the Proſecution of* Knowledge, *(which I think may be properly term'd Logick) than are to be met with in all the Volumes of the Ancients. He has clearly overthrown all thoſe metaphyſical Whimſies, which infected Men's Brains with a Spice of Madneſs, whereby they feign'd a Knowledge where they had none, by making a Noiſe with Sounds, without clear and diſtinct Significations.*

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Auguſt* 27. 1692.

UPon the arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this Place (which was on the 25th Inſtant) I had the favour of a Letter from you by the Hands of Dr. *Sibelius*. I cannot eaſily tell you how grateful it was to me, having the higheſt Eſteem for him that ſent it, from the firſt Moment that I was ſo happy as to ſee any of his Writings; and therefore it was, that I was ſo ambitious of making a Friendſhip with you, by preſenting you one of my Trifles, which I order'd my Bookſeller to lay before you under this Character, *As a mean Teſtimony of the great Reſpect I had for the Author of the* Eſſay of Human Underſtanding. And ſince I find by your's to me, that my Ambition is not fallen ſhort of its Deſign; but that you are pleas'd to encourage me, by aſſuring me that I have made great Advances of Friendſhip towards you; give me leave to embrace the Favour with all Joy imaginable. And that you may judge of Sincerity by my open Heart, I will plainly confeſs to you, that I have not in my Life read any Book with more Satisfaction than your *Eſſay*; inſomuch that a repeated Peruſal of it is ſtill more pleaſant to me.

And I have endeavour'd with great Succeſs, to recommend it to the Conſideration of the Ingenious in this Place. Dr. *King*, Biſhop of *Derry*, when he read it, made ſome ſlight Remarks on the foremoſt Parts of the Book; but his Buſineſs would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me, and they are at your Commands when you pleaſe.

One thing I muſt needs inſiſt on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the World with *A Treatiſe of Morals*, drawn up according to the Hints you frequently give in your *Eſſay*, of their being demonſtrable according to the mathematical Method. This is moſt certainly true. But then the Task muſt be undertaken only by ſo clear and diſtinct a Thinker as you are. This were an Attempt worthy your Conſideration. And there is nothing I ſhould more ardently wiſh for, than to ſee it. And, therefore, good Sir, let me beg of you to turn your Thoughts this way; and if ſo young a Friendſhip as mine have any Force, let me prevail upon you.

Upon my reading your *Eſſay*, I was ſo taken with it, that when I was in *London*, in *Auguſt* 1690, I made enquiry amongſt ſome of my learned Friends, for any other of your Writings, if perhaps they knew any: I was recommended by ſome to *Two Diſcourſes concerning Government*, and a little *Treatiſe concerning Toleration*. There is neither of them carries your Name; and I will not venture to ask whether they are your's or not: This, only, I think, no Name need be aſhamed of either.

Dr. *Sibelius* I find, is your Friend, and therefore I aſſure him of all Service I can poſſibly do him. I will make it my Buſineſs to get him Acquaintance in this Place; and I dare promiſe him ſome of the beſt.

The incloſed from my Brother, will tell you that he was your Acquaintance in *Leyden*. I my ſelf have been there *Anno* 1685, but had not the good Fortune of being known to you. But from this time I ſhall reckon my ſelf happy in your Friendſhip, and ſhall ever ſubſcribe my ſelf

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, Sept.* 20. 1692.

THere being nothing that I think of ſo much Value as the Acquaintance and Friendſhip of knowing and worthy Men, you may eaſily gueſs how much I find my ſelf obliged, I will not ſay by the Offer of, but by the Gift you have made me of your's. That which confirms me in the Aſſurance of it

is

is the little Pretence I have to it. For, knowing my ſelf as I do, I cannot think ſo vainly of my ſelf, as to imagine that you ſhould make ſuch Overtures and Expreſſions of Kindneſs to me for any other End, but merely as the Pledges and Exerciſe of it. I return you therefore my Thanks, as for the greateſt and moſt acceptable Preſent you could have made me; and deſire you to believe, that ſince I cannot hope that the Returns which I made you of mine ſhould be of any great Uſe to you, I ſhall endeavour to make it up, as well as I can, with an high Eſteem, and perfect Sincerity. You muſt therefore expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the Liberty and Aſſurance of a ſettled Friendſhip. For meeting with but few Men in the World whoſe Acquaintance I find much reaſon to covet, I make more than ordinary Haſte into the Familiarity of a rational Enquirer after, and Lover of Truth, whenever I can light on any ſuch. There are Beauties of the Mind, as well as of the Body, that take and prevail at firſt Sight: and wherever I have met with this, I have readily ſurrender'd my ſelf, and have never yet been deceiv'd in my Expectation. Wonder not therefore, if, having been thus wrought on, I begin to converſe with you with as much Freedom as if we had begun our Acquaintance when you were in *Holland*; and deſire your Advice and Aſſiſtance about a ſecond Edition of my *Eſſay*, the former being now diſperſed. You have, I perceive, read it over ſo carefully, more than once, that I know no Body I can more reaſonably conſult about the Miſtakes and Defects of it. And I expect a great deal more from any Objections you ſhould make, who comprehend the whole Deſign and Compaſs of it, than from one who has read but a Part of it, or meaſures it, upon a ſlight Reading, by his own Prejudices. You will find, by my Epiſtle to the Reader, that I was not inſenſible of the Fault I committed by being too long upon ſome Points, and the Repetitions that by my way of writing of it had got in, I let it paſs with, but not without Advice ſo to do. But now that my Notions are got into the World, and have in ſome meaſure buſtled through the Oppoſition and Difficulty they were like to meet with from the received Opinion, and that Prepoſſeſſion which might hinder them from being underſtood upon a ſhort Propoſal; I ask you whether it would not be better now to pare off, in a ſecond Edition, a great Part of that which cannot but appear ſuperfluous to an intelligent and attentive Reader. If you are of that Mind, I ſhall beg the favour of you to mark to me theſe Paſſages which you would think fitteſt to be left out. If there be any thing wherein you think me miſtaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next Edition. For I flatter my ſelf that I am ſo ſincere a Lover of Truth, that it is very indifferent to me, ſo I am poſſeſs'd of it, whether it be by my own, or any other's Diſcovery. For I count any Parcel of this Gold not the leſs to be valued, nor not the leſs enriching, becauſe I wrought it not out of the Mine my ſelf. I think every one ought to contribute to the common Stock, and to have no other Scruple or Shyneſs about the receiving of Truth, but that he be not impos'd on, and take Counterfeit, and what will not bear the Touch, for genuine and real Truth. I doubt not but, to one of your Largeneſs of Thought, that in the reading of my Book you miſs ſeveral things, that perhaps belong to my Subject, and you would think belongs to the Syſtem: If in this Part too you will communicate your Thoughts, you will do me a Favour. For though I will not ſo flatter my ſelf as to undertake to fill up the Gaps which you may obſerve in it; yet it may be of Uſe where mine is at a Stand, to ſuggeſt to others Matter of farther Contemplation. This I often find, that what Men by thinking have made clear to themſelves, they are apt to think, that upon the firſt Suggeſtion it ſhould be ſo to others, and ſo let it go not ſufficiently explain'd; not conſidering what may be very clear to themſelves, may be very obſcure to others. Your Penetration and Quickneſs hinders me from expecting from you many Complaints of this Kind. But if you have met with any Thing, in your Reading of my Book, which at firſt Sight you ſtuck at, I ſhall think it a ſufficient Reaſon, in the next Edition, to amend it for the Benefit of meaner Readers.

The Remarks of that learned Gentleman you mention, which you ſay you have in your Hands, I ſhall receive as a Favour from you.

Tho' by the View I had of moral Ideas, whilſt I was conſidering that Subject, I thought I ſaw that Morality might be demonſtratively made out; yet whether I am able ſo to make it out, is another Queſtion. Every one could not have demonſtrated what Mr. *Newton*'s Book hath ſhewn to be demonſtrable: But to ſhew my Readineſs to obey your Commands, I ſhall not decline the firſt Leiſure I can get to employ ſome Thoughts that way; unleſs I find what I have ſaid in my *Eſſay* ſhall have ſtir'd up ſome abler Man to prevent me, and effectually do that Service to the World.

We had here, the 8th Inſtant, a very ſenſible Earthquake, there being ſcarce an Houſe, wherein it was not by ſome Body or other felt. We have News of it at ſeveral Places from *Cologn*, as far as *Briſtol*. Whether it reach'd you I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know what was the exact Time it was felt, if any Body obſerved it. By the Queen's Pendulum at *Kenſington*, which the Shake ſtop'd from going, it was 2 h. *poſt m.* At *Whitehall*, where I obſerved it, it was by my Watch 2 h. 5 *m. poſt m.* Which, ſuppoſing the Queen's Pendulum went exact, and adding the Æquation of that Day, will fall near the Time mark'd by my Watch, or a little later. If there could be found People, that in the whole Extent of it, did by well adjuſted Clocks exactly obſerve the Time, one might ſee whether it were all one Shock, or proceeded gradually from one Place to another.

I thank you for having taken Dr. *Sibelius* into your Protection. I deſire you, with my Service to preſent my moſt humble Thanks to your Brother for the Favour of his Letter; to which, tho' I have not time this Poſt to return an Anſwer, I ſhall not long delay my Acknowledgments.

I hope you will ſee, by the Freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my ſelf amongſt your Acquaintance. Uſe me ſo, I beſeech you. If there be any Service I can do you here employ me, with an Aſſurance that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Oct.* 15. 92.

I Do moſt heartily beg your Pardon for my long Silence to your's of the 20th laſt. Our then approaching Parliament was the Occaſion of my not returning you an immediate Anſwer; and I expected withal to give you a more large Account of ſome Things you deſire from me. But ſeeing no immediate Hopes of Leiſure, by reaſon of our parliamentary Buſineſs, I venture at preſent to ſend you only the incloſed rough Papers. And till I can have an Opportunity my ſelf of reviſing your Book, I have put it into the Hands of a very ingenious and learned Perſon, who promiſes me to give his Obſervations in Writing, which as ſoon as obtain'd I ſhall tranſmit to you.—— The Earthquake was not at all felt here ——I am wonderfully pleas'd that you give me Hopes of ſeeing a *Moral Eſſay* from your Hand; which I aſſure you, Sir, with all Sincerity, is highly reſpected by

Your moſt humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Dec.* 22. 1692.

I Now ſit down to anſwer your's of *September* 20 concerning the ſecond Edition of your Book, wherein you deſire my Opinion and Advice. And after ſo long Conſideration of the Matter, as between that and this; and conſulting ſome ingenious Heads here about it, I can ſay but little; only that the ſame judicious Hand, that firſt form'd it, is beſt able to reform it where he ſees convenient. I never quarrell'd with a Book for being too prolix, eſpecially where the Prolixity is pleaſant, and tends to the Illuſtration of the Matter in Hand, as I am ſure your's always does. And after I received your Letter on this Subject, I communicated the Contents thereof to two very ingenious Perſons here; and at the ſame time I lent them your Book, deſiring them to examine it ſtrictly, and to find out, and note, whatever might be changed, added, or ſubſtracted. And after a diligent Peruſal, they agreed with me in the ſame Concluſion, *viz.* That the Work, in all its Parts, was ſo wonderfully curious and inſtructive, that they would not venture to alter any Thing in it. But however, that I may in ſome meaſure anſwer your Expectations, I ſhall briefly note to you what I conceive on this Subject.

And, *1ſt*, The *Errata Typographica* (beſides thoſe mention'd in the Table) are many and great; theſe therefore, in your next Edition, are diligently to be corrected.

2dly, pag. 270. 'Tis aſſerted, " That without a particular Revelation we " cannot be certain, that Matter cannot think, or that Omnipotency may " not endow Matter with a Power of Thinking.

And *pag.* 314, 315. " The Immateriality of God is evinced from the ab- " ſolute Impoſſibility of Matter's Thinking." Theſe two Places, I know, have been ſtumbled at by ſome, as not conſiſtent. To me indeed they appear, and are, very agreeable; and I have clearly evinced their Conſiſtency to thoſe that have ſcrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this Hint, that in your next Edition you may prevent any ſuch Doubt. My Senſe, of theſe two Places is this. In the firſt 'tis ſaid, " That we cannot tell (without a " particular Revelation to the contrary) but an Almighty God can make " Matter think." In the other 'tis aſſerted, " That unthinking Matter " cannot be this Almighty God." The next place I take notice of, as requiring ſome farther Explication, is your Diſcourſe about Man's Liberty and Neceſſity. This Thread ſeems ſo wonderfully fine ſpun in your Book, that at laſt the great Queſtion of Liberty and Neceſſity ſeems to vaniſh. And herein you ſeem to make all Sins to proceed from our Underſtandings, or to be againſt Conſcience, and not at all from the Depravity of our Wills. Now it ſeems harſh to ſay, that a Man ſhall be damn'd, becauſe he underſtands no better than he does. What you ſay concerning *Genera* and *Species* is unqueſtionably true; and yet it ſeems hard to aſſert, that there is no ſuch ſort of Creatures in Nature as Birds: For tho' we may be ignorant of the particular Eſſence that makes a Bird to be a Bird, or that determines and diſtinguiſhes a Bird from a Beaſt; or the juſt Limits and Boundaries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horſe's being a Beaſt, than we can of this Colour being black, and t'other white; tho' by Shades they may be made ſo gradually to vaniſh into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

But all this I write, more in Deference to your Deſires from me, than to ſatisfie my ſelf that I have given you any material Hints, or have offer'd any conſiderable Objection that is worth your Notice and Removal. Mr. *Norris*'s unfortunate Attempts on your Book ſufficiently teſtify its Validity; and truly I think he trifles ſo egregiouſly, that he ſhould forewarn all Men how far they venture to criticize on your Work. But thus far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another Work of this Kind, I ſhould adviſe you to let this ſtand as it does. And your next ſhall be of a Model wholly new, and that is by way of Logick; ſomething accommodated

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to the usual Forms, together with the Consideration of Extension, Solidity, Mobility, Thinking, Existence, Duration, Number, *&c.* and of the Mind of Man, and its Powers, as may make up a complete Body of what the Schools call Logick and Metaphysicks. This I am the more inclinable to advise on two Accounts; *First*, because I have lately seen *Johannis Clerici Logica, Ontologia* and *Pneumatologia*, in all which he has little extraordinary but what he borrows from you; and in the Alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native Beauties; which can only be preserved to them by the same incomparable Art that first framed them. *Secondly*, I was the first that recommended and lent to the Reverend Provost of our University, Dr. *Ashe*, a most learned and ingenious Man, your *Essay*, with which he was so wonderfully pleased and satisfied, that he has order'd it to be read by the Batchelors in the College, and strictly examines them in their Progress therein. Now a large Discourse in the way of a Logick would be much more taking in the Universities, wherein Youths do not satisfie themselves to have the Breeding or Business of the Place, unless they are ingaged in Something that bears the Name and Form of Logick.

This, Sir, is in short what offers it self to me at present concerning your Work. There remains only that I again put you in Mind of the second Member of your Division of Sciences, the *Ars Practica*, or Ethicks; you cannot imagine what an earnest Desire and Expectation I have raised in those that are acquainted with your Writings, by the Hopes I have given them from your Promise of endeavouring Something on that Subject. Good Sir, let me renew my Requests to you therein; for believe me, Sir, 'twill be one of the most useful and glorious Undertakings that can imploy you. The Touches you give in many Places of your Book on this Subject are wonderfully Curious, and do largely testifie your great Abilities that way, and I am sure the Pravity of Men's Morals does mightily require the most powerful Means to reform them. Be as large as 'tis possible on this Subject, and by all Means let it be in *English*. He that reads the xlv*th* Section in your 129*th* Page, will be inflamed to read more of the same Kind from the same incomparable Pen. Look therefore on your self as obliged by God Almighty to undertake this Task (pardon me, Sir that I am so free with you, as to insist to your self on your Duty, who, doubtless, understand it better than I can tell you) suffer not therefore your Thoughts to rest till you have finish'd it, and that God Almighty may succeed your Labours, is, and shall be the Prayer of,

Worthy Sir,

Your intirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 26. Dec. 1692.*

WHatever has happen'd to give you Leisure sooner than was expected, I hope to receive some Advantage by it. And that now you will be able to send me your own Thoughts on my Book, together with the Observations of your Friend, into whose Hands you have put it with that Design. I return you my humble Thanks for the Papers you did me the Favour to send me in your last. But am apt to think you agree with me, that there is very little in those Papers wherein either my Sense is not mistaken, or very little wherein the Argument is directly against me. I suppose that learned Gentleman, if he had had the Leisure to read my *Essay* quite through, would have found several of his Objections might have been spared. And I can easily forgive those who have not been at the Pains to read the third Book of my *Essay*, if they make use of Expressions, that when examined signifie nothing at all, in Defence of Hypotheses that have long possess'd their Minds. I am far from imagining my self infallible; but yet I should be loth to differ from any

any thinking Man, being fully perſuaded there are very few Things of pure Speculation, wherein two thinking Men, who impartially ſeek Truth, can differ, if they give themſelves the Leiſure to examine their Hypotheſes, and underſtand one another. I, preſuming you to be of this Make, whereof ſo few are to be found (for 'tis not every one that thinks himſelf a Lover or Seeker of Truth, who ſincerely does it) took the Liberty to deſire your Objections, that in the next Edition I might correct my Miſtakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my Book, becauſe I have once thought or ſaid it. And therefore I beg you, if you will give your ſelf the Pains to look over my Book again with this Deſign to oblige me, that you would uſe all manner of Freedom, both as to Matter, Stile, Diſpoſition, and every thing wherein, in your own Thoughts, any thing appears to you fit in the leaſt to be alter'd, omitted, explain'd, or added. I find none ſo fit, nor ſo fair Judges as thoſe whoſe Minds the Study of Mathematicks has open'd, and diſ-intangled from the Cheat of Words, which has too great an Influence in all the other which go for Sciences: And I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious Uſe is made of thoſe Signs) might be made much more Sciences than they are.

I ſent Order ſome time ſince, that a poſthumous Piece of Mr. *Boyle*'s ſhould be given to your Bookſeller in *London* to be convey'd to you. It is *A general Hiſtory of the Air*, which, though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very Deſign of it will pleaſe you, and it is caſt into a Method that any one who pleaſes may add to it, under any of the ſeveral Titles, as his Reading or Obſervation ſhall furniſh him with Matter of Fact. If ſuch Men as you are, curious and knowing, would joyn to what Mr. *Boyle* had collected and prepared, what comes in their Way, we might hope in ſome time to have a conſiderable Hiſtory of the Air, than which I ſcarce know any Part of Natural Philoſophy would yield more Variety and Uſe; but it is a Subject too large for the Attempts of any one Man, and will require the Aſſiſtance of many Hands to make it a Hiſtory very ſhort of compleat.

Since I did my ſelf the Honour to write to your Brother, I have been very ill, to which you muſt pardon ſome Part of the Length of my Silence. But my Eſteem and Reſpect for you is founded upon Something ſo much beyond Complement and Ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the leſs ſo, though I do not every Poſt importune you with repeated Profeſſions that I am,

SIR,

Your moſt Humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 20. Jan. 9⅞.*

HAD I known I ſhould within ſo few Days have receiv'd the Favour of ſuch a Letter as your's of 22. *Dec.* I ſhould not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the Receipt of your's. I was afraid in reading the Beginning of your's, that I had not ſo great an Intereſt in you as I flatter'd my ſelf, and upon a Preſumption whereof it was that I took the Liberty ſo confidently to ask your Advice concerning the ſecond Edition of my Book. But what followed ſatisfied me, that it was your Civility, and not Reſervedneſs, made you tell me, that the ſame Hand which firſt form'd it, is beſt able to reform it. Could I flatter my ſelf ſo as to think I deſerved all that you ſay of me in your obliging Letter, I ſhould yet think you a better Judge of what is to be reform'd in my Book than I my ſelf. You have given the World Proofs of your great Penetration, and I have received great Marks of your Candor. But were the Inequality between us as much to my Advantage as it is on the other Side, I ſhould nevertheleſs beg your Opinion. Whatſoever is our own, let us do what we can, ſtands a little too near us

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to be view'd as it ſhould: And though we ever ſo ſincerely aim at Truth; yet our own Thoughts, judging ſtill of our own Thoughts, may be ſuſpected to overlook Errors and Miſtakes. And I ſhould think he valued Himſelf more than Truth, and preſumed too much on his own Abilities, who would not be willing to have all the Exceptions could be made by any ingenious Friend, before he ventured any thing into the Publick. I therefore heartily thank you for thoſe you have ſent me, and for conſulting ſome of your Friends to the ſame Purpoſe: And beg the Favour, if any Thing more occurs from your own Thoughts, or from them, you will be pleaſed to communicate it to me, if it be but thoſe *Errata Typographica* you meet with, not taken notice of in the Table. I confeſs, I thought ſome of the Explications in my Book too long, though turn'd ſeveral Ways, to make thoſe abſtract Notions the eaſier ſink into Minds prejudiced in the ordinary Way of Education, and therefore I was of a mind to contract it. But finding you, and ſome other Friends of mine, whom I conſulted in the Caſe, of a contrary Opinion, and that you judge the Redundancy in it a pardonable Fault, I ſhall take very little Pains to reform it.

I confeſs what I ſay, *page* 270, compar'd with *p.* 314, 315. may, to an unwary Reader, ſeem to contain a Contradiction; but you, conſidering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reaſonable for me to expect, that every Body ſhould read me with that Judgment you do, and obſerve the Deſign and Foundation of what I ſay, rather than ſtick barely in the Words, 'tis fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate my ſelf to ordinary Readers, and avoid the Appearances of Contradiction, even in their Thoughts. *p.* 314. I ſuppoſe Matter in its own natural State, void of Thought, a Suppoſition I concluded would not be denied me, or not hard to be prov'd if it ſhould: And thence I infer'd, Matter could not be the firſt eternal Being. But *p.* 270. I thought it no Abſurdity or Contradiction to ſuppoſe, *that a thinking omnipotent Being once granted, ſuch a Being might annex to ſome Syſtems of Matter, ordered in a Way that he thought fit, a Capacity of ſome Degrees of Senſe and Thinking.* To avoid this Appearance of a Contradiction in my two Suppoſitions, and clear it up to leſs attentive Readers, I intend in the ſecond Edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. *l.* 20. read, *For I ſee no Contradiction in it, that the firſt eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, ſhould, if he pleaſed, give to certain Syſtems of created ſenſeleſs Matter, put together as he thinks fit, ſome Degrees of Senſe, Perception, and Thought; though I judge it no leſs than a Contradiction, to ſuppoſe Matter (which is evidently, in its own Nature, without Senſe and Thought) ſhould be the eternal firſt thinking Being. What Certainty of Knowledge can any one have, that ſome Perceptions, ſuch as* v. g. *Pleaſure and Pain, ſhould not be in ſome Bodies themſelves after*——

P. 315. *l.* 5. read, *Thought can never begin to be: For it is impoſſible to conceive that Matter, either with or without Motion, could have originally in and from it ſelf Senſe, Perception and Knowledge, as is evident from hence, that Senſe, Perception and Knowledge muſt then be a Property eternally inſeparable from Matter, and every Particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or ſpecifick Conception of Matter makes us ſpeak of it as one Thing; yet really all Matter is not one individual Thing, neither is there any ſuch Thing exiſting as one material Being, or one Body, that we know or can conceive. And therefore, if Matter were the eternal firſt cogitative Being, there would not be one eternal infinite cogitative Being: But an infinite Number of finite cogitative Beings, independent one of another, of limited Force and diſtinct Thoughts, which could never produce that Order, Harmony and Beauty is to be found in Nature. Since therefore whatſoever is the firſt eternal Being muſt neceſſarily be cogitative: And whatſoever is firſt of all things*——*higher Degree, it neceſſarily follows, that the eternal firſt Being cannot be Matter.* Pray give me your Opinion, whether, if I print it thus, it will not remove the Appearance of any Contradiction.

I do not wonder to find you think my Diſcourſe about *Liberty* a little too fine ſpun, I had ſo much that Thought of it my ſelf, that I ſaid the ſame Thing of it to ſome of my Friends before it was printed, and told them that upon that account I judged it beſt to leave it out, but they perſuaded me to the contrary. When the Connexion of the Parts of my Subject brought me to the Conſideration of *Power*, I had no Deſign to meddle with the Queſtion

of

of *Liberty*, but barely purſu'd my Thoughts in the Contemplation of that Power in Man of chooſing or preferring, which we call the Will, as far as they would lead me without any the leaſt Byaſs to one Side or other; or if there was any leaning in my Mind, it was rather to the contrary Side to that where I found my ſelf at the End of my Purſuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon Man's Liberty, I ſhew'd it to a very ingenious but profeſs'd *Arminian*, and deſir'd him, after he had conſider'd it, to tell me his Objections, if he had any, who frankly confeſs'd he could carry it no farther. I confeſs, I think there might be ſomething ſaid, which with a great many Men would paſs for a ſatisfactory Anſwer to your Objection; but it not ſatisfying me, I neither put it into my Book, nor ſhall now into my Letter. If I have put any Fallacy on my ſelf in all that Deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to ſuſpect it my ſelf, you will do me a very acceptable Kindneſs to ſhew it me, that I may reform it. But if you will argue for or againſt Liberty from Conſequences, I will not undertake to anſwer you. For I own freely to you the Weakneſs of my Underſtanding, that though it be unqueſtionable that there is Omnipotence and Omniſcience in God our Maker, and I cannot have a clearer Perception of any Thing than that I am free; yet I cannot make Freedom in Man conſiſtent with Omnipotence and Omniſcience in God, though I am as fully perſuaded of both as of any Truths I moſt firmly aſſent to. And therefore I have long ſince given off the Conſideration of that Queſtion, reſolving all into this ſhort Concluſion; That if it be poſſible for God to make a free Agent, then Man is free, though I ſee not the Way of it.

In the Objection you raiſe about *Species*, I fear you are fallen into the ſame Difficulty I often found my ſelf under, when I was writing on that Subject, where I was very apt to ſuppoſe diſtinct *Species* I could talk of, without Names. For pray, Sir, conſider what it is you mean, when you ſay, That *we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horſe's being a Beaſt, than we can of this Colour being Black, and t'other White*, &c. but this, that the Combination of ſimple Ideas, which the Word *Bird* ſtands for, is to be found in that particular Thing we call a Sparrow. And therefore I hope I have no where ſaid, *There is no ſuch ſort of Creatures in Nature as Birds*; if I have, it is both contrary to Truth and to my Opinion. This I do ſay, That there are real Conſtitutions in Things from whence theſe ſimple Ideas flow, which we obſerv'd combined in them. And this I farther ſay, That there are real Diſtinctions and Differences in thoſe real Conſtitutions one from another; whereby they are diſtinguiſhed one from another, whether we think of them, or name them or no. But that that, whereby we diſtinguiſh and rank particular Subſtances into Sorts, or *Genera* and *Species*, is not thoſe real Eſſences, or internal Conſtitutions, but ſuch Combinations of ſimple Ideas, as we obſerve in them. This I deſign'd to ſhew in *lib.* iii. *c.* 6. If, upon your Peruſal of that Chapter again, you find any Thing contrary to this, I beg the Favour of you to mark it to me, that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some Parts of that third Book concerning Words, though the Thoughts were eaſie and clear enough, yet coſt me more Pains to expreſs than all the reſt of my *Eſſay*. And therefore I ſhall not much wonder if there be in ſome Places of it Obſcurity and Doubtfulneſs. It would be a great Kindneſs from my Readers to oblige me, as you have done, by telling me any Thing they find amiſs; for the printed Book being more for others Uſe than my own, 'tis fit I ſhould accommodate it to that as much as I can, which truly is my Intention.

That which you propoſe of turning my *Eſſay* into a Body of Logick and Metaphyſicks, accommodated to the uſual Forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly ſee in it the Care you have of the Education of young Scholars, which is a Thing of no ſmall Moment; yet I fear I ſhall ſcarce find Time to do it; you have cut out other Work for me, more to my Liking, and I think of more Uſe. Beſides that, if they have in this Book of mine, what you think the Matter of theſe two Sciences, or what you will call them; I like the Method it is in, better than that of the Schools, where I think 'tis no ſmall Prejudice to Knowledge, that Predicaments, Predicables, *&c.*

being univerſally in all their Syſtems, come to be look'd on as neceſſary Principles, or unqueſtionable Parts of Knowledge, juſt as they are ſet down there. If Logick be the firſt thing to be taught young Men, after Grammar, as is the uſual Method, I think yet it ſhould be nothing but Propoſition and Syllogiſm. But that being in order to their diſputing Exerciſes in the Univerſity, perhaps I may think thoſe may be ſpared too. Diſputing being but an ill (not to ſay the worſt) Way to Knowledge. I ſay this not as pretending to change or find fault with what publick Allowance and eſtabliſh'd Practice has ſettled in Univerſities; but to excuſe my ſelf to you, from whom I cannot allow my ſelf to differ, without telling you the true Reaſons of it. For I ſee ſo much Knowledge, Candor, and the Marks of ſo much good Will to Mankind in you, that there are few Men, whoſe Opinion I think ought to have ſo much Authority with me as your's. But as to the Method of Learning, perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me ask you, ſince you mention Logick and Metaphyſicks in relation to my Book, whether either of thoſe Sciences may ſuggeſt to you any new Heads fit to be inſerted into my *Eſſay* in a ſecond Edition?

You have done too much Honour to me in the Recommendation I ſee you have given to my Book, and I am the more pleaſed with it, becauſe I think it was not done out of Kindneſs to one ſo much a Stranger to you as I then was. But yet, pray do not think me ſo vain that I dare aſſume to my ſelf almoſt any Part of what you ſay of me in your laſt Letter. Could I find in my ſelf any Reaſon you could have to flatter me, I ſhould ſuſpect you reſolved to play the Courtier a little. But I know what Latitude civil and well-bred Men allow themſelves with great Sincerity, where they are pleas'd, and Kindneſs warms them. I am ſenſible of the Obligation, and in Return ſhall only tell you, that I ſhall ſpeedily ſet my ſelf to obey your Commands in the laſt Part of your Letter. I beg your Pardon for treſpaſſing ſo much on your Patience, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, March* 2. 169⅝.

YOurs of *Jan.* 20. came to my Hands juſt as I lay down on a Bed of Sickneſs, being a ſevere Cholick, that held me nigh five Weeks, and brought me very weak; this was the more grievous to me, in that it hinder'd me from giving that ready anſwer to your Letters, which I deſir'd; being very covetous, on all Opportunities, of keeping up a Correſpondence with one for whom I have ſo great a Reſpect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover'd, but yet weak, and have not yet ſtir'd abroad. I know the bare ſignifying this to you is ſufficient in my Excuſe; ſo that, relying on your Pardon, I proceed to anſwer your laſt.

And firſt, Sir, believe me, that whatever Reſpect I have at any time us'd to you, has been the ſincere Thoughts of my Heart, and not the vain Complements that uſually paſs between Courtiers, and, how extravagant ſoever, are look'd upon as the Effects of good Breeding, and paſs only as ſuch by Licence. I think I know a worthy Man when I meet him, and they are ſo rare in the World, that no Honour is too great for thoſe that are ſuch. And I muſt plainly ſay it to your ſelf, that ſo much Humanity, Candor, Condeſcenſion, and good Nature, join'd with ſo great Judgment, Learning, and Parts, I have not met with in any Man living, as in the Author of the *Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding*. You ſo favourably entertain all Men's Objections, you are ſo deſirous to hear the Senſe of others, you are ſo tender

in

in differing from any Man, that you have captivated me beyond Reſiſtance. What you propoſe to add in thoſe Places which I intimated to you, as ſeemingly repugnant to unwary Readers, *pag.* 270. and 314, 315. is abundantly ſufficient; unleſs you may think it convenient (for the Prevention of all manner of Scruple, and to ſhew your Readers that you are aware of the Objection that may be raiſed againſt theſe Paſſages) to add in the Margin a little Note to that Purpoſe, ſpecifying the ſeeming Repugnancy that was in the firſt Edition, and that for the clearing thereof, you have thus farther illuſtrated it in this. But this, as every thing elſe, I propoſe with all Submiſſion to your better Judgment. Mentioning the marginal Note to you minds me to intimate, that I ſhould think it convenient in your next Edition, to expreſs the Abſtract or Content of each Section in the Margin, and to ſpare (if you think fit) the Table of *Contents* at the latter end of the Book, though I think both may do beſt. I can aſſure you, for my own reading, and conſulting your Book, I have put the Table of Contents to their reſpective Sections throughout the whole.

I am fully convinced by the Arguments you give me for not turning your Book into the ſcholaſtick Form of Logick and Metaphyſicks, and I had no other Reaſon to adviſe the other, but merely to get it promoted the eaſier in our Univerſity; one of the Buſineſſes of which Places is to learn according to the old Forms. And this minds me to let you know the great Joy and Satisfaction of Mind I conceived on your Promiſe of the Method of Learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me than the Hopes thereof, and that on this Account: I have but one Child in the World, who is now nigh four Years old, and promiſes well; his Mother left him to me very young, and my Affections (I muſt confeſs) are ſtrongly placed on him: It has pleaſed God, by the liberal Proviſions of our Anceſtors, to free me from the toiling Cares of providing a Fortune for him; ſo that my whole Study ſhall be to lay up a Treaſure of Knowledge in his Mind, for his Happineſs both in this Life and the next. And I have been often thinking of ſome Method for his Inſtruction, that may beſt obtain the End I propoſe. And now, to my great Joy, I hope to be abundantly ſupply'd by your Method. And my Brother has ſometimes told me, that whilſt he had the Happineſs of your Acquaintance at *Leyden*, you were upon ſuch a Work as this I deſire; and that too, at the Requeſt of a tender Father, for the Uſe of his only Son. Wherefore, good Sir, let me moſt earneſtly intreat you, by no Means to lay aſide this infinitely uſeful Work, till you have finiſhed it; for 'twill be of vaſt Advantage to all Mankind, as well as particularly to me your entire Friend. And on this Conſideration of Uſefulneſs to Mankind, I will preſume again to remind you of your *Diſcourſe of Morality*; and I ſhall think my ſelf very happy, if by putting you on the Thought, I ſhould be the leaſt Occaſion of ſo great Good to the World. What I have more to ſay relating to your Book, is of little or no Moment; however, you ſo readily entertain all Men's Thoughts of your Works, that, futile as mine are, you ſhall have a Remark or two more from me.

But firſt to your Query, whether I know any new Heads from Logick or Metaphyſicks to be inſerted in the ſecond Edition of your *Eſſay*: I anſwer, I know none, unleſs you think it may not do well to inſiſt more particularly, and at large, on *Æternæ Veritates*, and the *Principium Individuationis*. Concerning the firſt, you have ſome Touches, *pag.* 281. §. 31. *p.* 323. §. 14. *p.* 345. §. 14. and concerning the latter, *p.* 28. §. 4. *p.* 40. §. 12.

Pag. 96. *Sect.* 9. you aſſert, what I conceive is an Errour in Fact, *viz. That a Man's Eye can diſtinguiſh a Second of a Circle, whereof its ſelf is the Centre.* Whereas 'tis certain, that few Men's Eyes can diſtinguiſh leſs than 30 Seconds, and moſt not under a Minute, or 60 Seconds, as is manifeſt from what Mr. *Hook* lays down in his Animadverſions on the firſt Part of *Hevelii Machina cœleſtis*, *p.* 8, 9, *&c.* But this, as I ſaid before, is only an Errour in Fact, and affects not the Doctrine laid down in the ſaid Section.

Pag. 341. *Sect.* 2. You ſay, *The Exiſtence of all Things without us (except only of God) is had by our Senſes.* And *P.* 147. *Sect.* 33, 34, 35, 36. you ſhew how the Idea we have of God is made up of the Ideas we have gotten by our Senſes. Now this, tho' no Repugnancy; yet to unwary Readers may ſeem one, and therefore perhaps may deſerve a fuller Expreſſion. To me 'tis plain, that in *pag.* 341. you ſpeak barely of the *Exiſtence* of a God; and in *p.* 147. you ſpeak of the *Ideas* that are ingredient in the complex Idea of God; that is, *p.* 147. you ſay, *That all the Ideas, ingredient in the Idea of a God, are had from Senſe;* and *p.* 341. you only aſſert *that the* Exiſtence *of this God, or that really there are united in one Being all theſe Ideas, is had, not from Senſe, but Demonſtration.* This to me ſeems your Senſe, yet perhaps every Reader may not ſo readily conceive it; and therefore, poſſibly you may think this Paſſage, *p.* 341. worth your farther Conſideration and Addition.

I will conclude my tedious Lines with a jocoſe Problem, that upon Diſcourſe with ſeveral concerning your Book and Notions, I have propoſed to divers very ingenious Men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that, at firſt daſh, would give me the Anſwer to it which I think true, till by hearing my Reaſons they were convinced. 'Tis this: "Suppoſe a Man born "blind, and now adult, and taught by his Touch to diſtinguiſh between a "Cube and a Sphere (ſuppoſe) of Ivory, nighly of the ſame Bigneſs, ſo as "to tell when he felt one and t'other, which is the Cube, which the Sphere. "Suppoſe then, the Cube and Sphere placed on a Table, and the blind Man "to be made to ſee; Query, whether by his Sight, before he touch'd them, "he could now diſtinguiſh and tell which is the Globe, which the Cube? I "anſwer, not; for tho' he has obtained the Experience of how a Globe, "how a Cube affects his Touch; yet he has not yet attain'd the Experi-"ence, that what affects his Touch ſo or ſo, muſt affect his Sight ſo or ſo; "or that a protuberant Angle in the Cube, that preſs'd his Hand unequally, "ſhall appear to his Eye as it does in the Cube. But of this enough; perhaps you may find ſome Place in your *Eſſay*, wherein you may not think it amiſs to ſay Something of this Problem.

I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. *Boyle's* Book of the Air, which lately came to my Hands. 'Tis a vaſt Deſign and not to be finiſh'd but by the united Labours of many Heads, and indefatigably proſecuted for many Years; ſo that I deſpair of ſeeing any Thing complete therein. However, if many will lend the ſame helping Hands that you have done, I ſhould be in Hopes: And certainly there is not a Chapter in all Natural Philoſophy of greater Uſe to Mankind than what is here propoſed. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London*, 28. *Mar.* 1692.

YOUR Silence, that ſpared me a great deal of Fear and Uneaſineſs, by concealing from me your Sickneſs till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for by the Joy it brings me in the News of your Recovery. You have given me thoſe Marks of your Kindneſs to me, that you will not think it ſtrange, that I count you amongſt my Friends, and with thoſe, deſiring to live with the Eaſe and Freedom of a perfect Confidence, I never accuſe them to my ſelf of Neglect or Coldneſs, when I fail to hear from them ſo ſoon as I expected or deſired: Though had I known you ſo well before as I do now, ſince your laſt Letter, I ſhould not have avoided being in Pain upon Account of your Health.

I cannot

I cannot at all doubt the Sincerity of any Thing you ſay to me; but yet give me leave to think, that 'tis an Exceſs of Kindneſs alone could excuſe it from looking like Complement. But I am convinced you love your Friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think nor ſpeak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a Man who gets once in Print, to read in his Book that it is perfect, and that the Author is infallible. Had I had ſuch an *Opinion* of my own Sufficiency before I writ, my *Eſſay* would have brought me to *another*, and given me ſuch a Sight of the Weakneſs of my Underſtanding, that I could not fail to ſuſpect my ſelf of Errour and Miſtake in many Things I had writ, and to deſire all the light I could get from others to ſet me right. I have found you one of the likelyeſt to afford it me; your Clearneſs and Candor gave me the Confidence to ask your Judgment, and I take it for no ſmall Aſſurance of your Friendſhip that you have given it me, and have condeſcended to adviſe me of the *Printer's* Faults, which gives me Hopes you have not concealed any you have obſerved in the Work it ſelf. The marginal Summaries you deſire, of the Paragraphs, I ſhall take care to have added, were it only for your Sake, but I think too it will make the Book the more uſeful.

That Requeſt of your's you preſs ſo earneſtly upon me, makes me bemoan the Diſtance you are from me, which deprives me of the Aſſiſtance I might have from your Opinion and Judgment, before I ventur'd any Thing into the Publick. 'Tis ſo hard to find impartial Freedom in one's Friends, or an unbyaſs'd Judgment any where, that amongſt all the Helps of Converſation and Acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more uſeful, than ſpeaking freely and candidly one's Opinion upon the Thoughts and Compoſitions of another intended for the Preſs. Experience has taught me, that you are a Friend of this Rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wiſh that a Sea between us did not hinder me from the Advantage of this good Office. Had you been within Reach, I ſhould have beg'd your ſevere Examination of what is now gone to the *Printer* at your Inſtance; I had rather I could have ſaid upon your Peruſal, and with your Correction. I am not, in my Nature a Lover of Novelty nor Contradiction; but my Notions in this Treatiſe, have run me ſo far out of the common Road and Practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allow'd by ſo ſober a Judgment as your's, or ſtop'd, if they had appear'd impracticable or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your Brother tells you, on this Occaſion, is not wholly beſides the Matter. The Main of what I now publiſh, is but what was contain'd in ſeveral Letters to a Friend of mine, the greateſt Part whereof were writ out of *Holland*. How your Brother came to know of it I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any Body there. Theſe Letters, or at leaſt ſome of them, have been ſeen by ſome of my Acquaintance here, who would needs perſuade me 'twould be of uſe to publiſh them; your Impatience to ſee them, has not, I aſſure you, ſlacken'd my Hand, or kept me in Suſpenſe: And I wiſh now they were out, that you might the ſooner ſee them, and I the ſooner have your Opinion of them. I know not yet whether I ſhall ſet my Name to this Diſcourſe, and therefore ſhall deſire you to conceal it. You ſee I make you my Confeſſor, for you have made your ſelf my Friend.

The Faults of the Preſs are, I find upon a ſedate Reading over of my Book, infinitely more than I could have thought; thoſe that you have obſerved I have corrected, and return you my Thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my Review, have added and alter'd ſeveral Things, but am not yet got ſo far as thoſe Places you mark for the *Æternæ Veritates*, and *Principium Individuationis*, which I ſhall conſider when I come to them, and endeavour to ſatisfie your Deſire. *Malebranche's Hypotheſis of ſeeing all Things in God*, being that from whence I find ſome Men would derive our Ideas, I have ſome Thoughts of adding a new Chapter, wherein I will examine it, having, as I think, ſomething for to ſay againſt it, that will ſhew the Weakneſs of it very clearly. But I have ſo little Love to Controverſie, that I am not fully reſolved. Some other additions I have made, I hope will not diſpleaſe you, but I wiſh I could

could ſhew them you before they are in Print; for I would not make my Book bigger, unleſs it were to make it better.

I thank you for adviſing me of the Errour about Sight, for indeed it was a great one in Matter of Fact, but it was in the Expreſſion, for I meant a Minute, but, by Miſtake, call'd $\frac{1}{60}$ of a Degree, a Second. Your ingenious Problem will deſerve to be publiſhed to the World.

The ſeeming Contradiction between what is ſaid *p.* 147. and *p.* 341. is juſt as you take it, and I hope ſo clearly expreſſed, that it cannot be miſtaken, but by a very unwary Reader, who cannot diſtinguiſh between an Idea in the Mind, and the real Exiſtence of Something out of the Mind anſwering that Idea. But I heartily thank you for your Caution, and ſhall take Care how to prevent any ſuch Miſtake when I come to that Place. My humble Service to your Brother. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Apr.* 18. 1693.

I Have lately received farther Teſtimonies of your Kindneſs and Friendſhip to me in your laſt of *March* 28. which brings withal the welcome News of your having committed your Work *Of Education* to the Preſs; than which, I know not any Thing that I ever expected with a more earneſt Deſire. What my Brother told me, relating to that Treatiſe, he had from your ſelf in *Holland*; but perhaps you might have forgot what paſs'd between you on that Occaſion. I perceive you fear the Novelty of ſome Notions therein may ſeem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the Author, I fear no ſuch Thing from him. I doubt not, but the Work will be new and peculiar, as his other Performances; and this it is that renders them eſtimable and pleaſant. He that travels the beaten Roads may chance indeed to have Company, but he that takes his Liberty, and manages it with Judgment, is the Man that makes uſeful Diſcoveries, and moſt beneficial to thoſe that follow him. Had *Columbus* never ventur'd farther than his Predeceſſors, we had yet been ignorant of a vaſt Part of our Earth, preferable (as ſome ſay) to all the other three. And, if none may be allow'd to try the Ocean of Philoſophy farther than our Anceſtors, we ſhall have but little Advancements or Diſcoveries made in the *Mundus intellectualis*; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown than what we have yet found out.

I ſhould very much approve of your adding a Chapter in your *Eſſay*, concerning *Malebranche*'s *Hypotheſis*. As there are Enthuſiaſms in Divinity; ſo there are in Philoſophy; and as one proceeds from not conſulting, or miſapprehending the Book of God; ſo the other from not reading and conſidering the Book of Nature. I look upon *Malebranche*'s Notions, or rather *Plato*'s, in this particular, as perfectly unintelligible. And if you will engage in a Philoſophick Controverſy, you cannot do it with more Advantage than in this Matter. What you lay down concerning our Ideas and Knowledge, is founded and confirmed by Experiment and Obſervation, that any Man may make in himſelf, or the Children he converſes with, wherein he may note the gradual Steps that we make in Knowledge. But *Plato*'s Fancy has no Foundation in Nature, but is meerly the Product of his own Brain.

I know 'tis none of your Buſineſs to engage in Controverſy, or remove Objections; ſave only ſuch as ſeem immediately to ſtrike at your own Poſitions; and therefore I cannot inſiſt upon what I am now going to mention to you. However I will give you the Hint, and leave the Conſideration thereof to your own Breaſt. The 10*th* Chapter of your iv*th* Book, is a moſt exact Demonſtration of the *Exiſtence of a God.* But perhaps it might be more full,

full, by an Addition againſt the *Eternity of the World*, and that all Things have not been going on in the ſame Manner as we now ſee them *ab æterno*. I have known a pack of Philoſophical Atheiſts, that rely much on this *Hypotheſis*; and even *Hobbs* himſelf does ſomewhere alledge (if I am not forgetful, 'tis in his Book *De Corpore*, in the Chapter *De Univerſo*) *That the ſame Arguments, which are brought againſt the Eternity of the World, may ſerve as well againſt the Eternity of the Creator of the World.* I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 15. July. 1693.*

I Had not been ſo long before I had acknowledg'd the Favour of your laſt, had not I a Deſign to give you at large an Account of ſome Alterations I intended to make in the Chapter of *Power*, wherein I ſhould have been very glad you had ſhewn me any Miſtake. I my ſelf, not being very well ſatisfied, by the Concluſion I was led to, that my Reaſonings were perfectly right, review'd that Chapter again with great Care, and by obſerving only the Miſtake of one Word (*viz.* having put *Things* for *Actions*, which was very eaſie to be done in the Place where it is, *viz.* p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my Book by me here in Town) I got into a new View of Things, which, if I miſtake not, will ſatisfie you, and give a clearer Account of Human Freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by theſe Summaries of the following Sections of that Chapter:

§. 28. *Volition is the ordering of ſome Action by Thought.*
§. 29. *Uneaſineſs determines the Will.*
§. 30. Will *muſt be diſtinguiſhed from* Deſire.
§. 31. *The greater Good in View barely conſider'd determines not the* Will. *The Joys of Heaven are often neglected.*
§. 32. *Deſire determines the Will.*
§. 33. *Deſire is an Uneaſineſs.*
§. 34. *The greateſt preſent Uneaſineſs uſually determines the* Will, *as is evident in Experience. The Reaſons.*
§. 35. *Becauſe Uneaſineſs being a Part of Unhappineſs, which is firſt to be removed in our Way to Happineſs.*
§. 36. *Becauſe Uneaſineſs alone is preſent.*
§. 37. *The Uneaſineſs of other Paſſions have their Share with Deſire.*
§. 38. *Happineſs alone moves the Deſire.*
§. 39. *All abſent Good not deſired, becauſe not neceſſary to our Happineſs.*
§. 40. *The greateſt Uneaſineſs does not always determine the Will, becauſe we can ſuſpend the Execution of our Deſires.*

This ſhort Scheme may perhaps give you ſo much Light into my preſent *Hypotheſis*, that you will be able to judge of the Truth of it, which I beg you to examine by your own Mind. I wiſh you were ſo near that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the Preſs. But it is ſo much too long for a Letter, and the Preſs will be ſo ready to ſtay for it before it is finiſhed, that I fear I ſhall not be able to have the Advantage of your Thoughts upon the whole Thread of my Deduction. For I had much rather have your Corrections, whilſt they might contribute to make it receive your Approbation, than flatter my ſelf before-hand that you will be pleaſed with it.

I hope,

I hope, e're this, you have receiv'd from *Mr.* ..... that which I promiſed you the Beginning of this Spring. I muſt deſire your Opinion of it without Reſerve, for I ſhould not have ventur'd, upon any other Condition, to have own'd, and preſented to you ſuch a Triſle. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Auguſt* 12. 1693.

YOURS of *July* 15. came to my Hands about a Fortnight ſince; and I had, e're this, acknowledged the Favour thereof, but that I waited the Arrival of your much deſired Piece, *Of Education*, which came not to me till about three Days ago. I immediately ſet my ſelf to read it, as all Things from its Author, with the utmoſt Attention; and I find it anſwerable to the higheſt Expectations I had of it. And ſince, with your uſual Modeſty you are pleaſed to require my Thoughts more particularly concerning it, I ſhall with all Freedom, but at the ſame time with all Deference, propoſe them to you, not doubting of your favourable Interpretation and Pardon, where you ſee it needful. And firſt, in general, I think you propoſe Nothing in your whole Book but what is very reaſonable, and very practicable, except only in one Particular, which ſeems to bear hard on the tender Spirits of Children, and the natural Affections of Parents: 'Tis *pag.* 117, 118. where you adviſe, *That a Child ſhould never be ſuffer'd to have what he* craves, *or ſo much as* ſpeaks for, *much leſs if he* cries for it. I acknowledge what you ſay in explaining this Rule, *Sect.* 101. in relation to natural Wants, eſpecially that of *Hunger*, may be well enough allow'd; but in *Sect.* 102. where you come to apply it to *Wants of Fancy and Affectation*, you ſeem too ſtrict and ſevere. You ſay indeed, *this will teach them to ſtifle their Deſires, and to practice Modeſty and Temperance*; but for teaching theſe Virtues, I conceive we ſhall have Occaſions enough in relation to their hurtful Deſires, without abridging them ſo wholly in Matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and pleaſe their buſie Spirits. You allow indeed, *That 'twould be Inhumanity to deny them thoſe Things one perceives would delight them*; if ſo, I ſee no Reaſon why, in a modeſt Way, and with Submiſſion to the Wills of their Superiors, they may not be allow'd to declare what will delight them. No, ſay you; *but in all Wants of Fancy and Affectation, they ſhould* never, *if once* declared, *be harken'd to, or comply'd with.* This I can never agree to, it being to deny that Liberty between a Child and its Parents, as we deſire, and have granted us, between Man and his Creator. And, as in this Caſe, Man is allow'd to declare his Wants, and with Submiſſion to recommend his Requeſts to God; ſo I think Children may be allow'd by their Parents or Governours. And as between the Creature and Creator all manner of repining upon Denial or Diſappointment is forbidden; ſo in the Caſe of Children, all Frowardneſs or Diſcontent upon a Refuſal, is ſeverely to be reprimanded. But thus far I agree with you in the whole, that whether it be in Wants natural or fanciful that they expreſs their Deſires in a froward humourſom Manner, there they ſhould be ſurely deny'd them. A farther Reaſon for my allowing Children a Liberty of expreſſing their innocent Deſires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you muſt have the Children almoſt moaped for Want of Diverſion and Recreation, or elſe you muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all Day but how to find Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man alive, I leave you to judge. And beſides, were it an eaſie Task for any adult Perſon to ſtudy the Fancy, the unaccountable Fancy, and Diverſion of Children, the whole Year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a Child, being

not

not his own Choice. But this, you'll ſay, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to chooſe for themſelves; but why not, in harmleſs things, and Plays or Sports, I ſee no Reaſon. In all Things of Moment let them live by the Conduct of others wiſer than themſelves.

This, Sir, is all, that in your whole Book I ſtick at; to all the reſt I could ſubſcribe. And I am not a little pleaſed, when I conſider that my own Management of my only little one has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your Rules, ſave only in what relates to his hardy Breeding, which I was cautious in, becauſe he is come from a tender and ſickly Mother; but the Child himſelf is hitherto (God be thanked) very healthful, though not very ſtrong.

The Rules you give for the correcting of Children, and implanting in their Minds an early Senſe of Praiſe or Diſpraiſe, of Repute and Diſhonour, are certainly very juſt.

The Contrivances you propoſe for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And becauſe I have practiſed one much of the ſame Nature, I'll venture to deſcribe it. " 'Tis by writing Syllables and Words in Print-" hand, on the Face of a Pack of Cards, with Figures or Cyphers adjoin'd " to each Word; by which I can form twenty ſeveral ſorts of Games, that " ſhall teach Children both to read and count at the ſame time; and this " with great Variety." One Thing more I ſhall venture to add to what you direct concerning Writing; that is, I will have my Son taught Short-hand; I do not mean to that Perfection as to copy a Speech from the Mouth of a ready Speaker, but to be able to write it readily for his own private Buſineſs. Believe me, Sir, 'tis as uſeful a Knack as a Man of Buſineſs, or any Scholar can be Maſter of, and I have found the Want of it my ſelf, and ſeen the Advantage of it in others frequently.

You are certainly in the right of it, relating to the Manner of acquiring Languages, *French*, *Latin*, &c. and in what you lay down concerning Grammar-Schools, Themes, Verſes, and other Learning. But above all, what you direct in every Particular for the forming of Children's Minds, and giving them an early Turn to Morality, Virtue, Religion, *&c.* is moſt excellent.

And I can only ſay in general, that I can give no better Proof of my liking your Book in all theſe Precepts, than by a ſtrict Obſervance of them in the Education of my own Son, which I ſhall purſue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One Thing, I fear, I ſhall be at a loſs in, that is, a Tutor agreeable to the Character you preſcribe. But in this neither ſhall my Endeavours be wanting, though I leave him the worſe Eſtate, to leave him the better Mind.

I could heartily have wiſh'd you had been more particular in naming the Authors you would adviſe Gentlemen to read, and be converſant in, in the ſeveral Parts of Learning you recommend to their Study. Had you done this, I know no *Logick* that deſerves to be named, but the *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*. So that I fear you would rather have left that Head open, than recommended your own Work.

The laſt Thing I ſhall take notice of, is what mightily pleaſes me, it being the very Thought of my own Mind theſe many Years; which is, your *recommending a manual Trade to all Gentlemen*. This I have ever been for, and have wonder'd how it comes to paſs, that 'tis ſo generally neglected; but the lazy effeminate Luxuriouſneſs that overruns the Nation, occaſions the Neglect thereof. *Painting* I have ever deſigned for my Son, but you have raiſed two Objections againſt it, that are not eaſily anſwer'd, eſpecially its taking up ſo much Time to attain a Maſtery in it.

I have now given you my Opinion of your Book, and now I am obliged to thank you for ſending me a Preſent, which I ſo highly value.

As to that Part of your Letter relating to the Alterations you have made in your *Eſſay* concerning *Man's Liberty*, I dare not venture, upon thoſe ſhort Hints you give me, to paſs my Opinion. But, now that you have diſcovered it to me, I plainly perceive the Miſtake of *Sect.* 28. *P.* 123. where you put *Thing* for *Action*. And I doubt not, but in your next Edition, you will fully rectify this Matter. And I could adviſe you to haſten that Edi-

tion with what Speed you can, leaſt Foreigners undertake a Tranſlation of your firſt, without your ſecond Thoughts. Thus they have ſerved me, by tranſlating into *Latin*, and printing my *Dioptricks* in *Holland*, when I have now by me a Tranſlation of my own of that Work, with many Amendments and large Additions.

Pray, Sir, let me beg the favour of your Correſpondence as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 23. Aug. 1693.*

YOURS of *Auguſt* 12. which I received laſt Night, eaſed me of a great deal of Pain your Silence had for ſome time put me in; for you muſt allow me to be concern'd for your Health, as for a Friend that I could not think in Danger, or a Diſeaſe, without a Concern and Trouble, ſuitable to that great Eſteem and Love I have for you. But you have made me amends plentifully by the Length and Kindneſs, and, let me add too, the Freedom of your Letter. For the Approbation you ſo largely give to my Book is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better Opinion of my Method, becauſe it has joyn'd with it your Exception to one Rule of it; which I am apt to think you your ſelf, upon ſecond Thoughts, will have remov'd, before I ſay any Thing to your Objections. It confirms to me that you are the good natur'd Man I took you for; and I do not at all wonder, that the Affection of a kind Father ſhould ſtartle at it at firſt Reading, and think it very ſevere that Children ſhould not be ſuffer'd to expreſs their Deſires; for ſo you ſeem to underſtand me. And ſuch a Reſtraint, you fear, *would be apt to moap them, and hinder their Diverſion.* But if you pleaſe to look upon the Place, and obſerve my Drift, you will find that they ſhould not be indulged, or complied with, in any Thing their Conceits have made a Want to them, as neceſſary to be ſupplied. What you ſay, *That Children would be moaped for want of Diverſion and Recreation, or elſe we muſt have thoſe about them ſtudy nothing all Day, but how to find Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man living, you leave me to judge,* ſeems to intimate, as if you underſtood that Children ſhould do nothing but by the Preſcription of their Parents or Tutors, chalking out each Action of the whole Day in Train to them. I hope my Words expreſs no ſuch Thing, for its quite contrary to my Senſe, and I think would be uſeleſs Tyranny in their Governours, and certain Ruin to the Children. I am ſo much for Recreation, that I would, as much as poſſible, have all they do be made ſo. I think Recreation as neceſſary to them as their Food, and that nothing can be Recreation which does not delight. This, I think, I have ſo expreſſed, and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greateſt Part of their Time left to them, without Reſtraint, to divert themſelves any way they think beſt, ſo it be free from vicious Actions, or ſuch as may introduce vicious Habits. And therefore if they ſhould ask to play, it could be no more interpreted *a Want of Fancy*, than if they asked for Victuals when hungry; though where the Matter is well order'd, they will never need to do that. For when they have either done what their Governour thinks enough in any Application to what is uſually made their Buſineſs, or are perceived to be tir'd with it, they ſhould of courſe be diſmiſſed to their innocent Diverſions, without ever being put to ask for it. So that I am for the full Liberty of Diverſion, as much as you can be, and, upon a ſecond Peruſal of my Book, I do not doubt but you will find me ſo. But being allow'd that, as one of their natural Wants, they ſhould not yet be permitted to let looſe their Deſires in Importunities for what they fanſy. Children are very apt to covet what they ſee thoſe above them in Age have or do, to

have

have or do the like, eſpecially if it be their elder Brothers and Siſters. Does one go Abroad? The other ſtrait has a mind to it too. Has ſuch an one new, or fine Cloaths, or Play-things? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themſelves ill dealt with if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their Age, and with that enlarges it ſelf to Things of greater Conſequence, and has ruin'd more Families than one in the World. This ſhould be ſuppreſſed in its very firſt Riſe, and the Deſires you would not have encouraged, you ſhould not permit to be ſpoken, which is the beſt Way for them to ſilence them to themſelves. Children ſhould by conſtant Uſe learn to be very modeſt in owning their Deſires, and careful not to ask any Thing of their Parents, but what they have Reaſon to think their Parents will approve of. And a Reprimand upon their ill bearing a Refuſal comes too late, the Fault is committed and allow'd; and if you allow them to ask, you can ſcarce think it ſtrange they ſhould be troubled to be deny'd; ſo that you ſuffer them to engage themſelves in the Diſorder, and then think the fitteſt time for a Cure, and, I think, the ſureſt and eaſieſt Way is Prevention. For we muſt take the ſame Nature to be in Children, that is in grown Men; and how often do we find Men take ill to be deny'd what they would not have been concerned for if they had not asked. But I ſhall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I ſhall agree in the Matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almoſt impoſſible to give general Rules *of Education*, when there is ſcarce any one Child, which in ſome Caſes ſhould not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to ſhew what Parents and Tutors ſhould aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular Circumſtances as the Caſe ſhall require.

One Thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You ſay, your Son is not very ſtrong; to make him ſtrong, you muſt uſe him hardly, as I have directed; but you muſt be ſure to do it by very inſenſible Degrees, and begin an Hardſhip you would bring him to only in the Spring. This is all the Caution needs be uſed. I have an Example of it in the Houſe I live in, where the only Son of a very tender Mother was almoſt deſtroy'd by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary Uſage, come to bear Wind and Weather, and wet in his Feet; and the Cough, which threaten'd him under that warm and cautious Management, has left him, and is now no longer his Parents conſtant Apprehenſion as it was.

I am of your Mind as to ſhort Hand. I my ſelf learn'd it ſince I was a Man, but had forgot to put it in when I writ, as I have, I doubt not, overſeen a thouſand other Things, which might have been ſaid on this Subject. But it was only at firſt a ſhort Scheme for a Friend, and is publiſh'd to excite others to treat it more fully.

I know not whether it would be uſeful to make a Catalogue of Authors to be read by a young Man, or whether it could be done, unleſs one knew the Child's Temper, and what he was deſigned to.

My *Eſſay* is now very near ready for another Edition, and upon Review of my Alterations, concerning what determines the *Will*, in my cool Thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my Thoughts can reach in ſo nice a Point, and in ſhort is this. *Liberty* is a Power to act or not to act, accordingly as the Mind directs. A Power to direct the operative Faculties to Motion or Reſt in particular Inſtances, is that which we call the *Will*. That, which in the Train of our voluntary Actions determines the Will to any Change of Operation, is ſome preſent *Uneaſineſs*, which is, or at leaſt is always accompanied with that of *Deſire*. *Deſire* is always moved by Evil to fly it; becauſe a total Freedom from Pain always makes a neceſſary Part of our Happineſs. But every *Good*, nay every *greater Good*, does not conſtantly move Deſire, becauſe it may not make, or may not be taken to make any neceſſary Part of our Happineſs; for all that we deſire is only to be happy. But though this general Deſire of Happineſs operates conſtantly and invariably in us; yet the Satisfaction of any particular Deſire, can be ſuſpended from determining the Will to any ſubſervient Action, till we have maturely examined, whether the particular apparent Good we then deſire,

make a Part of our real Happineſs, or be conſiſtent or inconſiſtent with it. The Reſult of our Judgment, upon Examination, is what ultimately determines the Man, who could not be *free*, if his Will were determined by any thing but his own Deſire, guided by his own Judgment. This, in ſhort, is what I think of this Matter, I deſire you to examine it by your own Thoughts. I think I have ſo well made out the ſeveral Particulars where I treat them at large, that they have convinced ſome I have ſhewn them to here, who were of another Mind; and therefore how much ſoever contrary to the receiv'd Opinion, I think I may publiſh them; but I would firſt have your judicious and free Thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love Truth for it ſelf, and me ſo well, as to tell it me without Diſguiſe.

You will herewith receive a new Chapter *Of Identity and Diverſity*, which, having writ only at your Inſtance, 'tis fit you ſhould ſee and judge of before it goes to the Preſs. Pray ſend me your Opinion of every Part of it. You need not ſend back the Papers, but your Remarks on the Paragraphs you ſhall think fit, for I have a Copy here.

You deſir'd me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal Verities, which, to obey you, I ſet about, but upon Examination, find all general Truths are eternal Verities, and ſo there is no Entering into Particulars; though, by Miſtake, ſome Men have ſelected ſome as if they alone were eternal Verities. I never, but with Regret, reflect on the Diſtance you are from me, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, Sept. 16. 1693.*

I Have your's from *Oates* of *Aug.* 23. with your Chapter of *Identity* and *Diverſity*; and I acknowledge my ſelf extremely obliged to you, for being at all that Thought on my Account. However, I repent not of the Trouble I gave you therein, ſeeing the Effects thereof, ſuch clear Reaſoning, and profound Judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I proteſt, Sir, 'tis to me the hardeſt Task in the World, to add any Thing to, or make any Remarks upon, what you deliver therein; every Thing you write therein is deliver'd with ſuch convincing Reaſon, that I fully aſſent to all. And to make Remarks where I have no Room to ſay any Thing, would pleaſe neither you nor my ſelf. And to ſhew you that I would not wholly rely on my own Examination of your Chapter, I imparted it to others, deſiring their Cenſure of it; but ſtill with the ſame Event, all acknowledg'd the Clearneſs of the Reaſoning, and that nothing more was left to be ſaid on the Subject.

The Anſwer you make to what I writ on your Thoughts *of Education*, does fully ſatisfie me. But I aſſure you, Sir, I was not the only Perſon ſhock'd at that Paſſage. I find ſeveral ſtumble at it, as taking little Play-things, that Children are very apt to deſire and ask for, to be Matters of Fancy and Affectation within your Rule. But ſeeing, in your laſt Letter, you confine Deſires of Fancy and Affectation to other Matters, I am ſatisfy'd in this Buſineſs.

I can ſay no more to the Scheme you lay down of *Man's Liberty*, but that I believe it very juſt, and will anſwer in all Things. I long to ſee the ſecond Edition of your *Eſſay*; and then, if any Thing offer, I'll give you my Thoughts more fully.

I am very ſenſible how cloſely you are engaged, till you have diſcharged this Work off your Hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to preſs you again to what you have promis'd in the Buſineſs of Man's Life, *Morality*. But you muſt expect that I ſhall never be forgetful of that, from which I propoſe ſo great Good to the World, and ſo much Satisfaction to

Your moſt intirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, Dec.* 23. 1693.

I Have now read over your *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding* a third time, and always make new Diſcoveries therein of Something profound. I ſhould ſet upon it again, but that I will wait for your next Edition, which I hope by this time is almoſt finiſhed. The uſual Satisfaction I take in reading all Things that come from you, made me lately again run over your Chapter of *Identity* and *Diverſity*; concerning the Juſtneſs whereof, I have yet the ſame Opinion as formerly. But one Thought ſuggeſted it ſelf to me, which on my firſt Reading did not occur. It relates to *Sect.* 22. wherein the Reaſon you give, why the Law may juſtly puniſh a ſober Man for what he did when Drunk, or a waking Man for what he did when walking in his Sleep, tho' it be true and full in the Caſe of the Night-walker; yet I conceive it not ſo full in the Caſe of the drunken Man. For Drunkenneſs is itſelf a Crime, and therefore no one ſhall alledge it an Excuſe of another Crime. And in the Law we find, *That Killing a Man by Chance-Medly is not Capital*; yet if I am doing an unlawful Act, as ſhooting at a Deer in a Park to ſteal it, and by Chance-medly I kill a Man unawares, this is Capital; becauſe the Act wherein I was engaged, and which was the Occaſion of this Miſchief, was in itſelf unlawful, and I cannot plead it in Excuſe. In the Caſe of the Night-walker, your Anſwer is true, full, and ſatisfactory; but that in the Drunkard's Caſe is ſomewhat ſhort. The Night-walking is a ſort of Diſtemper, not to be help'd or prevented by the Patient. But Drunkenneſs is a deliberate Act, which a Man may eaſily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the Law appoints in this Caſe, I think, were I on the Jury of one, who walking in his Sleep had kill'd another, I ſhould not violate a good Conſcience if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during thoſe Fits, *Non compos mentis*; and it were eaſie to diſtinguiſh, by Circumſtances, how far he counterfeited or not.

You will very much oblige me by a Line or two, to let me know how forward your Work is, and what other Things you have on the Anvil before you; amongſt which, I hope you will not forget your *Thoughts on Morality*. For I am obliged to proſecute this Requeſt to you, being the firſt, I preſume, that moved you in it.

There is a Gentleman in this Town, one Captain *Henry Monk*, a nigh Relation of the *Albemarles*, who tells me he has been known to you long ago; and on all Occaſions mentions you with the higheſt Reſpects. He deſired me the other Day to give you his moſt humble Service. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Honoured SIR, *Oates, 19. Jan.* 9$\frac{3}{4}$.

I Can take it for no other than a great Mark of your Kindneſs to me, that you ſpend ſo much of your Time in the Peruſal of my Thoughts, when you have ſo much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this farther Obligation, that you read my Book for my Inſtruction, ſtill taking notice to me of what you judge amiſs in it. This is a good Office, that ſo few in the World perform in the way that you do, that it deſerves my particular Acknowledgment. And I own my ſelf no leſs beholden to you when I differ from you, than when convinced by your better Judgment, you give me Opportunity to mend what before was amiſs; your Intention being that, to which I equally, in both Caſes, owe my Gratitude.

You

You doubt whether my Anſwer be full in the Caſe of the Drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we muſt conſider what I am there doing. As I remember (for I have not that Chapter here by me) I am there ſhewing that Puniſhment is annexed to Perſonality, and Perſonality to Conſciouſneſs: How then can a Drunkard be puniſhed for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, Human Judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the Fact is proved againſt him; but Want of Conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him. This you think not ſufficient, but would have me add the common Reaſon, that Drunkenneſs being a Crime, one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuſe for another. This Reaſon, how good ſoever, cannot, I think, be uſed by me, as not reaching my Caſe; for what has this to do with Conſciouſneſs? Nay, it is an Argument againſt me, for if a Man may be puniſhed for any Crime, which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allowed not to be conſcious, it overturns my *Hypotheſis*. Your Caſe of ſhooting a Man by Chance, when ſtealing a Deer, being made Capital, and the like, I allow to be juſt; but then, pray conſider, it concerns not my Argument; there being no Doubt of Conſciouſneſs in that Caſe, but only ſhews, that any criminal Action infects the Conſequences of it. But Drunkenneſs has Something peculiar in it when it deſtroys Conſciouſneſs; and ſo the Inſtances you bring juſtifie not the puniſhing of a drunken Fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the Reaſon that I give being ſufficient to do, it well enough removed the Objection, without entering into the true Foundation of the Thing, and ſhewing how far it was reaſonable for Human Juſtice to puniſh a Crime of a Drunkard, which he could be ſuppos'd not conſcious of, which would have uſeleſly engag'd me in a very large Diſcourſe, and an impertinent Digreſſion. For I ask you, if a Man by intemperate Drinking ſhould get a Fever, and in the Frenzy of his Diſeaſe (which laſted not perhaps above an Hour) committed ſome Crime, would you puniſh him for it? If you would not think this juſt, how can you think it juſt to puniſh him for any Fact committed in a drunken Frenzy, without a Fever? Both had the ſame criminal Cauſe, *Drunkenneſs*, and both committed without Conſciouſneſs. I ſhall not enlarge any farther into other particular Inſtances, that might raiſe Difficulties about the puniſhing or not puniſhing the Crime of an unconſcious drunken Man, which would not eaſily be reſolved, without enquiring into the Reaſon upon which Human Juſtice ought to proceed in ſuch Caſes, which was beyond my preſent Buſineſs to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the Reaſons why I have let that Paſſage go without any Addition made to it. I deſire you to lay by your Friendſhip to me, and only to make uſe of your Judgment in conſidering them. And if you are ſtill of Opinion that I need give the Reaſon too, that one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuſe of another, I beg the Favour of you to let me know it as ſoon as I can, that I may add what is neceſſary in this Place amongſt the *Errata*, before my Book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are, by this time, near 150 Pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your Opinion in this Point; yet I beſeech you believe I am as much obliged to your Kindneſs in it, as if you had ſhewn me what, upon your Reaſon, had appear'd to me the groſſeſt Miſtake; and I beg the Favour of you, whenever you caſt your Eye upon any of my Writings, to continue and communicate to me your Remarks.

You write to me, as if Ink had the ſame Spell upon me, that Mortar, as the *Italians* ſay, has upon others, that when I had once got my Fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant, that methinks I ſee Subjects enough, which Way ever I caſt my Eyes, that deſerve to be otherwiſe handled, than I imagine they have been; but they require abler Heads, and ſtronger Bodies than I have, to manage them. Beſides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold Folly, that has ſo far expoſed me in this nice and critical, as well as quick-ſighted and learned Age. I ſay not this to excuſe a lazy Idleneſs, to which I intend to give up the reſt of my few Days. I think every one, according to what way Providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick Good as far as he is able,

or

or elſe he has no Right to eat. Under this Obligation of doing Something, I cannot have a ſtronger to determine me what I ſhall do, than what your Deſires ſhall engage me in. I know not whether the Attempt will exceed my Strength. But there being ſeveral here who join with you to preſs me to it; (I received a Letter with the ſame Inſtance, from two of my Friends at *London*, the laſt Poſt) I think, the firſt Leiſure I can get to my ſelf, I ſhall apply my Thoughts to it; and however I may miſs my Aim, will juſtifie my ſelf in my Obedience to you, and ſome others of my ingenious Friends.

I am exceedingly obliged to Captain *Monk* for his kind Remembrance, and to you for ſending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have, as I ought, all the Eſteem for him, that you know ſo modeſt and good a Man deſerves. Pray, when you ſee him, preſent my humble Service to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and ſhould be much more ſo to ſee him here again in *England*. Pray, give my humble Service to your Brother. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, Febr.* 17. 169¾.

I am ſo very ſenſible of the great Caution, and deep Conſideration you uſe before you write any Thing, that I wonder at my own Hardineſs when I venture to object any Thing againſt your Poſitions. And when I read your Anſwers to any of ſuch my Objections, I much more admire at my own Weakneſs in making them. I have a new Inſtance of this in your laſt of *January* 18. which came not to this Place before Yeſterday. This has moſt abundantly ſatisfied me in the Doubt I lay under, concerning the Caſe of a drunken Man; which you have clear'd up to me in three Words moſt convincingly. So that I think you have no Reaſon in the leaſt to alter that Paragraph, unleſs you may think it convenient to expreſs that Matter a little plainer. Which I think indeed your laſt Letter to me does better than your twenty ſecond Section of that Chapter. That Section runs thus;

22. *But is not a Man, drunk and ſober, the ſame Perſon? Why elſe is he puniſhed for the Fact he commits when drunk, though he be never afterwards conſcious of it? Juſt as much the ſame Perſon, as a Man that walks, and does other Things in his Sleep, is the ſame Perſon, and is anſwerable for any Miſchief he ſhall do in it. Human Laws puniſh both with a Juſtice ſuitable to their way of Knowledge; becauſe in theſe Caſes they cannot diſtinguiſh certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And ſo the Ignorance in Drunkenneſs or Sleep is not admitted as a Plea*, &c.

Now I conceive, that which makes the Expreſſion herein not ſo very clear, is, *ſuitable to* their *way of Knowledge*. Some will be apt to miſtake the Word *their* to refer to the drunken or ſleeping Man, whereas it refers to the Laws, as if you had ſaid, "Suitable to that way of Knowledge or Information, "which the Laws have eſtabliſhed to proceed by.

This, in your Letter, is very manifeſt in a few Words. There you ſay, *Puniſhment is annexed to Perſonality, Perſonality to Conſciouſneſs. How then can a Drunkard be puniſhed for what he did, whereof he is not conſcious? To this I anſwer, Human Judicatures juſtly puniſh him, becauſe the Fact is proved againſt him, but Want of Conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for him.* This, Sir, is moſt full in the Caſe you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that Matter.

Only give me leave to propoſe one Queſtion more to you, though it be foreign to the Buſineſs you are upon in your Chapter of *Identity*. How comes it to paſs that Want of Conſciouſneſs cannot be proved for a Drunkard as well as for a Frentick? One, methinks, is as manifeſt as the other; and if Drunkenneſs may be counterfeit, ſo may a Frenzy. Wherefore to me it ſeems,

ſeems that the Law has made a Difference in theſe two Caſes, on this Account, *viz.* "That Drunkenneſs is commonly incurr'd voluntarily and pre-"meditately; whereas a Frenzy is commonly without our Conſent, or im-"poſſible to be prevented." But enough of this.

I ſhould not have troubled you with this, but that according to your uſual Candor and Goodneſs, you ſeem'd to deſire my farther Thoughts thereon, as ſpeedily as I could. I am,

Moſt worthy SIR,

Your moſt obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 26. May, 1694.*

THE Slowneſs of the Preſs has ſo long retarded my Anſwer to your laſt obliging Letter, that my Book, which is now printed and bound, and ready to be ſent to you, muſt be an Excuſe for my long Silence. By the Obedience I have pay'd to you in the Index and Summaries order'd according to your Deſires, you will ſee 'tis not Want of Deference to you, or Eſteem of you, that has cauſed this Neglect. And the Profit I have made by your Reflections on ſeveral Paſſages of my Book, will, I hope, encourage you to the Continuance of that Freedom, to a Man who can diſtinguiſh between the Cenſures of a judicious Friend, and the Wrangling of a peeviſh Critick. There is nothing more acceptable to me than the one, nor more, I think, to be ſlighted than the other. If therefore, as you ſeem to reſolve, you ſhall throw away any more of your Time in a Peruſal of my *Eſſay*; judge, I beſeech you, as ſeverely as you can of what you read. I know you will not forſake Truth to quarrel with me; and whilſt you follow her you will always oblige me, by ſhewing me my Miſtakes, or what ſeems to you to be ſo. You will find, in this ſecond Edition, that your Advice at any time has not been thrown away upon me. And you will ſee by the *Errata*, that though your laſt came a little too late; yet that could not hinder me from following what you ſo kindly, and with ſo much Reaſon ſuggeſted.

I agree with you, that Drunkenneſs being a voluntary Defect, Want of Conſciouſneſs ought not to be preſum'd in Favour of the Drunkard. But Frenzy, being involuntary, and a Misfortune, not a Fault, has a Right to that Excuſe, which certainly is a juſt one where it is truly a Frenzy. And all that lies upon human Juſtice is, to diſtinguiſh carefully between what is real, and what counterfeit in the Caſe.

My Book, which I deſire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. *Churchill* the Bookſeller's Hand, who has told me he will ſend it in a Bale of Books, the next Week, to Mr. *Dobſon*, a Bookſeller in *Caſtle-ſtreet*, *Dublin*; and I have order'd him to ſend with it a Copy of the Additions and Alterations which are printed by themſelves, and will help to make your former Book uſeful to any young Man, as you will ſee (is deſign'd) by the Concluſion of the Epiſtle to the Reader. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, June 2. 1694.*

I Am highly obliged to you for the Favour of your laſt, of *May 26.* which I received Yeſterday. It brought me the welcome News of the ſecond Edition of your *Eſſay* being publiſhed; and that you have favour'd me with a Copy, which I ſhall expect with ſome Impatience; and when I have peruſed it, I ſhall, with all Freedom, give you my Thoughts of it.

And now that you have clear'd your Hands of your ſecond Edition, I hope you may have Leiſure to turn your Thoughts to the Subject I have ſo often propoſed to you; but this, you will ſay, is a Cruelty in me, that no ſooner you are rid of one Trouble, but I ſet you on another. Truly, Sir, were I ſenſible it could be a Trouble to you, I ſhould hardly preſume ſo far on your Goodneſs; but I know thoſe Things are ſo eaſy and natural to your Mind, that they give you no Pain in the Production. And I know alſo, ſuch is your univerſal Love of Mankind, that you count nothing troubleſome that tends to their Good, in a Matter of ſo great Concernment as Morality.

I have formerly told you what Care I propoſed to take in the Education of my only Child. I muſt now beg your Pardon if I trouble you in a Matter, wherein I ſhall be at a Loſs without your Aſſiſtance. He he is now five Years old, of a moſt towardly and promiſing Diſpoſition; bred exactly, as far as his Age permits, to the Rules you preſcribe, I mean as to forming his Mind, and maſtering his Paſſions. He reads very well, and I think it Time now to put him forward to ſome other Learning. In order to this I ſhall want a Tutor for him, and indeed this Place can hardly afford me one to my Mind. If therefore you know any ingenious Man that may be proper for my Purpoſe, you would highly oblige me, by procuring him for me. I confeſs the Encouragement I can propoſe to ſuch a one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be ſome found that may not deſpiſe it. He ſhould eat at my own Table, and have his Lodging, Waſhing, Firing and Candlelight in my Houſe, in a good handſome Apartment; and beſides this, I ſhould allow him 20*l. per Ann.* His Work for this ſhould be only to inſtruct three or four Boys in Latin, and ſuch other Learning as you recommend in your Book; I ſay three or four Boys, becauſe perhaps I may have a Relation's Child or two; one who is my Siſter's Son I have always, and do intend to keep as a Companion to my own Son; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one or two, that will be no great Addition to his Trouble, conſidering, that perhaps their Parents may recompenſe that by their Gratuities. I mention to you, of the Languages, only *Latin*, but, if I could obtain it, I ſhould be glad he were alſo Maſter of the *French*. As to his other Qualifications, I ſhall only ſay in general, I could wiſh them ſuch as you would deſire in a Tutor, to inſtruct a young Gentleman as you propoſe in your Book. I would have him indeed a good Man, and a good Scholar; and I propoſe very much Satisfaction to my ſelf in the Converſation of ſuch a one. And becauſe a Man may be cautious of leaving his native Soil, and coming into a ſtrange Country, without ſome Certainty of being acceptable to thoſe that ſend for him, and of ſome Continuance and Settlement, I can ſay that I deſign him to ſtay with my Son to his State of Manhood; whether he go into the Univerſity, or travel, or whatever other State of Life he may take to. And if perhaps on Trial for ſome time, he or I may not like each other, I do promiſe to bear his Charges both to and from me, ſo that he ſhall be no Loſer by his Journey.

I beg your Anſwer to this at your Leiſure; and if any ſuch preſent, be pleaſed to let me know of him what Particulars you can, as his Parentage, Education, Qualifications, Diſpoſition, *&c.* with what other Particulars you pleaſe to mention; and accordingly I ſhall write to you farther about it.

In the mean time, I beſeech you to pardon this Trouble given you by,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 28 June, 1694.*

SInce the Receipt of your's of the ſecond Inſtant, I have made what Enquiry I can for a Tutor for your Son; the moſt likely, and the beſt recommended that I have met with, you will have an Account of from himſelf in the Incloſed, to which I need add little but theſe two Things; *1ſt*, That Mr. *Fletcher*, who is a good Judge, and a Perſon whoſe Word I can rely on, gave me a very good Character of him, both as to his Manners and Abilities, and ſaid he would be anſwerable for him: The other is, That however it comes to paſs, the *Scotch* have now here a far greater Reputation for this ſort of Employment, than our own Countrey-men. I am ſorry it is ſo, but I have of late found it in many Inſtances.

I hope, by this Time, the ſecond Edition of my Book, which I ordered for you, and a printed Copy of the Additions are come to your Hands. I wiſh it were more anſwerable to the Value you place on it, and better worth your Acceptation. But, as I order the Matter, methinks I make it a hard Bargain to you, to pay ſo much Time and Pains as muſt go to the Reading it over, though it were more ſlightly than we ſeem agreed, when you promiſe, and I expect your Obſervations on it. There appears to me ſo little Material in the Objections that I have ſeen in Print againſt me, that I have paſſed them all by but one Gentleman's, whoſe Book not coming to my Hand till thoſe Parts of mine were printed that he queſtions, I was fain to put my Anſwer in the latter End of the Epiſtle.

I wiſh the Endeavours I have uſed to procure you a Tutor for your Son, may be as ſucceſsful as I deſire. 'Tis a Buſineſs of great Concernment to both you and your Son; but Governours, that have right Thoughts concerning Education, are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your Son, that a good Part of it is to be under your Eye. I ſhall be very glad, if in this or any other Occaſion, I may be able to do you any Service; for with great Sincerity and Reſpect I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My moſt honoured Friend, *Dublin, July 28. 1694.*

FOR ſo you have publickly allow'd me to call * you; and 'tis a Title wherein I boaſt more than in Maces or Parliament-Robes. By this you may find I have received the ſecond Edition of your *Eſſay*, which I prize as an ineſtimable Treaſure of Knowledge. 'Tis but a Week ſince it came to me; and I have yet only look'd over thoſe Parts which are newly added, particularly that of *Liberty*, the Alterations wherein, I take to be moſt judiciouſly made; and now, I think that whole Chapter ſtands ſo well put together, and the Argumentation is ſo legitimate, that nothing can ſhake it.

I was

See Mr. *Locke's Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, 2d Edit. p. 68.

I was mightily pleaſed to find therein a rational Account of what I have often wonder'd at, *viz. Why Men ſhould content themſelves to ſtay in this Life for ever, though at the ſame time they will grant, that in the next Life they expect to be infinitely happy?* Of this you give ſo clear an Account in the 44*th Section* of your xxi. *Chapter, Book* II. that my Wonder no longer remains. That candid Receſſion from your former *Hypotheſis*, which you ſhew in this Chapter, where Truth requir'd it, raiſes in me a greater Opinion (if poſſible) of your Worth than ever. This is rarely to be found amongſt Men, and they ſeem to have ſomething Angelical, that are ſo far raiſed above the common Pitch.

In time I ſhall give you my farther Thoughts of the other Parts of your Book, where any Thing occurs to me. But, at preſent, I can only pour out my Thanks to you for the favourable Character, under which you have tranſmitted me to Poſterity, *pag.* 67. My only Concern is, that I can pretend to none of it, but that of your Friend; and this I ſet up for in the higheſt Degree. I ſhould think my ſelf happy had I but half the Title to the reſt.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you took on you in my laſt Requeſt, about a Tutor for my Son. I received your Letter with Mr. *Gibbs*'s incloſed; to which I returned an Anſwer, addreſs'd to himſelf. The Import whereof was, " That I had ſome Offers made to me in this " Place, relating to that Matter, to which I thought I ſhould hearken, at " leaſt, ſo far as to make ſome Tryal. That I was loth to divert him from " his good Intentions to the Miniſtry, and therefore I could not encourage " him to undertake ſo long a Journey, on ſuch Uncertainties on both " Sides, *&c.* I am,

My moſt highly eſteem'd Friend,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 3 Sept. 1694.*

I Have ſo much the Advantage in the Bargain, if Friendſhip may be call'd one, that whatſoever Satisfaction you find in your ſelf on that Account, you muſt allow in me with a large Over-plus. The only Riches I have valued, or labour'd to acquire, has been the Friendſhip of ingenious and worthy Men, and therefore you cannot blame me if I ſo forwardly laid hold of the firſt Occaſion that open'd me a Way to your's. That I have ſo well ſucceeded in it, I count one of my greateſt Happineſſes, and a ſufficient Reward for writing my Book, had I no other Benefit by it. The Opinion you have of it, gives me farther Hopes, for it is no ſmall Reward to one who loves Truth, to be perſuaded that he has made ſome Diſcoveries of it, and any ways help'd to propagate it to others. I depend ſo much upon your Judgment and Candor, that I think my ſelf ſecure in you from peeviſh Criticiſm or Flattery; only give me leave to ſuſpect, that Kindneſs and Friendſhip do ſometimes carry your Expreſſions a little too far on the favourable Side. This, however, makes me not apprehend you will ſilently paſs by any Thing you are not throughly ſatisfied of in it. The Uſe I have made of the Advertiſements I have received from you of this Kind, will ſatisfie you that I deſire this Office of Friendſhip from you, not out of Complement, but for the Uſe of Truth, and that your Animadverſions will not be loſt upon me. Any Faults you ſhall meet with in Reaſoning, in Perſpicuity, in Expreſſion, or of the Preſs, I deſire you to take Notice of, and ſend me Word of. Eſpecially if you have any where any Doubt; for I am perſuaded, that, upon Debate, you and I cannot be of two Opinions; nor, I think, any two Men uſed to think with Freedom, who really prefer Truth to Opiniatrety, and a little fooliſh Vain-glory of not having made a Miſtake.

I ſhall not need to juſtifie what I have ſaid of you in my Book: The learned World will be Vouchers for me; and that in an Age not very free from Envy and Cenſure. But you are very kind to me, ſince for my Sake you allow your ſelf to own that Part which I am more particularly concern'd in, and permit me to call you *my Friend*, whilſt your Modeſty checks at the other Part of your Character. But aſſure your ſelf, I am as well perſuaded of the Truth of it, as of any Thing elſe in my Book, it had not elſe been put down in it. It only wants a great deal more I had to ſay, had that been a Place to draw your Picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar Obligation above others that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others; yet, I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a Tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good Luck in it, that otherwiſe you had been diſappointed, if you had depended on Mr. *Gibbs*; as a Letter I writ to you from *London* about it, I hope, acquainted you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 23. Nov. 1694.*

YOU ſpeak of my Book in ſuch Terms, that had I not convincing Arguments that you are not a Man of Complements, I ſhould a little ſuſpect your Civility border'd very much on them in this Caſe. But there are ſo few of them to be found, that you think you cannot ſpeak too highly of the Endeavours of one who purſues Truth unbyaſſedly, and chooſes not his Opinions firſt, and then ſeeks Arguments to ſupport them. Upon that Account I admit of whatever you pleaſe to ſay; but withal give me leave to aſſure you, that in the Performance itſelf, I ſee nothing but what any one might have done, who would have ſat down to it with the ſame Love of Truth and Indifferency, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleaſed that you think ſo well of it: For whether your Friendſhip to me bribes your Judgment, or whether your good Opinion of my *Eſſay* adds to your kind Thoughts of the Author; I find my Account both Ways, and ſhould think my ſelf well rewarded for my Pains in this ſingle Purchaſe. But, Sir, will you not pardon ſo lawful a Deſire, in one that loves you, if I ask, Shall I never have the Happineſs to ſee you in *England?*

Mr. *Churchill*, my Bookſeller, ſends me Word by the laſt Poſt, that he has ſent you the ſix Copies that you ſent for, and Advice of it. I ſent to him a Project of a new Reduction of the Year by Dr. *Wood*, to be ſent with the Copy of my *Eſſay* to you. The Author gave me it himſelf, and I thought it might poſſibly pleaſe you, if you had not ſeen it before. This, with the ſupernumerary Cuts I order'd him to ſend you, will, with the Books, I hope, come ſafe to your Hands. The mentioning of thoſe Cuts puts me in Mind again of your Civility, which I ſee ſtudies all manner of ways of expreſſing it ſelf.

You ſee, by this Liberty I take with you, that I am paſt Terms of Complement with you, that is, I uſe you as one I look upon to be my Friend, with a Freedom of good Offices, either to receive or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as ſuch, I beſeech you, and believe that I am, with the utmoſt Sincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Friend, and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Decemb.* 18. 1694.

YOUR'S of *November* 23. found me labouring under a ſharp Fever, which has held me this Month paſt, but I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recovered. I am obliged to you for the earneſt Deſire you expreſs of ſeeing me in *England*. But as to that Particular, the Truth is thus; Laſt Summer I deſigned to make a Journey, on Purpoſe to pay my Reſpects to you, and for no other Errand; but my Reſolutions were not ſo fix'd as to give you any Intimations thereof. For indeed, the State of my Health was ſo very uncertain, that I was very miſtruſtful whether I ſhould be able to undertake the Journey. However, I thought to make an Eſſay of my Strength in our own Country; ſo that ſome Buſineſs calling me about threeſcore Miles from this City, the Fatigue was ſo troubleſome to me, that I was quite diſcouraged from thinking of *England* that Seaſon. I have now had another Pull-back, by my preſent Sickneſs, ſo that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other Side of the Water. This only I will aſſure you, that the firſt entire Health God is pleaſed to beſtow on me, ſhall be employ'd in a Journey towards you; there being nothing, I ſo earneſtly covet, as the Perſonal Acquaintance of one, for whom I have ſo great a Reſpect and Veneration, and to whom I am ſo highly obliged for many Favours.

There is a very worthy Perſon, Dr. *St. George Aſhe*, Provoſt of the College here, lately gone from hence to *London*; he is a great Admirer, and zealous Promoter of your Writings in his College. He deſired from me a Letter of Recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the Country will hinder his deſign'd Happineſs in your Converſation. He ſtays in *London* theſe three or four Months to come, in which time, if your Buſineſs call you to the City, you will hear of him either at your Lodging at Mr. *Pawlin*'s, (where perhaps he will leave the Place of his Reſidence) or at Mr. *Tucker*'s, in the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, where a Penny-Poſt Letter will find him out.

I thank you for the Care you have taken to ſend me the Books and Sculptures, which I hope to receive in good time, having Advice thereof already from Mr. *Churchill*. I am,

Worthy SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, January* 15. 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

I HAVE received the ſix Copies of your Book, and thank you for the Care you have taken about them. I acknowledge my ſelf likewiſe obliged to you for your Preſent of Dr. *Wood*'s Almanack, tho' it was not new to me, having received the Favour of one from the Author himſelf, when Accomptant General here in *Ireland*, many Years ago. 'Tis a very pretty Project, but, I believe, 'twill hardly ever be practiſed; becauſe Men think what they have already, ſufficiently accurate for the common Uſes of Life, and are hardly brought from what they have uſed, ſo long as they have done the common *Julian* Account, unleſs prevailed upon by ſome ſuch potent Authority as the *Church*, which abrogated the *Julian*, and eſtabliſhed the *Gregorian* Kalendar.

The Sculptures alſo I received, and thank you for them. I ſhall do them all the Honour that outward Ornament can give them. And I heartily wiſh I had more effectual Ways of ſhewing my Reſpects, which I think I can never do ſufficiently.

I have

I have ever thought that an elegant Tranſlation of your *Eſſay* into Latin, would be highly acceptable to Foreigners, and of great Uſe in thoſe Countrys, whoſe Minds lie yet captivated in *Verboſe*, diſputative Philoſophy, and falſe Reaſoning; I therefore preſume to mention it to you, that tho' your own Leiſure may not permit you to perform it your ſelf, you may think of putting ſome one on it, that under your Eye may do it correctly. And were I not perſuaded that your own Eye and Correction were abſolutely requiſite herein, I would venture to make a bold Propoſal to have it done by ſome one in this Place, whom I ſhould reward for his Labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not with a great deal of Eaſe employ one your ſelf in this Matter, but meerly that herein I may have an Opportunity of doing ſo much Good in the World. You ſee, Sir, what a Veneration I have for your Writings, and therefore you will pardon me, if I deſire from you *ſub amicitiæ teſſerâ*, the Names of what Books you have publiſh'd. I remember, once I propoſed to you the like Requeſt, and you were ſilent to it. If it were, that you deſignedly conceal them, I acquieſce; but perhaps it proceeded from your curſory Paſſing over that Part of my Letter, which makes me venture again on the ſame Requeſt. And now that your Thoughts are at liberty from that *Eſſay*, you will give me leave, with all Submiſſion, to mind you of what you once told me you would think of, *viz.* of demonſtrating *Morals*. I am ſure, as no Hand could perform it better; ſo no Age ever requir'd it more than our's.

I do heartily wiſh you an happy ſucceeding Year; and may it end with us happier than the laſt paſt. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 8 Mar. 169⅘.*

YOU will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long Winter, or elſe with a Negligence colder than that, having two very obliging Letters of your's by me, the one ever ſince *January*, the other *February* laſt, I make you no Anſwer to either, till thus far in *March*. The Truth is, expecting ever ſince I received your laſt Letter an Account from *London*, concerning Something I had a mind to put into my Letter, and after writing four times about it, being yet delayed, I can forbear no longer to return you my Thanks, and to beg your Pardon that I have been ſo ſlow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the Effect of a Friendſhip got paſt Formalities, and that has Confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without Neglect of you, or Prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoyced with the News you ſent me in the firſt of your Letters, of your ſafe Recovery of a Fever. Had I known it before the Danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no ſmall Fright and Pain to me. For I muſt aſſure you, that amongſt all the Friends your Kindneſs or Worth has procured you, there is not any one who values you more than I do, or does more intereſt himſelf in all your Concerns. This makes me, that tho' I have a long time extremely deſired to ſee you, and propoſe to my ſelf an infinite Satisfaction in a free Converſation with you; yet what you tell me, that you were coming laſt Summer into *England*, to make me a Viſit, makes me dread the Satisfaction of my own Wiſhes. And methinks I ought not to purchaſe one of the greateſt Happineſſes I can propoſe to my ſelf at ſo dear and dangerous a Rate. I have received many and great Obligations from you before, but they were ſuch, as though I had no Title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the Length of the Way, and the Sea between us, the Danger of the one, and the Fatigue of both, and your

no

no very robuſt Conſtitution, as I imagine, I cannot conſent you ſhould venture ſo much for my Sake. If any Harm ſhould happen to you in the Journey, I could never forgive it my ſelf, to be the Occaſion of ſo great a Loſs to the World and my ſelf. And if you ſhould come ſafe, the Greatneſs of the Hazard, and an Obligation out of all Proportion to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with Shame, and hinder my Enjoyment. And yet, if I may confeſs my ſecret Thoughts, there is not any Thing which I would not give, that ſome other unavoidable Occaſion would draw you into *England*. A rational free-minded Man, tied to nothing but Truth, is ſo rare a Thing, that I almoſt worſhip ſuch a Friend; but when Friendſhip is joyn'd to it, and theſe are brought into a free Converſation, where they meet, and can be together; What is there can have equal Charms? I cannot but exceedingly wiſh for that happy Day, when I may ſee a Man I have ſo often longed to have in my Embraces. But yet, though it would endear the Gift to receive it from his Kindneſs, I cannot but wiſh rather that Fortune alone would throw him into my Arms.

This cold Winter has kept me ſo cloſe a Priſoner within Doors, that 'till Yeſterday, I have been Abroad but once theſe three Months, and that only a Mile in a Coach. And the Inability I am in to breathe *London*-Air in cold Weather, has hinder'd me yet from the Happineſs of waiting on Dr. *Aſhe*; but I hope to get to *London* before he leaves it, that I may, to a Perſon whom you have an Eſteem for, pay ſome Part of the Reſpects I owe you. I had laſt Week the Honour of a Viſit from an ingenious Gentleman, a Member of your College at *Dublin*, lately returned from *Turkey*. He told me he was a Kinſman of your's; and though his other good Qualities might have made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be ſure, the leſs welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He ſeems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making Obſervations whilſt he has been Abroad, and more inquiſitive than moſt of our People that go into thoſe Parts. And, by the Diſcourſe I had with him the little Time we were together, I promiſe my ſelf we ſhall have a more exact Account of thoſe Parts, in what I hope he intends to publiſh, than hitherto is extant. Dr. *Huntington*, who was formerly at *Aleppo*, and is my old Acquaintance, and now my Neighbour in this Country, brought Mr. *Smith* hither with him from his Houſe. But yet I muſt acknowledge the Favour to you, and deſire you to thank him for it, when he returns to *Dublin*. For the Friendſhip he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great Inducement that made him give himſelf the Trouble of coming ſix or ſeven Miles in a dirty Country.

You do ſo attack me on every Side with your Kindneſs to my Book, to me, to my Shadow, that I cannot but be aſhamed I am not in a Capacity to make you any other Acknowledgment, but in a very full and deep Senſe of it. I return you my Thanks for the Corrections you have ſent me, which I will take all the Care of I can in the next Edition, which, my Bookſeller tells me, he thinks, will be this Summer. And if any other fall under your Obſervation, I ſhall deſire the Continuance of your Favour in communicating them.

I muſt own to you, that I have been ſolicited from beyond Sea to put my *Eſſay* into *Latin*, but you gueſs right, I have not the Leiſure to do it. It was once tranſlated by a young Man in *Holland* into *Latin*, but he was ſo little Maſter of the *Engliſh* or *Latin* Tongue, that when it was ſhew'd me, which he did not till he had quite done it, I ſatisfied him that it would be very little for his Credit to publiſh it, and ſo that was laid by. Since that, my Bookſeller was, and had been for ſome time, ſeeking for a Tranſlator, whom he would have treated with to have undertaken it, and have ſatisfied for his Pains. But a little before the Coming of your Letter, he writ me Word he had been diſappointed, where he expected to have found one who would have done it, and was now at a Loſs. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindeſt, but the moſt ſeaſonable Propoſal you could have made. You underſtand my Thoughts as well as I do my ſelf, and can be a fit Judge, whether the Tranſlator has expreſſed them well in *Latin* or no, and can direct

rect him, where to omit or contract any Thing, where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you ſay, ſome Good to the World; yet I cannot but take it as a very particular Obligation to my ſelf, and ſhall not be a little ſatisfied to have my Book go abroad into the World with Strokes of your judicious Hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, tranſpoſing any Thing in it, I permit it wholly to your Judgment. And if there be any Thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with Advantage to the Deſign of the whole Work, if you will let me know, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply that Defect the beſt I can. The Chapter of *Identity* and *Diverſity*, which owes its Birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an Encouragement to you to lay any the like Commands upon me. I have had ſome Thoughts my ſelf, that it would not be poſſibly amiſs to add, in *lib.* iv. *cap.* 18. Something about *Enthuſiaſm*, or to make a Chapter of it by it ſelf. If you are of the ſame Mind, and that it will not be foreign to the Buſineſs of my *Eſſay*, I promiſe you, before the Tranſlator you ſhall employ ſhall be got ſo far, I will ſend you my Thoughts on that Subject, ſo that it may be put into the *Latin* Edition. I have alſo examined *P. Malebranche's* Opinion concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, and to my own Satisfaction laid open the Vanity, Inconſiſtency, and Unintelligibleneſs of that Way of explaining Human Underſtanding. I have gone almoſt, but not quite through it, and know not whether I now ever ſhall finiſh it, being fully ſatisfied my ſelf about it. You cannot think how often I regret the Diſtance that is between us; I envy *Dublin* for what I every Day want in *London*. Were you in my Neighbourhood, you would every Day be troubled with the Propoſal of ſome of my Thoughts to you. I find mine generally ſo much out of the Way of the Books I meet with, or Men led by Books, that, were I not conſcious to my ſelf that I impartially ſeek Truth, I ſhould be diſcouraged from letting my Thoughts looſe, which commonly lead me out of the beaten Track. However, I want ſome Body near me, to whom I could freely communicate them, and without Reſerve lay them open. I ſhould find Security and Eaſe in ſuch a Friend as you, were you within Diſtance. For your Judgment would confirm and ſet me at Reſt, where it approved, and your Candor would excuſe what your Judgment corrected, and ſet me right in. As to your Requeſt you now repeat to me, I deſire you to believe that there is nothing in your Letters which I paſs over ſlightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly ſaid nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the beſt way of anſwering a Friend, whom I was reſolved to deny nothing that was in my Power. There are ſome particular Obligations that tie me up in the Point, and which have drawn on me ſome Diſpleaſure for a Time, from ſome of my Friends who made me a ſomewhat like Demand. But I expect to find you more reaſonable, and give you this Aſſurance, that you ſhall be the firſt that ſhall be ſatisfied in that Point. I am not forgetful of what you ſo kindly put me upon. I think no Body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the Days he ſpends idly. The ſmall Remainder of a crazy Life, I ſhall, as much as my Health will permit, apply to the Search of Truth, and ſhall not neglect to propoſe to my ſelf thoſe that may be moſt uſeful. My Paper is more than done, and, I ſuppoſe, you tired, and yet I can ſcarce give off. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, March 26. 1695.*

THE Concern you expreſs for my Welfare is extremely obliging, and I never prized my Health ſo much, as ſince thereby I am enabled to enjoy your Correſpondence and Friendſhip. But whatever becomes of me and my Carcaſs, I can heartily wiſh you had one more eaſy, healthful and ſtrong. For I know Mankind in general is intereſted in you; whereas I am ſure to fall unlamented to all, ſave a few particular Friends.

I underſtand my Kinſman has enjoy'd that which I have earneſtly long'd for. He tells me by Letter, the great Obligations he bears you, for the Civilities you ſhew'd him, and deſires me to acknowledge them.

I am very glad to find your *Eſſay* like to ſuffer a third Impreſſion; 'tis a good Sign, and ſhews the World not ſo averſe to Truth, when fairly laid open. To have Truth prevail, the only Way is calmly and meekly to publiſh it, and let it ſhift for it ſelf; *Magna res eſt Veritas & prævalebit*: 'Twill make its own Party good without Fire and Faggot, which never promoted, but, I am ſure, has often ſtifled it.

This encourages me, with more Vigour, to promote the Tranſlation of your Work, and to own my ſelf infinitely obliged to you, that you are pleaſed ſo readily to comply with the Offer I made you in my laſt. Yeſterday I ſent for an ingenious young Man of the College here, to diſcourſe with him about it. The Reſult was, he would make an Eſſay, and ſhew it me, and accordingly would proceed or deſiſt. But then, he tells me that he cannot ſet himſelf fully to it till towards the latter End of *May*; for he deſigns to ſtand Candidate for a Fellowſhip in the College, which, by the Removal of the Provoſt, is to be diſpoſed of about next *Trinity-Sunday*; and, in the mean time, he is to prepare himſelf for the Examination they undergo on that Occaſion. I ſhall ſee his firſt Attempt the next Week, and ſhall give you an Account. As to any Alterations to be made by me, I ſhould be very cautious of medling therein; I know the whole Work has already undergone ſo exact a Judgment, that there is no Room left for Amendments. However, if any ſuch offer, after your Approbation of them, I ſhould venture to inſert them.

I muſt freely confeſs, that if my Notion of *Enthuſiaſm* agrees with your's, there is no Neceſſity of adding any Thing concerning it, more than by the bye, and in a ſingle Section in *chap.* 18. *lib.* 4. I conceive it to be no other than a religious Sort of Madneſs, and compriſes not in it any Mode of Thinking, or Operation of the Mind, different from what you have treated of in your *Eſſay*. 'Tis true indeed, the Abſurdities Men embrace on account of Religion are moſt aſtoniſhing; and if in a Chapter of *Enthuſiaſm* you endeavour to give an Account of them, it would be very acceptable. So that (on ſecond Thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propoſe therein, being very deſirous of having your Sentiments on any Subject.

Pere Malebranche's Chapter of *Seeing all Things in God*, was ever to me abſolutely unintelligible; and unleſs you think a polemick Diſcourſe in your *Eſſay* (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a Piece with the reſt, I am ſure it highly deſerves to be expoſed, and is very agreeable to the Buſineſs of your Work. I would therefore humbly propoſe it to you to conſider of doing Something therein. *Pere Malebranche* has many curious Notions, and ſome as erroneous and abſurd. 'Tis a good while ſince I read him, but I am now turning him over a ſecond time; he is moſtly Platonick, and in ſome Things, almoſt Enthuſiaſtical. I am,

Honoured dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, April 26. 1695.*

YOU look with the Eyes, and ſpeak the Language of Friendſhip, when you make my Life of much more Concern to the World than your own. I take it, as it is, for an Effect of your Kindneſs, and ſo ſhall not accuſe you of Complement; the Miſtakes and Over-valuings of good Will being always ſincere, even when they exceed what common Truth allows. This on my Side, I muſt beg you to believe, that my Life would be much more pleaſant and uſeful to me, if you were within my Reach, that I might ſometimes enjoy your Converſation, and, upon twenty Occaſions, lay my Thoughts before you, and have the Advantage of your Judgment. I cannot complain that I have not my Share of Friends of all Ranks, and ſuch, whoſe Intereſt, Aſſiſtance, Affection, and Opinions too, in fit Caſes, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one Place vacant, that I know no Body that would ſo well fill as your ſelf, I want one near me to talk freely with, *De quolibet Ente*; to propoſe to, the Extravagancies that riſe in my Mind; one with whom I would debate ſeveral Doubts and Queſtions, to ſee what was in them. Meditating by one's ſelf is like digging in the Mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden Earth, which never came near the Light before; but whether it contain any Metal in it, is never ſo well tried as in Converſation with a knowing judicious Friend, who carries about him the true Touch-ſtone, which is Love of Truth in a clear-thinking Head. Men of Parts and Judgment the World uſually gets hold of, and by a great Miſtake (that their Abilities of Mind are loſt, if not employ'd in the Purſuit of Wealth or Power) engages them in the Ways of Fortune and Intereſt, which uſually leave but little Freedom or Leiſure of Thought for pure diſintereſted Truth. And ſuch who give themſelves up frankly, and in earneſt, to the full Latitude of real Knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not, therefore, that I wiſh ſo much for you in my Neighbourhood; I ſhould be too happy in a Friend of your Make, were you within my Reach. But yet, I cannot but wiſh that ſome Buſineſs would once bring you within Diſtance, and 'tis a Pain to me to think of leaving the World, without the Happineſs of ſeeing you.

I do not wonder that a Kinſman of your's ſhould magnifie Civilities that ſcarce deſerve that Name; I know not wherein they conſiſted, but in being glad to ſee One that was any way related to you, and was himſelf a very ingenious Man; either of thoſe was a Title to more than I did, or could ſhew him. I am ſorry I have not yet had an Opportunity to wait on him in *London*, and I fear he ſhould be gone before I am able to get thither. This long Winter, and cold Spring, has hung very heavy upon my Lungs, and they are not yet in a Caſe to be ventur'd in *London*-Air, which muſt be my Excuſe for not waiting upon him and Dr. *Aſhe* yet.

The third Edition of my *Eſſay* is already, or will be ſpeedily in the Preſs. But what perhaps will ſeem ſtranger, and poſſibly pleaſe you better, an Abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, for the Uſe of young Scholars, in the Place of an ordinary Syſtem of Logick. From the Acquaintance I had of the Temper of that Place, I did not expect to have it get much Footing there. But ſo it is, I ſome time ſince received a very civil Letter from one, wholly a Stranger to me there, concerning ſuch a Deſign, and, by another from him ſince, I conclude it near done. He ſeems to be an ingenious Man, and he writes ſenſibly about it, but I can ſay nothing of it till I ſee it, and he, of his own Accord, has offer'd that it ſhall wholly be ſubmitted to my Opinion, and Diſpoſal of it. And thus, Sir, poſſibly that which you once propoſed may be attained to, and I was pleaſed with the Gentleman's Deſign for your Sake.

You

You are a ſtrange Man, you oblige me very much by the Care you take to have it well tranſlated, and you thank me for complying with your Offer. In my laſt, as I remember, I told you the Reaſon why it was ſo long before I writ, was an Expectation of an Anſwer from *London*, concerning Something I had to communicate to you: It was in ſhort this, I was willing to know what my Bookſeller would give for a good *Latin* Copy; he told me at laſt, twenty Pounds. His Delay was, becauſe he would firſt have known what the Tranſlator demanded. But I forced him to make his Propoſal, and ſo I ſend it you, to make what Uſe of it you pleaſe. He ſince writ me Word, that a Friend of his at *Oxford* would, in ſome Time, be at Leiſure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuſe himſelf to him, for that it was in Hands I approv'd of, and ſome Part of it now actually done. For I hope the *Eſſay* (he was to ſhew you the next Week after you writ to me laſt) pleaſed you. Think it not a Complement, that I deſire you to make what Alterations you think fit. One Thing particularly you will oblige me and the World in, and that is, in paring off ſome of the ſuperfluous Repetitions, which I left in for the Sake of illiterate Men, and the ſofter Sex, not uſed to abſtract Notions and Reaſonings. But much of this Reaſoning will be out of Doors in a *Latin* Tranſlation. I refer all to your Judgment, and ſo am ſecure it will be done as is beſt.

What I ſhall add concerning *Enthuſiaſm*, I gueſs, will very much agree with your Thoughts, ſince your's jump ſo right with mine about the Place where it is to come in, I having deſign'd it for *chap.* 18. *lib.* iv. as a falſe Principle of Reaſoning often made uſe of. But, to give an hiſtorical Account of the various Ravings Men have embraced for Religion, would, I fear, be beſides my Purpoſe, and be enough to make an huge Volume.

My Opinion of *P. Malebranche* agrees perfectly with your's. What I have writ concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, would make a little Treatiſe of it ſelf. But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I ſhould by Somebody or other be tempted to print it. For I love not Controverſies, and have a perſonal Kindneſs for the Author. When I have the Happineſs to ſee you, we will conſider it together, and you ſhall diſpoſe of it.

I think I ſhall make ſome other Additions to be put into your *Latin* Tranſlation, and particularly concerning the *Connexion of Ideas*, which has not, that I know, been hitherto conſider'd, and has, I gueſs, a greater Influence upon our Minds, than is uſually taken notice of. Thus, you ſee, I make you the Confident of my Reveries; you would be troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, May* 7. 1695.

I Am extremely pleaſed to underſtand by your's of *April* 26. that we are to expect an Abridgment of your Work from a judicious Hand in *Oxford*; 'tis what I always thought might be of good Uſe in the Univerſities, where we yet want another ſort of Language, than what has hitherto prevail'd there, to the great Hindrance of Science.

As to the Tranſlation that is going on here, 'tis undertaken by one Mr. *William Mullart*, a *ſenior* Batchelor in the College. He has the Repute of an ingenious and learned young Man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here incloſe a Specimen of his Performance, concerning which I deſire you would give me your Thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the Work, and your Language, and has enter'd farther into it, 'tis probable his Tranſlation

may be better, more eaſie and natural. He propoſes to finiſh it in half a Year, or nine Months at fartheſt; for he cannot wholly diſengage himſelf from ſome other Studies. I perceive your Bookſeller is reſolved to ſhare with me in the Good I thought to do the World, by beſtowing on it this Tranſlation. And ſince he is ſo generous as to have it ſo, I will by no means be the Tranſlator's Hindrance in partaking of the Bookſeller's Profer; and, at the ſame time, to engage his Diligence the more, I will increaſe the Reward conſiderably, that I may not wholly miſs of the good Deſign I firſt propoſed to my ſelf. If you encourage the Tranſlator to go forward, you may be pleaſed to tranſmit to me the Additions you deſign; as that of *Enthuſiaſm*, *Connexion of Ideas*, and what elſe you have.

And now, with redoubled Force, I ſend back to you the Complaints you make for our Diſtance. I cannot but hope, that Providence has yet in ſtore for me ſo much Happineſs on this ſide the Grave, and if it have not, I ſhall think I have miſſed the greateſt temporal Good my Mind was ever ſet on. But I ſtill ſay, I live in Hopes, the Accompliſhment whereof would be the greateſt Satisfaction to

Your moſt cordially affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to Vanity, I could tell you of the extraordinary Effects your Method of *Education* has had on my little Boy.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 2. July 1695.*

DID I not aſſure my ſelf that our Friendſhip were grown beyond Suſpicion of Complement, I ſhould think I ſhould have need to make Excuſes to you for my long Silence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither Forgetfulneſs nor Negligence. The Specimen of the Tranſlation you ſent me, gave me ſome Reaſon to apprehend, that Mr. *Mullart*'s Stile would lay too great a Burthen on your Kindneſs, by often needing the Correction of your Hand, to make it expreſs my Senſe with that Clearneſs and Eaſineſs, which I know you deſire. My Bookſeller therefore having before told me of one who had offer'd to undertake the Tranſlation of my *Eſſay*, I have been ever ſince endeavouring to get from him a Specimen, that I might ſend it you, and have your Opinion, which is like to do beſt; that ſo if this Man had a Talent that way, you might be eaſed of the Trouble, which your Friendſhip to me, and Zeal to the Work, I foreſee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the laſt Poſt received this Account from Mr. *Churchill*, that the Gentleman propoſed is in the Country, and muſt have a Book ſent him down, on purpoſe, before we can expect to ſee any Thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third Hand, who is not every Day to be met with; I have reſolved to loſe no more Time on that Thought, but accepting of your kind Offer, put that whole Matter into your Hands, to be ordered as you ſhall think beſt, and ſhall ſpend no more Time in other Enquiries, ſince the Gentleman you propoſe will (as I remember you told me) be about this Time at Leiſure to ſet himſelf in Earneſt to it. There is one Thing I would offer, which may be of Advantage to him and the Work too, and that is, that he would conſtantly and ſedulouſly read *Tully*, eſpecially his Philoſophical Works, which will inſenſibly work him into a good *Latin* Stile. I have heard it reported of Biſhop *Sanderſon*, that being asked how he came to write *Latin* ſo well, as appears in the Treatiſes he publiſhed in that Tongue? He anſwer'd, *By ordering his Studies ſo, that he read over all* Tully's *Works every Year*. I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. *Mullart*.

The

The Abridgment of my *Eſſay* is quite finiſh'd. It is done by a very ingenious Man of *Oxford*, a Maſter of Arts, very conſiderable for his Learning and Virtue, who has a great many Pupils. It is done with the ſame Deſign you had in View, when you mention'd it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made uſe of my Words; he very civilly ſent it me when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I gueſs you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. *Churchill*'s Hands, and will be printed as ſoon as the third Edition of my *Eſſay*, which is now in the Preſs, is printed off.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have found any good Effects of my Method on your Son. I ſhould be glad to know the Particulars; for though I have ſeen the Succeſs of it in a Child of the Lady, in whoſe Houſe I am, (whoſe Mother has taught him *Latin* without knowing it her ſelf when ſhe began) yet I would be glad to have other Inſtances; becauſe ſome Men, who cannot endure any Thing ſhould be mended in the World by a new Method, object, I hear, that my Way of Education is impracticable. But this I can aſſure you, that the Child above-mention'd, but nine Years old in *June* laſt, has learn'd to read and write very well; is now reading *Quintus Curtius* with his Mother, underſtands Geography and Chronology very well, and the *Copernican* Syſtem of our Vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one Blow for his Book. The third Edition is now out, I have order'd Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your Opinion of the Additions, which have much encreaſed the Bulk of the Book. And though I think all that I have ſaid right; yet you are the Man I depend on for a fair and free Cenſure, not enclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what Value a knowing Man, that is a ſincere Lover of Truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not, therefore, if I place a great Part of my Happineſs in your Friendſhip, and wiſh every Day you were my Neighbour; you would then find what Uſe I ſhould make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the Advantage I can at this Diſtance. Read the Additions, and examine them ſtrictly, for I would not willingly miſlead the World. Pray let me know whether the Dr. your Brother has any Children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my Books of *Education*.

With my Treatiſe of *Education*, I believe you will receive another little one concerning *Intereſt* and *Coinage*. It is one of the Fatherleſs Children which the World lay at my Door; but, whoever be the Author, I ſhall be glad to know your Opinion of it.

And now I muſt mightily bemoan the Loſs of an Happineſs which you deſign'd me, and I through great Misfortune miſſed. The Impreſſions of the laſt ſevere Winter on my weak Lungs, and the ſlow Return of warm Weather this Spring, confined me ſo long to the Country, that I concluded Dr. *Aſhe* would be gone before I ſhould get to Town, and I ſhould loſe the Honour of ſo deſired an Acquaintance. However, as ſoon as I was got to *London*, I enquir'd of Mr. *Churchill*, who told me Dr. *Aſhe* was lately in Town, and he promiſed me, as I deſired him, that he would enquire whether he was ſtill there, and where he lodged. He returned me no Anſwer, and I (through a Multitude of Buſineſs) forgot to enquire again, for ſome few Days. Upon the firſt Thought of it again, I went to the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, and not finding Mr. *Tucker* there, I went to his Houſe, who told me that Dr. *Aſhe* was that very Morning gone out of Town. The miſſing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my Reach, very much vexed me, and it look'd, as if Fortune had a Mind ſenſibly to croſs me, in what ſhe knew I was extremely deſirous of. I enquired too for Mr. *Smith*, but he, I heard, was gone to *Flanders* before I came to Town. It would have been more than ordinary Satisfaction to me, to have convers'd and made an Acquaintance with ſo eſteem'd a Friend of your's as Dr. *Aſhe*. I ſhall not be at quiet, till ſome Buſineſs brings you into *England* to repair this Loſs, and brings me a Satisfaction to the moſt earneſt of all my Deſires. My decaying Health does not promiſe me any long Stay in this World, you are the only Perſon in it, that I deſire to ſee once, and to converſe ſome time with,

with, before I leave it. I wiſh your other Occaſions might draw you into *England*, and then let me alone to husband our Time together; I have laid all that in my Head already. But I talk my Deſires and Fancies as if they were in View. I wiſh you all manner of Happineſs, and am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Pray preſent my humble Service to Dr. *Aſhe*, and excuſe my misfortunate Loſs to him.

When you conſider the Length of this, you will find my late Silence was not from a Sparingneſs of Speech, or a Backwardneſs to talk with you; I have more Reaſon now to beg your Pardon for my Talkativeneſs than Silence.

The Additions I intend to make, ſhall be ſent time enough for the Tranſlator.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Auguſt* 24. 1695.

I Defer'd my Anſwer all this while to your's of *July* 2. (which I received ſome Weeks ago) in Expectation of the Books you have been pleaſed to order for me; but hitherto they are not arrived, and I would not omit my Duty any longer, leſt the Buſineſs of our enſuing Parliament ſhould give me a farther Hindrance. The Univerſity has done me the Honour to chooſe me as one of their Repreſentatives; and tho' I cannot pretend to do them any great Service; yet it ſhall not be for want of conſtant Attendance on their Buſineſs, which will take up moſt of my Time, till the Seſſion is ended.

I am now at a great Loſs what Apology to make you, for the Diſappointment you are at laſt like to receive in the Tranſlation of your *Eſſay*. But, to a candid and ingenuous Man, the beſt Excuſe is a plain Narrative of the Matter of Fact.

The Gentleman, whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. *Mullart*, went into the Country about the middle of laſt *June*, and return'd about a Fortnight ago. When he went away, he aſſur'd me, he would make a conſiderable Progreſs in the Work, in a Month or ſix Weeks time; but he was taken ill for about a Fortnight, and, at his Return, I found he had ſcarce done four Pages of the Book. I found alſo (as you rightly ſurmiſed) that his Stile will hardly anſwer Expectation; but this Difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by Time and Application. But what to ſay to his very ſlow Performance I cannot tell, or whether it may anſwer your, or your Bookſeller's Deſigns. But that which moſt of all diſcourages me, is, that the young Man himſelf ſeems not very fond of the Undertaking, but has fix'd his Thoughts on another Purſuit. I formerly told you how he deſigned for a Fellowſhip, had any at that time happen'd vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two Fellowſhips become void, and a third like to be ſo, before the time of ſitting for them, which is next *June* 1696; and he tells me plainly, he muſt endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be at leaſt five Competitors, if not ſix, who are all his *Seniors*; and therefore, he muſt uſe his utmoſt Diligence, Application and Study in the intermediate Time, to fit himſelf for the Examination they undergo; and this, he ſays, will take up ſo much of his Time, that he knows not whether he ſhall have any to ſpare for the Tranſlation.

I cannot

I cannot well tell which way next to turn my ſelf in this Affair. I have but one Anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to uſe. There is a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, the greateſt Maſter of Stile of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this Work to your utmoſt Satisfaction; but he is not, at preſent, in Town, and when he comes, (which, I expect, may be about *Michaelmas* next, as I have it from himſelf) I make ſome Doubt, whether his other Avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Down* and *Connor*, and has alſo a private Work of his own, in *Latin*, now fitting for the Preſs, which he permits to run through my Hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to Town, I will move him in it, if you will give me leave, and you ſhall know the Event.

I am mightily pleaſed that your *Eſſay* is abridg'd, tho' for my own Reading, I would not part with a Syllable of it. However, others may not have ſo much Leiſure as to ſet on a large Book, and for ſuch the Abridgment may be uſeful. 'Tis to me no ſmall Argument of the curious Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation, that a Work, ſo abſtract as your's, ſhould now ſuffer three Impreſſions in ſo ſhort a Time.

I have already ſo much Experience of your Method of *Education*, that I long to ſee your third Edition. And ſince you put me upon it, (to whom I can refuſe nothing in my Power) I will give you a ſhort Account of my little Boy's Progreſs under it.

He was ſix Years old about the middle of laſt *July*. When he was but juſt turn'd five he could read perfectly well; and on the Globes could have traced out, and pointed at all the noted Parts, Countrys, and Cities of the World, both Land and Sea. And by five and an half could perform many of the plaineſt Problems on the Globe, as the Longitude and Latitude, the Antipodes, the Time with them and other Countrys, *&c.* and this by way of Play and Diverſion, ſeldom call'd to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the ſame Age he could read any Number of Figures, not exceeding ſix Places, break it as you pleaſe by Cyphers or Zero's. By the time he was ſix, he could manage a Compaſs, Ruler and Pencil, very prettily, and perform many little Geometrical Tricks, and advanced to Writing and Arithmetick; and has been about three Months at Latin, wherein his Tutor obſerves, as nigh as he can, the Method preſcrib'd by you. He can read a *Gazette*, and, in the large Maps of *Sanſon*, ſhews moſt of the remarkable Places as he goes along, and turns to the proper Maps. He has been ſhewn ſome Dogs diſſected, and can give ſome little Account of the grand Traces of Anatomy. And as to the Formation of his Mind, which you rightly obſerve to be the moſt valuable Part of Education; I do not believe that any Child had ever his Paſſions more perfectly at Command. He is obedient and obſervant to the niceſt Particular, and at the ſame time ſprightly, playful, and active.

But I will ſay no more, this may be tireſome to others, however pleaſing to my ſelf.

I have ſome Thoughts of ſeeing *England* next Spring, or Summer, but the Time I cannot prefix as yet, till I ſee how our Affairs are like to go in Parliament, and whether we are like to have another Seſſion, and when. T'other Day I chanced to mention your Name accidentally to his Excellency my Lord *Capel*, who thereupon expreſſed himſelf with the utmoſt Reſpect and Eſteem for you. I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 16. Nov. 1695.*

THough there be no Man in the World that I ſo much long to ſee as you; yet your laſt Letter, of the ſecond Inſtant, makes me afraid of your Coming. Your Kindneſs and Expreſſion in my Favour, has painted me ſo in your Fancy, that I ſhall unavoidably fall many Degrees in your Eſteem, when you find me come ſo much ſhort of what you expected; *Paratus eſt mihi magnus adverſarius Expectatio*, as I remember, *Tully* ſomewhere ſays. One Thing only I have to ſatisfie my ſelf, *viz.* That, whatever I may want of thoſe Qualities you aſcribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover Defects, and make one acceptable, without the Recommendation of great Perfections, I mean Friendſhip, true and ſincere. This I can boaſt of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you, you ſhall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this Reſolution, that you will be content, that ſhall make up to you all thoſe fine Things which you imagine before-hand, in a Man whom you will really find a plain, honeſt, well-meaning Man, who unbyaſſedly ſeeks Truth, though it be but a very ſmall Part of it he has yet diſcover'd.

I am very glad you approve of the Additions to the third Edition of my *Education:* You are a Father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this Point. You ſpeak ſo well of that you have, that I ſhall take Care to have another of thoſe Treatiſes of *Intereſt* and *Coinage* ſent to you. The Affair of our Money, which is in a lamentable State, is now under Debate here, what the Iſſue will be, I know not; I pray for a good One. I find every Body almoſt looks on it as a Myſtery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. 'Tis but ſtripping it of the Cant which all Men that talk of it involve it in, and there is nothing eaſier: Lay by the arbitrary Names of Pence and Shillings, and conſider and ſpeak of it as Grains and Ounces of Silver, and 'tis as eaſie as telling of Twenty.

I had a great deal more to ſay to you, in Anſwer to this, and two other obliging Letters I am indebted to you for: But I am ſent for into the Country by an Expreſs. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 20. Nov. 1695.*

BEfore I left *London*, I gave Order that the Book you deſired about *Intereſt* and *Money*, ſhould be ſent you by the firſt Opportunity. But it is to you I ſend it, and not to any Body elſe; you may give it to whom you pleaſe, for 'tis your's as ſoon as you receive it, but pray do not give it to any Body in my Name, or as a Preſent from me. And however you are pleaſed to make me a Complement, in making me the Author of a Book you think well of; yet you may be ſure I do not own it to be mine, till you ſee my Name to it.

You, I ſee, are troubled there about your Money, as well as we are here, though, I hope, you are not ſo deep in that Diſeaſe as we are. A little before his Majeſty's Return, the Lords Juſtices here had this Matter under Conſideration, and, amongſt others, were pleaſed to ſend to me for my Thoughts about it. This is too publickly known here, to make the mentioning of it to you appear Vanity in me. The Paper I here incloſe would ſeem a ſtrange Thing, did I not tell you the Occaſion of my writing it. And, ſince ſome of my Friends here perſuade me it gives ſome Light to that

that, which the States-man you mention, thinks ſo profound a Myſtery, I have taken the Liberty to ſend it you, either to open that Matter a little farther to you, or that you may ſhew me the Miſtakes and Defects of it. But pray, whatever Uſe you make of it, conceal my Name.

I writ to you from *London*, juſt as I was leaving the Town in haſte, in Anſwer to your's of the ſecond Inſtant. You muſt pardon the Faults of that to the Hurry and Diſturbance I was then in. I am not much more at Leiſure, or at Quiet now; but Shame will not ſuffer me to be ſilent any longer, under the Obligation of two other Letters I have by me of your's unanſwer'd.

I cannot read your's of the 24*th* of *Auguſt* laſt, without finding new Marks of your Kindneſs to me, in the Concern you therein expreſs to get a good Hand for the tranſlating my *Eſſay*. I think, at laſt, you have got a better than I could have expected. I deſigned to have brought Mr. *Churchill* and him together, and ſettled that Matter before I left *London*; but I was ſo unexpectedly called thence, that I left that and ſeveral other Buſineſſes undone. But I took order with Mr. *Churchill*, my Bookſeller, to go to him; he is a reaſonable Man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the Abridgment is near, if not quite printed; but I had not the Time or Memory to enquire, after my haſty Summons into the Country. I was told too, when I was in Town, that ſome Body is printing againſt it; if it be a fair Enquirer I ſhall be glad, if a wrangling Diſputant, I ſhall not mind him.

Mr. *Burridge* is the Man you ſpeak him to be, in your's of *September* 19. Had I ſtay'd in *London*, I think I ſhould have been able to have procured him ſome Particulars would have been of Uſe to him in his Deſign. Some of them I have taken Care he ſhould receive, notwithſtanding my Abſence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have ſtay'd till more of my Acquaintance were come to Town. I am now in an Houſe of Sorrow and Buſineſs, which hinders me from that Freedom I would be in when I write to you. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, December* 24. 1695.

I Am aſhamed to ſay, that I have two of your's before me unanſwer'd.

Your's of *Nov.* 20. brought me a Paper, which, of all Things I have ever ſeen on that Subject, I moſt highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole Myſtery of Money, Exchange, Trade, *&c.* which have hitherto been wrap'd up in unintelligible Cant, I believe, partly out of Knavery, partly out of Ignorance. You gave me Liberty to make what Uſe of it I pleaſed, and therefore I ventur'd to give a Copy of it to his Excellency my Lord Deputy *Capel*, rather than the Book of *Intereſt* and *Coinage*, which I thought might be too long for his preſent Peruſal in his multitude of Buſineſs. But I can tell you, that your admirable Perſpicuity of Writing is ſo clearly different from all the World, and almoſt peculiar to your ſelf; that in Vain you expect to be conceal'd in any thing that comes from you. For, I aſſure you, in ſome Diſcourſe I had with his Excellency, no longer ago than Yeſterday, concerning the Buſineſs of Money; he asked me (without any Occaſion given him from me) whether I had ever ſeen Mr. *Locke*'s Book of *Intereſt*, *&c.* for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the Happineſs of your Acquaintance; I reply'd to his Lordſhip, That I had ſeen ſuch a Book, but that it did not bear your Name in it: He anſwer'd me:

The Printer presented it to him as your's; and besides (says he) all the World knows Mr. *Locke's* way of Writing; and, if I may guess, I believe the Paper you gave me a few Days ago, came from Mr. *Locke*; pray, did it not? I told his Excellency I was under some Obligation to conceal the Author. That's enough (says he) I am sure 'tis his, and will put his Name to it, and lay it up among my choicest Papers.

I have lately received three small Prints from *London*, concerning the Subject of Money. They were inclosed in a blank Wrapper, and frank'd to me by Sir *Walter Yonnge*, Bar. a Gentleman whom I never saw, and have no manner of Acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an Obligation on me so suitable and agreeable to my present Thoughts. If you have any Hand in this Favour to me, be pleased to accept of my Thanks, and to express the same to Sir *Walter*. The Titles of those Papers are,

Sir W. Petty's Quantulumcunque *concerning Money.*

A Letter from an English *Merchant at* Amsterdam, *to his Friend at* London, *concerning the Trade and Coin of* England.

Some Questions answer'd, relating to the Badness of the now Silver Coin of England.

I hear Mr. *Lowndes* of the Treasury has publish'd something on that Subject, and that Mr. *Flamsted* has answer'd him, in a Tract he calls *Five not Six.*

I wish I could see them both, and shall beg the Favour of you, if this Letter finds you at *London*, to get them beaten pretty close, wrap'd up in Folds, and directed to me, unless they be much too bulky for the Post. You need not have them frank'd, for our Letters come to us so, as we are of the Parliament here.

I herewith send you inclosed the Copy of a Letter from an ingenious Man, on the Problem which you have honour'd with a Place in *pag.* 67. of your *Essay*. You will find thereby, that what I say of its puzzling some ingenious Men, is true; and you will easily discover by what false Steps this Gentleman is led into his Error. The Letter was communicated to me by the Party to whom it was writ, Dr. *Quayl*. And the Writer of the Letter, Mr. *Edw. Synge*, is the Author of a little Book call'd the *Gentleman's Religion*, which is vended as your's. The Gentleman is on a second Part, which he will shew me before he sends it to the Press. But this only between our selves, and the Bookseller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho' the Book shews not that Freedom of Thought as you or I, perhaps, may expect; yet it shews enough to incense his own Herd against him, for there is little of *Mystery* or *Enthusiastick* in it, and yet the Author is a Clergy-man. And you know that, in a Writer on a religious Subject, 'tis an high Offence, even to be silent on those abstruse Points. The Clergy are not dissatisfied only with those that plainly *oppose* them, but are inraged also, even at those that omit zealously to *advance* them; as we have had a late Instance in him that writes against the *Reasonableness of Christianity.*

I should be mighty glad to hear that Mr. *Burridge* had set upon translating your *Essay*: I believe he will do it well.

I shall also be very much obliged by any Information you give me, of whatsoever is done, or doing by your self, or others, relating to your Works, of which there is none a more devoted Admirer than the excellent Author's

Most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. SYNGE *to Dr.* QUAYL.

Dear SIR, *Corke, Septemb. 6. 1695.*

MR. *Molyneux*'s ingenious Queſtion, of which you gave me an Account at Mr. *Lukey*'s Yeſterday, has run ſo much in my Mind ever ſince, that I could ſcarce drive it out of my Thoughts. To be reveng'd on you therefore for putting my Brains into ſuch a Ferment, I have reſolved to be ſo Impertinent as to ſend you the Reſult of my Meditations upon the Subject.

The Caſe is this: A Man born perfectly blind has a Globe and a Cube given into his Hands, and inſtructed, as much as he is capable of, in the Notion of each of theſe Figures, and the Difference between them. Let us now ſuppoſe this Man ſuddenly to be endowed with the Senſe of Seeing, and the Queſtion is, whether, the Globe and the Cube being placed before his Eyes, he would be able, by his Sight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the Globe, and which the Cube?

For the better Underſtanding of what I ſhall ſay on this Queſtion, I deſire you to take Notice, that I call every Notion of any Thing which a Man entertains, an *Idea*; but that Notion only, which a Man entertains of a viſible Thing, as it is viſible, I call an *Image*.

This being premiſed, I lay down theſe Propoſitions.

1. A Man born Blind may have a true (though perhaps not a perfect) *Idea* of a Globe and of a Cube, and of ſome Difference which is between them.

This evidently appears, becauſe he will certainly be able by his Touch to diſtinguiſh them one from the other.

2. A Man who has ever been perfectly Blind, and whilſt he ſo remains, can have no *Image* in his Mind, either of a Cube or Globe.

This, in my Opinion, is very evident, becauſe there is no Paſſage but the Organs of Sight (of which we ſuppoſe him to be deprived) for ſuch an Image to enter; and I take it for granted, that ſuch Images are not innate in Men's Apprehenſions.

3. Such a Man, as ſoon as he is endowed with the Senſe of Seeing, will immediately have a different *Image* in his Mind, of a Globe, and of a Cube, as ſoon as they are expoſed to his Sight.

This muſt needs be ſo, if his Sight, and the Organs thereof be ſuch as our's, which we ſuppoſe.

4. And if immediately, upon the Sight of the Globe and Cube, there be Grounds enough for ſuch a Perſon clearly to perceive the Agreement, and the Difference between his pre-conceived *Ideas*, and newly conceived *Images* of thoſe Figures, then may he be able to know which is the Globe, and which the Cube, without touching them again after he has ſeen them.

For the Agreement which he may find between his *Idea* and his *Image* of a Globe, and the Difference of the *Idea* of a Globe from the *Image* of a Cube (*& ſic vice verſâ*) will be a ſufficient Direction to him. (If, I ſay, there be ſufficient Ground immediately to perceive the ſaid Agreement and Difference.)

5. The Idea which ſuch a blind Man muſt needs, by his Touch alone, form of a Globe, will be this, that it is a Body which is exactly alike on all Sides.

For let him rowl it as often as he will between his Hands, and he can find no manner of Difference between the one Side and the other.

6. Part of the *Idea* which ſuch a Man muſt needs, by his Touch, conceive of a Cube, will be, that it is a Body which is not alike in every Part of its Superficies.

For in one Part he feels a ſmooth Flat, in another the ſharp Point of an Angle, and in a third a long Ridge, which reaches from one Angle to another.

7. The *Image*, which at the firſt Sight ſuch a Man will form of a Globe, muſt needs repreſent it as a Body which is alike on all Sides, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the *Idea* which he before had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Cube.

For turn a Globe ten thouſand ways, and it ſtill carries the ſame Aſpect, if it be all of the ſame Colour which we now ſuppoſe.

8. The *Image*, which upon the firſt View ſuch a Man will frame of a Cube, muſt needs be this, that it is a Body which is not alike in all the Parts of its Superficies, which conſequently muſt be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Globe.

For a Cube does not carry the ſame Aſpect when it is expoſed to our Sight in different Poſitions.

Since then the *Image*, which ſuch a Man would have of a Globe, would be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had conceiv'd of it, and different from that *Idea* which before he had entertain'd of a Cube (*& ſic vice verſâ*) it follows, that by his Sight alone he might be able to know which was the Globe, and which the Cube.

I have no more, but to wiſh you a good Journey, and tell you, that if you call me Impertinent for ſending you my Thoughts upon ſuch a Speculation, I will retort, and tell that it was your ſelf who put the Queſtion to

Your moſt affectionate Friend, and faithful Servant,

EDW. SYNGE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, March* 14. 169$\frac{4}{5}$.

AS nothing is more pleaſing to me than a Letter from you; ſo my Concern is not little, when in ſo long a Time I have wanted that Satisfaction; and more eſpecially ſo, when I have Reaſon to fear it may proceed from your Indiſpoſition in Health. The laſt Letter I had from Mr. *Churchill* intimated to me that you were not well, and I have not yet received any Account to the contrary; ſo that my Fears daily increaſe upon me, and I ſhall be very uneaſy till I receive the glad Tidings of your Recovery and Safety.

Mr. *Lowndes*'s Book about our Coin, and your's againſt him (which I underſtand you have ſent me, and for which I moſt heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you ſhall hear farther from me concerning them.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. *Burridge*, who is gone down to his Cure in the Country; he takes all Opportunities of thanking you for the civil Reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my Recommendation, I muſt alſo thank you for my Share in the Favour. He tells me he has read over your *Eſſay* carefully, and has juſt ſet upon the Tranſlation thereof; but he has not yet ſent me any Specimen thereof, when he does you ſhall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your Satisfaction; there is not a Man in *Ireland* but himſelf, for whom I dare promiſe ſo boldly in this Matter. One Thing he intimates to me, which I muſt needs mention to you, as being ſo agreeable to the Apprehenſions I have always had of the excellent Author of the *Eſſay*, to whom I have ſometimes preſumed to propoſe it, *viz.* That he would write *a Book of Offices*, or *moral Philoſophy*. I give you Mr. *Burridge*'s own Words, who goes on, *The fine Strokes which he has frequently in his* Eſſay, *make me think he would perform it admirably. I wiſh you would try his Inclinations; you may aſſure him, I will cheerfully undertake the Tranſlation of it afterwards.*

Thus you ſee, Sir, how you are attack'd on all Sides; I doubt not but you have as frequent Solicitations from your Friends in *England*. I will at this time add nothing more to the troubleſome Importunity. Only, on this Occaſion,

Occaſion, I will venture to tell you, that I have a Deſign on Mr. *Burridge*, to get him, by Degrees, to tranſlate all the Books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 30 March 1696.*

THough I have been very ill this Winter, not without ſome Apprehenſions of my Life; yet I am aſham'd that either that, or Buſineſs that has took up more of my Time than my Health could well allow, ſhould keep me ſo long ſilent to a Man ſo kindly concern'd to hear from me. 'Twas more than once that I reſolv'd on the next Poſt, but ſtill Something or other came between; and I more readily yielded to Delays, in hopes to hear Something from you concerning my Anſwer to Mr. *Lowndes*. If this be a Fault in me, it is ſuch an one that I am guilty of to no Body but my Friends. Perhaps the running from Ceremony or Punctuality towards thoſe whom I look on as my ſure Friends, that is, my ſelf, may ſometimes carry me a little too far to the other Side. But if you diſapprove of it, I ſhall only ſay, it is an ill Effect of a very good Cauſe; and beg you to believe, that I ſhall never be tardy in writing, ſpeaking, or doing, whenever I ſhall think it may be of any Moment to the leaſt Intereſt of your's.

The Buſineſs of our Money has ſo near brought us to Ruin, that, till the Plot broke out, it was every Body's Talk, every Body's Uneaſineſs. And becauſe I had play'd the Fool to print about it, there was ſcarce a Poſt wherein Somebody or other did not give me freſh Trouble about it. But now the Parliament has reduced Guineas to two and twenty Shillings a piece after the 10*th* Inſtant, and prohibited the Receipt of clip'd Money after the 4*th* of *May* next. The Bill has paſſed both Houſes, and, I believe, will ſpeedily receive the Royal Aſſent. Though I can never bethink any Pains or Time of mine, in the Service of my Country, as far as I may be of any Uſe; yet I muſt own to you, this, and the like Subjects, are not thoſe which I now reliſh, or that do, with moſt Pleaſure, employ my Thoughts; and therefore ſhall not be ſorry if I 'ſcape a very honourable Employment, with a thouſand Pounds a Year Salary annexed to it, to which the King was pleaſed to nominate me ſome Time ſince. May I have but Quiet and Leiſure, and a Competency of Health to perfect ſome Thoughts my Mind is ſometimes upon, I ſhould deſire no more for my ſelf in this World, if one Thing were added to it, *viz.* You in my Neighbourhood. You cannot imagine how much I want ſuch a Friend within Diſtance, with whom I could confer freely *De quolibet Ente*, and have his Senſe of my Reveries, and his Judgment to guide me.

I am aſham'd to receive ſo many Thanks for having done ſo little for a Man who came recommended to me by you. I had ſo little Opportunity to ſhew the Civility I would have done to Mr. *Burridge*, that I ſhould not know how to excuſe it to you or him, were not he himſelf a Witneſs of the perpetual Hurry I was in all the Time I was then in Town. I doubt not at all of his Performance in the Tranſlation of my Book he has undertaken. He has Underſtanding, and Latin, much beyond thoſe who uſually meddle with ſuch Works. And I am ſo well ſatisfied, both of his Ability, and your Care, that the ſending me a Specimen I ſhall look on as more than needs. As to a *Treatiſe of Morals*, I muſt own to you, that you are not the only Perſons (you and Mr. *Burridge* I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the Thoughts of it. Nay, I ſo far incline to comply with your Deſires, that I ever now and then lay by ſome Materials for it, as they occaſionally occur in the Rovings of my Mind. But when I conſider,

that

that a Book of *Offices*, as you call it, ought not to be ſlightly done, eſpecially by me, after what I have ſaid of that Science in my *Eſſay*; and that *Nonumque prematur in annum*, is a Rule more neceſſary to be obſerved in a Subject of that Conſequence, than in any Thing *Horace* ſpeaks of; I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my Age and Health, not to mention other Diſabilities in me, to ſet about it. Did the World want a Rule, I confeſs there could be no Work ſo neceſſary, nor ſo commendable. But the Goſpel contains ſo perfect a Body of Ethicks, that Reaſon may be excuſed from that Enquiry, ſince ſhe may find Man's Duty clearer and eaſier in Revelation than in herſelf. Think not this the Excuſe of a lazy Man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who having a ſufficient Rule for his Actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more Profit to himſelf, employ the little Time and Strength he has in other Re-ſearches, wherein he finds himſelf more in the Dark.

You put too great a Value on my Writings, by the Deſign you own on Mr. *Burridge*, in Reference to them. I am not to flatter my ſelf, that becauſe they had the good Luck to paſs pretty well here amongſt *Engliſh* Readers, that therefore they will ſatisfie the learned World, and be fit to appear in the learned Language. Mr. *Wynne*'s Abſtract of my *Eſſay* is now publiſh'd, and I have ſent Order to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you one of them. Thus far in Anſwer to your's of the 14*th* of *March*. I come now to that of the 24*th* of *December*.

My Lord Deputy and you did too great Honour to the Paper I ſent you, and to me, upon that Account. I know too well the Deficiency of my Stile, to think it deſerves the Commendations you give it. That which makes my Writings tolerable, if any Thing, is only this, that I never write for any Thing but Truth, and never publiſh any Thing to others, which I am not fully perſuaded of my ſelf, and do not think that I underſtand. So that I never have need of falſe Colours to ſet off the weak Parts of an *Hypotheſis*, or of obſcure Expreſſions, or the Aſſiſtance of artificial Jargon, to cover an Error of my Syſtem or Party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our Knowledge) I own it. And though I am not proud of my Errors; yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing but ſuch a Preference of Truth to Party-Intereſt, and Vain-glory, to make any Body out-do me in what you ſeem ſo much to admire.

Though Sir *Walter Younge* be an intimate Friend of mine; yet I can aſſure you I know nothing of thoſe three Prints he frank'd to you, and ſo have no Title to any Part of your Thanks.

I ſee by Mr. *S*'s Anſwer to that which was originally your Queſtion, how hard it is, for even ingenious Men to free themſelves from the Anticipations of Senſe. The firſt Step towards Knowledge is to have clear and diſtinct Ideas; which I have juſt Reaſon, every Day more and more, to think few Men ever have, or think themſelves to want; which is one great Cauſe of that infinite Jargon and Nonſenſe which ſo peſters the World. You have a good Subject to work on; and therefore, pray let this be your chief Care, to fill your Son's Head with clear and diſtinct Ideas, and teach him, on all Occaſions, both by Practice and Rule, how to get them, and the Neceſſity of it. This, together with a Mind active, and ſet upon the attaining of Reputation and Truth, is the true principling of a young Man. But to give him a Reverence for our Opinions, becauſe we taught them, is not to make knowing Men, but pratling Parrots. I beg your Pardon for this Liberty; it is an Expreſſion of good Will, and not the leſs ſo, becauſe not within the preciſe Forms of good Breeding. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, June 6. 1696.*

'TIS a melancholy Thought to me, that ſince I have had the Happineſs of your Correſpondence, there has hardly happen'd a Year, when both you and I have not made it an Apology for our long Silence, that we have been indiſpoſed in our Health; yet it has pleaſed God, that ſo it has been, and ſo it is on my Side at preſent. About four Years and an half ago I was firſt ſeiſed by a violent Cholick, which then ſo weaken'd me, that, to this Time, I lie ſo far under the Effects thereof, as upon any Cold to be very apt to relapſe into the ſame. And ſo it has been with me for a while paſt, but now, God be thanked, I am again well recovered. I had not otherwiſe ſo long deferr'd my Anſwer to your's of *March* the 30*th*, which, after a long Silence, brought me the Aſſurance of your Health, and therewith no ſmall Satisfaction; having, before that, entertained ſome painful Thoughts of your Indiſpoſition, from ſome Rumours I had heard. But, I find, Heaven is not yet ſo angry with us as to take you from amongſt us.

And now I moſt heartily congratulate you, both on the Recovery of your Health, and on the honourable Preferment you have lately received from His Majeſty. In your Writings concerning Money, you have given ſuch demonſtrative Proofs of your Reach, even in the Buſineſs of the World, that I ſhould have wonder'd had the King overlook'd you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publiſh'd on that Subject, there ſhould remain the leaſt Doubt with any Man concerning that Matter. But, I fanſy, 'tis only thoſe who are prejudiced by their Intereſt, that ſeem to be diſſatisfied; ſuch as *Bankers*, *&c.* who make a Prey of the People's Ignorance in this great Affair. But, I think, you have clear'd up the Myſtery, and made it ſo plain to all Men's Capacities, that *England* will never again fall into the like Inconveniences. 'Till you writ, we uſed Money as the *Indians* do their *Wampompeek*, it ſerv'd us well enough for buying and ſelling, and we were content and heeded it no farther; but for the intimate Nature, Affections, and Properties thereof, we no more underſtand them than the *Indians* their Shells.

I have read over Mr. *Wynne*'s Abridgment of your *Eſſay*. But I muſt confeſs to you, I was never more ſatisfied with the Length of your *Eſſay*, than ſince I have ſeen this Abridgment; which, though done juſtly enough; yet falls ſo ſhort of that Spirit which every where ſhews it ſelf in the Original, that nothing can be more different. To one already vers'd in the *Eſſay*, the Abridgment ſerves as a good Remembrancer; but, I believe, let a Man wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not ſo well reliſh it. So that how deſirous ſoever I might have formerly been of ſeeing your *Eſſay* put into the Form of a Logick for the Schools, I am now fully ſatisfied I was in an Error; and muſt freely confeſs to you, that I wiſh Mr. *Wynne*'s Abridgment had been yet undone. That Strength of Thought and Expreſſion, that every where reigns throughout your Works makes me ſometimes wiſh them twice as long.

I find, by ſome little Pieces I have lately met with, that you are the reputed *Author* of the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*; whether it be really ſo or not, I will not preſume to enquire, becauſe there is no Name to the Book; this only I will venture to ſay on that Head, that whoever is the *Author* or *Vindicator* thereof, he has gotten as weak an Adverſary in Mr. *Edwards* to deal with, as a Man cou'd wiſh; ſo much unmannerly Paſſion, and *Billingſgate* Language, I have not ſeen any Man uſe. In ſo much that were Mr. *Edwards* to defend the beſt Cauſe in the World, ſhould he do it in that manner, he would ſpoil it. Were an Angel of Heaven to juſtify a Truth with Virulence and Heat, he would not prevail.

And now, my ever honour'd Friend, with much Reluctance, I am to tell you, that I cannot be ſo happy this Summer as to ſee you in *England*. 'Tis needleſs to trouble you with a long Detail of the Reaſons hereof; but what between my own private Affairs, and a little Place I have in the Publick,

ſo

ſo it is, and I cannot help it. But as a ſmall Repair to my ſelf, of this Diſappointment, I ſhall beg the Favour of you to admit a young Gentleman, whom I ſhall ſend to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a Picture of your's, which, I hear, is at Mr. *Churchill's*. The young Gentleman's Name is *Howard*, a modeſt and ingenious Youth, and excellently skill'd both in the Judicious and Practical Part of Painting; for his Advancement wherein he is now kept at *London*, and deſigns ſoon for *Italy*. He is eldeſt Brother to my Brother's Wife, of a good Fortune and Family. If, by his Report, I underſtand that that Picture of your's at Mr. *Churchill's* be an excellent Piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copied for me, and may ſave you the trouble of ſitting; but if it prove otherwiſe, and be not worth Copying, I will then make it my Requeſt to you, that, at your Leiſure, you would ſpare me ſo many Hours time, as to ſit for ſuch a Hand as Mr. *Howard* ſhall procure to take your Picture. This I thought fit to intimate to you before-hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarned of his Buſineſs.

I doubt not, but by this Time, you have heard of our Lord Deputy *Capel's* Death. We are now under a moſt unſettled Government, and our Eyes are fix'd on *England* for Relief. Some here wiſh for your Noble Patron, my Lord *Pembroke*, and go ſo far as to ſay, that he will be the Man. I am confident we ſhould be happy under one that favour'd you; and if there be any Thing in this Report, you would highly favour me, by letting his Lordſhip know, that here he will find me, amongſt ſeveral others that are your Admirers; for that I reckon the moſt advantageous Character I can come recommended under to his Lordſhip.

Mr. *Burridge* has been lately ſo taken up with his Eccleſiaſtick Affairs in the Country, that (as he writes me Word) he has hitherto made but little further Progreſs in the Tranſlation of the *Eſſay*, but he promiſes now to ſet about it earneſtly. I wiſh you would give me your free Opinion of what I have already ſent you thereof.

I fear your Publick Buſineſs will, in ſome meaſure, take you off from your more retired Thoughts, by which the World were Gainers every Day. But, good Sir, let me intreat you, that at your leiſure Hours you would think on, and ſend a Line to

Your moſt affectionate, and humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 2. July 1696.*

I Cannot, without great Trouble, hear of any Indiſpoſition of your's; your Friendſhip, which Heaven has beſtow'd on me, as one of the greateſt Bleſſings I can enjoy for the Remainder of my Life, is what I value at ſo high a Rate, that I cannot conſider my ſelf within Danger of loſing a Perſon, every way ſo dear to me, without very great Uneaſineſs of Mind.

Thus far I got when I ſat down to write to you about a Month ſince, as you will ſee by the Date at the Top; Buſineſs, and a little Excurſion into the Country, has hinder'd me ever ſince. Were you a Man I only cared to talk with out of Civility, I ſhould ſooner anſwer your Letters. But, not contenting my ſelf with ſuch a formal Correſpondence with you, I cannot find in my Heart to begin Writing to you, 'till I think I ſhall have Time to talk a great deal, and pour out my Mind to a Man to whom I make ſure I can do it with Freedom; his Candor and Friendſhip allows that, and I find I know not what Pleaſure in doing it. I promiſed my ſelf Abundance of Pleaſure this Summer in ſeeing you here, and the Diſappointment is one of the moſt ſenſible I could have met with in my private Concerns; and the Occaſion that rob'd me of that Satisfaction frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much Health as my Conſtitution will allow me to expect. But yet,

if

if I will think like a reaſonable Man, the Flattery of my Summer Vigour ought not to make me count beyond the next Winter at any time for the future. The laſt ſat ſo heavy upon me, that it was with Difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me, if I have a longing to ſee and imbrace a Man I eſteem and love ſo much, before I leave this ſilly Earth; which, when the Conveniencies of Life are moderately provided for, has nothing of Value in it equal to the Converſation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded Friend, who ſincerely loves and ſeeks Truth.

When I took Pen in Hand to continue this Letter, I had your's of *March* and *June* laſt before me, with a Deſign to anſwer them. But my Pen run on, as you ſee, before I could get leave of my forward Thoughts, to come to what was my chief Buſineſs, *viz.* To read again, and anſwer thoſe kind Letters of your's.

That of *March* 28. brought me a Sample of Mr. *Burridge*'s Tranſlation; upon my reading of it, I began to correct it after my Faſhion, and intended to have gone through that, and ſo all the reſt of the Sheets, as they came to my Hand; but ſome other more preſſing Occaſion interrupted me, and now I am paſt all Hopes to have any Leiſure at all to do any thing more to it in that Kind, and muſt wholly leave it to his and your Care. When I ſay your Care, I do not make ſo ill an Uſe of your Kindneſs, as to expect you ſhould look it over, and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have ſuch an Intereſt in your College, that you can have the Aſſiſtance of ſome able Man there to do it. The Subject itſelf, and my Way of expreſſing my Thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be very different from the Genius of the *Latin* Tongue, and therefore I ſhould not think it amiſs, if Mr. *Burridge* would take more Liberty to quit the Scheme and Phraſe of my Stile, and ſo he takes but my Senſe, to comply more with the Turn and Manner of *Tully*'s Philoſophical Language. For ſo he has but my Senſe, I care not how much he neglects my Words; and whether he expreſſes my Thoughts, you are as good a Judge as I, for I think you as much Maſter of them. I ſay this to excuſe you from the Trouble of ſending his Papers over to me as he diſpatches them; for, in my preſent Circumſtances, I ſhall hardly have Time ſo much as to peruſe them. Pray, when you ſee, or ſend to him, give him my humble Service.

Though your Cholick has done me no ſmall Prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the account of thoſe Inconveniencies it has made you ſuffer. I know you are in skilful, as well as careful Hands, under the Care of your Brother, and it could not be adviſeable in any one to draw you from them. The Cholick is ſo general a Name for Pains in the lower Belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any Judgment of your Caſe; but it can be no Harm to adviſe you to ask him, whether he does not think that the Drinking of our *Bath* Waters may be uſeful to you in your Caſe. I know thoſe Waters mightily ſtrengthen thoſe Parts.

Your Congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly, and ſeriouſly, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoice in; but, if you will give me leave to whiſper Truth without Vanity, in the Ear of a Friend, 'tis a Preferment which I ſhall get nothing by, and I know not whether my Country will, tho' that I ſhall aim at with all my Endeavours.

Riches may be inſtrumental to ſo many good Purpoſes, that it is, I think, Vanity, rather than Religion or Philoſophy, to pretend to contemn them. But yet they may be purchaſed too dear. My Age and Health demand a Retreat from Buſtle and Buſineſs, and the Purſuit of ſome Enquiries I have in my Thoughts, makes it more deſirable than any of thoſe Rewards which publick Employments tempt People with. I think the little I have enough, and do not deſire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have Reaſon rather to pity the Folly, than congratulate the Fortune, that engages me in the Whirlpool.

'Tis your Pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you ſay what you do of Mr. *Wynne*'s Abridgement; I know not whether it be that, or any thing elſe, that has occaſion'd it; but I was told, ſome time ſince, that my *Eſſay* began to get ſome Credit in *Cambridge*, where, I think for ſome Years after

it was publiſhed, it was ſcarce ſo much as look'd into. But now, I have ſome Reaſon to think it is a little more favourably received there, by theſe two Queſtions held there this laſt Commencement; *viz. Probabile eſt animam non ſemper cogitare:* And, *Idea Dei non eſt innata.*

What you ſay of the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, gives me occaſion to ask your Thoughts of that *Treatiſe*, and alſo how it paſſes amongſt you there; for here, at its firſt coming out, it was received with no Indifferency, ſome ſpeaking of it with great Commendation, but moſt cenſuring it as a very bad Book. What you ſay of Mr. *Edwards* is ſo viſible, that I find all the World of your Mind.

This is now a third Sitting before I finiſh this Letter; whereby, I fear, I ſhall give you an ill Picture of my ſelf. By the reading of the next Paragraph of your obliging Letter of *June 6.* I am mightily comforted to find that it is not want of Health (as it run in my Head by a ſtrong Impreſſion I found remain'd in my Mind, from the Cholick mentioned in the beginning of your Letter) but Buſineſs, that keeps me this Year from the Happineſs of your Company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I ſuffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilſt there is room to hope it may be ſuch that both you and your Country may receive Advantage by it. Mr. *Howard*, whom I was reſolving yeſterday Morning to enquire after, prevented me by a Viſit he made me, wherein he gave me an Account he had received a Letter from you ſince his Return from *Cambridge*. That which you deſire of me, as the chief Reaſon of affording me his Acquaintance, is what I cannot refuſe, and yet it cauſes in me ſome Confuſion to grant. If the Original could do you any Service, I ſhall be glad; but to think my Picture worth your having, would carry too much Vanity with it, to allow my Conſent, did not the Skill of the Painter often make amends for the Meanneſs of the Subject, and a good Pencil frequently make the painted Repreſentation of more Value than the real Subſtance. This may probably be my Caſe. Mr. *Howard* is a very pretty young Gentleman, and I thank you for his Acquaintance. I wiſh it lay in my Power to do him any Service whilſt he is here. If the Length of my Letter could be an Excuſe for the Slowneſs of its coming, I have certainly made a very ample Apology; though I ſatisfie my ſelf neither in being ſilent ſo long, nor in tiring you with talking ſo much now; but 'tis from an Heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

4. *Auguſt 1696.*

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *London, 12. Sept. 1696.*

COuld the Painter have made a Picture of me capable of your Converſation, I ſhould have ſat to him with more Delight than ever I did any thing in my Life. The Honour you do me, in giving me thus a Place in your Houſe, I look upon as the Effect of having a Place already in your Eſteem and Affection; and that made me more eaſily ſubmit to what methought look'd too much like Vanity in me. Painting was deſign'd to repreſent the Gods, or the great Men that ſtood next to them. But Friendſhip, I ſee, takes no Meaſure of any thing, but by itſelf; and where it is great and high, will make its Object ſo, and raiſe it above its Level. This is that which has deceived you into my Picture, and made you put ſo great a Complement upon me; and I do not know what you will find to juſtifie your ſelf to thoſe who ſhall ſee it in your Poſſeſſion. You may indeed tell them, the Original is as much your's as the Picture; but this will be no great Boaſt, when the Man is not more conſiderable than his Shadow. When I look'd upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that Countenance I ought

to

to accoſt you with. I know not whether the ſecret Diſpleaſure I felt, whilſt I was ſitting, from the Conſideration that the going of my Picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: But this I muſt own, that it was not without Regret, that I remember'd that this Counterfeit would be before me with the Man that I ſo much deſired to be with, and could not tell him, how much I long'd to put my ſelf into his Hands, and to have him in my Arms. One Thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any time, pray believe, that the Colours of that Face on the Cloath, are more fading and changeable than thoſe Thoughts which will always repreſent you to my Mind, as the moſt valuable Perſon in the World, whoſe Face I do not know, and one whoſe Company is ſo deſireable to me, that I ſhall not be happy till I do.

Though I know how little Service I am able to do; yet my Conſcience will never reproach me for not wiſhing well to my Country, by which I mean *Engliſhmen*, and their Intereſt every where. There has been, of late Years, a Manufacture of Linnen carried on in *Ireland*, if I miſtake not; I would be glad to learn from you the Condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the Rubs and Hindrances that ſtop it. I ſuppoſe you have Land very proper to produce Flax and Hemp, why could not there be enough, eſpecially of the latter, produced there to ſupply His Majeſty's Navy? I ſhould be obliged by your Thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a Law requiring a certain Quantity of Hemp to be ſown every Year: If it be ſo, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the ſame publick Aims for the Good of your Country that I have, and therefore, without any Apology, I take this Liberty with you. I received an Account of your Health, and your Remembrance of me, not long ſince, by Mr. *Howard*, for which I return you my Thanks. I troubled you with a long Letter about the Beginning of the laſt Month, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honour'd SIR, *Dublin, Sept. 26. 1696.*

I Have now before me two of your's, one of *Auguſt* the *4th*, and t'other of the *12th* Inſtant. I had ſooner anſwer'd the former, but that I waited to give you an Account of the farther Progreſs of the Tranſlation, which Mr. *Burridge* faithfully promiſed me; and I lately underſtand from him, that he has gone through the three firſt Chapters of the firſt Book. I muſt confeſs, his Avocations are many, and therefore his Progreſs is not ſo quick as I could deſire. But I am ſure he will accompliſh it, and that well too; and Mr. *Churchill* has told him that you ſay, *ſat ſito ſi ſat bene*: And he is very well pleaſed that you give him Time.

I do not wonder that your *Eſſay* is received in the Univerſities. I ſhould indeed have wonder'd with Indignation at the contrary; *Magna eſt Veritas & prævalebit*. We may expect a Liberty of Philoſophizing in the Schools; but that your Doctrine ſhould be ſo ſoon heard out of our Pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten Years ago, ſhould have preach'd, that *Idea Dei non eſt innata*, had certainly drawn on him the Character of an Atheiſt; yet now we find Mr. *Bentley* very large upon it, in his Sermons at Mr. *Boyle's* Lectures, *Serm.* 1. *p.* 4. and *Serm.* 3. *p.* 5. And Mr. *Whiſton*, in his *new Theory of the Earth*, pag. 128.

Mentioning theſe Books minds me to intimate to you, that theſe ingenious Authors agree exactly with you in a Paſſage you have in your *Thoughts of Education*, p. 337. 3*d* Edit. §. 192. *That the Phænomenon of Gravitation cannot be accounted for by meer Matter and Motion, but ſeems an immediate Law of the Divine*

Will ſo ordering it. And you conclude that Section thus, *Reſerving to a fitter Opportunity, a fuller Explication of this Hypotheſis, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be ſuppoſed in the Hiſtory of the Flood.* This ſeems to imply, that you have ſome Thoughts of writing on that Subject; it would be a mighty Satisfaction to me, to know from you the Certainty thereof. I ſhould be very glad alſo to hear what the Opinion of the Ingenious is concerning Mr. *Whiſton*'s Book.

As to the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, I do not find but 'tis very well approved of here, amongſt candid unprejudiced Men, that dare ſpeak their Thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious Prelate ſaid to me on that Occaſion: I asked him whether he had read that Book, and how he liked it? He told me, Very well; and that if my Friend Mr. *Locke* writ it, 'twas the beſt Book he ever labour'd at; but, ſays he, if I ſhould be known to think ſo, I ſhould have my Lawns torn from my Shoulders. But he knew my Opinion afore-hand, and was therefore the freer to commit his ſecret Thoughts in that Matter to me.

I am very ſorry I can give you no better an Account of the Linnen Manufactures, of late Years ſet up in *Ireland*, than what follows.

About the Year 1692. (I think) one Monſ. *Du Pin* came to *Dublin* from *England*, and here, by the King and Queen's Letter, and Patents thereon, he ſet up a Royal Corporation, for carrying on the Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland*. Into this Corporation many of the Nobility and Gentry were admitted, more for their Countenance and Favour to the Project, than for any great Help could be expected, either from their Purſes or Heads to carry on the Work. *Du Pin* himſelf was nominated Under-governor, and a great Buſtle was made about the Buſineſs; many Meetings were held, and conſiderable Sums advanced to forward the Work, and the Members promiſed themſelves prodigious Gains; and this Expectation prevailed ſo far (by what Artifices I cannot tell) as to raiſe the Value of each Share to 40 or 50 Pounds, though but five Pounds was paid by each Member at firſt for every Share he had. At length Artificers began to be ſet at work, and ſome Parcels of Cloth were made, when on a ſudden there happen'd ſome Controverſie between the Corporation here in *Ireland*, and ſuch another Corporation eſtabliſh'd in *England*, by *London* Undertakers, and in which *Du Pin* was alſo a chief Member. Much Time was ſpent in managing this Diſpute, and the Work began in the mean time to flag, and the Price of the Shares to lower mightily.

But, ſome little time before this Controverſie happen'd, ſome private Gentlemen and Merchants, on their own Stock, without the Authority of an incorporating Patent, ſet up a Linnen Manufacture at *Drogheda*, which promiſed, and thriv'd very well at firſt; and the Corporation of *Dublin* perceiving this, began to quarrel with them alſo, and would never let them alone till they embodied with them. Theſe Quarrels and Controverſies (the Particulars whereof I can give you no Account of, for I was not engaged amongſt them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable Account of them) I ſay they grew ſo high, and *Du Pin* began to play ſuch Tricks, that all were diſcouraged, and withdrew as faſt as they could. So that now all is blown up, and nothing of this Kind is carried on, but by ſuch as out of their own private Purſes ſet up Looms and bleaching Yards. We have many of theſe in many Parts of *Ireland*; and, I believe, no Country in the World is better adapted for it, eſpecially the *North*. I have as good Diaper, made by ſome of my Tenants nigh *Armagh*, as can come to a Table, and all other Cloth for Houſhold uſes.

As to the Law for incouraging the Linnen Manufacture, 'tis this, In the 17*th* and 18*th* of *Car.* II. there was an Act of Parliament made, " Obliging " all Landlords and Tenants to ſow ſuch a certain Proportion of their Hold- " ings with Flax, under a great Penalty on both, on Failure; and impower- " ing the Sheriffs to levy 20 Pounds in each of their reſpective Counties, " to be diſtributed at the Quarter-Seſſions, yearly, to the three Perſons who " ſhould bring in the three beſt Webs of Linnen Cloth, of ſuch a Length " and Breadth, 10 *l.* to the firſt, 6 *l.* to the ſecond, and 4 *l.* to the third." This, whilſt it laſted, was a great Encouragement to the Country People, to ſtrive

to

to out-do each other, and it produced excellent Cloth all over the Kingdom; but then it was but temporary, only for twenty Years from paſſing the Act, and is now expired. But that Part of the Act, *Ordaining Landlords and Tenants to ſow Flax*, is perpetual; and I can give no Reaſon why 'tis not executed; only this I can ſay, that the Tranſgreſſion is ſo univerſal, and the Forfeiture thereon to the King, is ſo ſevere, that if it were enquired into, I believe all the Eſtates in *Ireland* would be forfeited to his Majeſty. So that now the Multitude of Sinners is their Security. This Statute you will find amongſt the *Iriſh* Acts, 17 & 18 *Car.* II. *chap.* 9.

England, moſt certainly, will never let us thrive by the Woollen Trade; this is their darling Miſtreſs, and they are jealous of any Rival. But I ſee not that we interfere with them in the leaſt by the Linnen Trade. So that that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well eſtabliſhed and managed, but by what Means this ſhould be, truly I dare not venture to give my Thoughts. There is no Country has better Land or Water for Flax and Hemp; and I do verily believe, the Navy may be provided here with Sailing and Cordage cheaper by far than in *England*. Our Land is cheaper, Victuals for Workmen is cheaper, and Labour is cheaper, together with other Neceſſaries for Artificers.

I know not in what manner to thank you for the Trouble you have been at in ſitting for your Picture, on my Account. 'Tis a Favour of that Value, that I acknowledge my ſelf extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the Expreſſions concerning it in your laſt belonged to me, did they come from one leſs ſincere than your ſelf. *Painting*, 'tis true, *was deſigned to repreſent the Gods, and the great Men that ſtand next them*; and therefore it was, that I deſired your Picture. This, Sir, is the real and ſincere Thought of

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Jan.* 5. 169$\frac{6}{7}$.

'TIS now three Months ſince I ventur'd to trouble you with a Letter; you may ſee thereby that I have a Regard to the Publick Buſineſs you are engaged in; but I have not been all this while without the Satisfaction of hearing that you are well; for, as all my Friends know that I have the moſt reſpectful Concern for you in the World; ſo they are not wanting, on all Opportunities, from t'other ſide the Water, to give me the acceptable Tidings of your Welfare. I have lately received a Letter from Mr. *Howard*, that obliges me to make his Acknowledgments for the Favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the ſame time, for not yet ſending me your Picture; but I ſuppoſe, by this time, 'tis on the Road hither, and I forgive him; and, with all Gratitude imaginable, return you my Thanks on his Account.

The incloſed Piece of Natural Hiſtory, I am deſired by my Brother to preſent to you, with his moſt affectionate humble Service. If, upon peruſing it, you think it may deſerve it, you may ſend it by the Penny-Poſt to the *Royal Society*, to fill up an empty Page in the Tranſactions. There is nothing to recommend it but it's being exactly true, and an Account of a non-deſcript Animal. Formerly I had a conſtant Correſpondence with the Secretary of the Society, but of late it has fail'd; and therefore we take the Liberty of ſending this through your Hands.

I have lately met with a Book here of Monſ. *Le Clerc*'s, called *The Cauſes of Incredulity*, done out of *French*. 'Tis the ſame *Le Clerc* that writes *Ontologia*, and dedicates it to you. I find thereby you are his Acquaintance and Friend; I ſhould be very glad you would be pleaſed to give me ſome Account of that Gentle-

Gentleman, and his Circumſtances in the World, if you know them. To me he ſeems an impartial and candid Enquirer after Truth, and to have the true Spirit of Chriſtianity in that his Book. The Reaſon why I enquire after him, is, becauſe I ſuppoſe him one of the Refugees from *France*, and perhaps he may receive ſome Encouragement to come into this Kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Feb. 3. 169⅞.*

AS I had Reaſon to rejoice on the Nation's Account, when you were firſt put on Publick Buſineſs; ſo I find, on my own Particular, I had Cauſe to lament; for ſince that time (to my great Concern) your Letters have been leſs frequent, and the Satisfaction I had in them abundantly diminiſhed. Were I aſſured of the confirmed State of your Health, I could more patiently ſubmit to this; but knowing your ſickly Diſpoſition, a Month's Silence puts me in Pain for you; and I am very uneaſie under the Apprehenſions of any Danger that may attend you: Favour me therefore, good Sir, though it were but by a Line or two, in the Crowd of your Buſineſs; for that it ſelf would be ſome Contentment to me, in the Want of thoſe noble Philoſophical Thoughts which ſometimes you were pleaſed to communicate to me.

And now, Sir, I ſhall beg a Favour of you a little out of our common Road of Correſpondence. We have here lately received the Certainty of Mr. *Methwin*'s being declared our Lord Chancellor; and truly Sir, all moderate and good Men, I find, are very well pleaſed at it. I ſuppoſe, by your Intereſt and Acquaintance with my Lord Keeper of *England*, you have an Acquaintance likewiſe with Mr. *Methwin*; and I beg the Favour of you to mention me to him as your devoted Friend and Servant. I am ſure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be repreſented to him under a more advantageous Character; and I know this will give me Admittance to his Graces, which I deſire, more as I hear he is a good, than a great Man; and being one of the Maſters in Chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the Favour of him under whom I am to act.

I have lately met with a Book of the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s concerning *the Trinity*. He takes Occaſion therein to reflect on ſome Things in your *Eſſay*; but truly, I think, with no great Strength of Reaſon. However, he being a Man of great Name, I humbly propoſe it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take notice of what he ſays, and give ſome Anſwer to it, which will be no difficult Task. I do not intend hereby, that an Anſwer, on Purpoſe for that End only, ſhould be framed by you, I think it not of that Moment; but perhaps you may find ſome accidental Occaſion of taking notice thereof, either in the next Edition of your *Eſſay*, or ſome other Diſcourſe you may publiſh hereafter.

I have not yet received the Satisfaction of having your Likeneſs before me, and have therefore lately writ a very diſcontented Letter about it to Mr. *Howard*. A great Man here told me, I ſomething reſembled you in Countenance; could he but aſſure me of being like you in Mind too, 'twould have been the Eternal Honour and Boaſt of

Your moſt devoted humble Servant,

and entirely affectionate Friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

I find,

I find, by a Book I lately light on, of Mr. *Norris*'s, that Mr. *Maſham* and my Son agree in one odd Circumſtance of Life, of having both their Mothers blind; for my Wife loſt her Sight above twelve Years before ſhe dyed, and I find my Lady *Maſham* is in the ſame Condition.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates*, 22. *Feb.* 169⅚.

I Fear you will be of an Opinion, that I take my Picture for my ſelf, and think you ought to look no farther, ſince that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are Shadows much alike, and there is not much Difference in our Strength and Uſefulneſs. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my Picture ſhould anſwer your Letters to me, pay the Acknowledgements I owe you, and excuſe a Silence as great as if I were nothing but a Piece of Cloath overlay'd with Colours. I could lay a great deal of the Blame on Buſineſs, and a great deal on Want of Health. Between theſe two I have had little leiſure ſince I writ to you laſt. But all that will bear no Excuſe to my ſelf, for being three Letters in Arrear to a Perſon whom I the willinglyeſt hear from of any Man in the World, and with whom I had rather entertain my ſelf, and paſs my Hours in Converſation, than with any one that I know. I ſhould take it amiſs if you were not angry with me for not writing to you all this while; for I ſhould ſuſpect you loved me not ſo well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my Silence. I hope it is your Civility makes you not chide me. I promiſe you, I ſhould have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half ſo guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not ſo very much, for if you ſhould provoke me any way, I know the firſt Sight of a Letter from you, would allay all my Choler immediately; and the Joy of hearing you were well, and that you continued your Kindneſs to me, would fill my Mind, and leave me no other Paſſion. For, I tell you truly, that ſince the Receipt of your Letter in *September* laſt, there has ſcarce a Day paſs'd, I am ſure not a Poſt, wherein I have not thought of my Obligation and Debt to you, and reſolved to acknowledge it to you, though ſomething or other has ſtill come between to hinder me. For you would have pitied me, to ſee how much of my Time was forced from me this Winter in the Country (where my Illneſs confin'd me within Doors,) by Crowds of Letters which were therefore indiſpenſibly to be anſwer'd, becauſe they were from People whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and ſo you, and another Friend I have in *Holland*, have been delay'd, and put laſt, becauſe you are my Friends beyond Ceremony and Formality. And I reſerved my ſelf for you when I was at leiſure, in the Eaſe of Thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been paſſed over by a peculiar Neglect, I mention to you another very good Friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a Letter, of an ancienter Date than the firſt of your three, yet unanſwer'd.

However, you are pleaſed out of Kindneſs to me, to rejoice in your's of *September* 26. that my Notions have had the good Luck to be vented from the Pulpit, and particularly by Mr. *Bentley*; yet that Matter goes not ſo clear as you imagine. For a Man of no ſmall Name, as you know Dr. *S* —— is, has been pleaſed to declare againſt my Doctrine of no innate Ideas, from the Pulpit in the *Temple*, and, as I have been told, charged it with little leſs than Atheiſm. Though the Dr. be a great Man, yet that would not much fright me, becauſe I am told, that he is not always obſtinate againſt Opinions which he has condemned more publick, than in an Harangue to a *Sunday*'s Auditory. But that 'tis poſſible he may be firm here, becauſe 'tis alſo ſaid, he never quits his Averſion to any Tenet he has once declared againſt, 'till Change of Times bringing Change of Intereſt, and faſhionable Opinions open his Eyes and his Heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deſerved his Averſion and Cenſure. My Book crept into the World about

about ſix or ſeven Years ago, without any Oppoſition, and has ſince paſſed amongſt ſome for uſeful, and, the leaſt favourable, for innocent. But, as it ſeems to me, it is agreed by ſome Men that it ſhould no longer do ſo. Something, I know not what, is at laſt ſpied out in it, that is like to be troubleſome, and therefore it muſt be an ill Book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any thing in particular, but ſome things that have happen'd at the ſame time together, ſeem to me to ſuggeſt this: What it will produce, Time will ſhew. But, as you ſay in that kind Letter, *Magna eſt Veritas & prævalebit*; that keeps me at perfect Eaſe in this, and whatever I write; for as ſoon as I ſhall diſcover it not to be Truth, my Hand ſhall be the forwardeſt to throw it in the Fire.

You deſire to know, what the Opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. *Whiſton*'s Book. I have not heard any one of my Acquaintance ſpeak of it, but with great Commendation, as I think it deſerves. And truly, I think he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an Hypotheſis, whereby he has explained ſo many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable Things in the great Changes of this Globe, than that ſome of them ſhould not go eaſily down with ſome Men, when the whole was entirely new to All. He is one of thoſe ſort of Writers, that I always fanſie ſhould be moſt eſteem'd and encouraged. I am always for the Builders who bring ſome Addition to our Knowledge, or, at leaſt ſome new Thing to our Thoughts. The Finders of Faults, the Confuters and Pullers down, do not only erect a barren and uſeleſs Triumph upon human Ignorance, but advance us nothing in the Acquiſition of Truth. Of all the Motto's I ever met with, this writ over a Water-work at *Cleve*, beſt pleaſed me, *Natura omnes fecit Judices, paucos Artifices.*

I thank you for the Account you gave me of your Linnen Manufacture. Private Knavery, I perceive, does there as well as here deſtroy all Publick good Works, and forbid the Hope of any Advantages by them, where Nature plentifully offers what Induſtry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cheriſhed. The Corruption of the Age gives me ſo ill a Proſpect of any Succeſs in Deſigns of this Kind, ever ſo well laid, that I am not ſorry my ill Health gives me ſo juſt a Reaſon to deſire to be eaſed of the Employment I am in.

Your's of the 5*th* of *January*, which brought with it that curious and exact Deſcription of that Non-deſcript Animal, found me here under the Confinement of my ill Lungs; but knowing Buſineſs of ſeveral Kinds would make it neceſſary for me to go to *London* as ſoon as poſſible, I thought it better to carry it thither my ſelf, than ſend it at random to the Royal Society. Accordingly, when I went up to Town, about a Fortnight ſince, I ſhew'd it to Dr. *Sloane*, and put it into his Hands to be communicated to the Royal Society; which he willingly undertook; and, I promiſe my ſelf it will be publiſhed in their next Tranſactions. Dr. *Sloane* is a very ingenious Man, and a very good Friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your Correſpondence with the Secretary of the Society had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that if you pleaſed, he would take it up, and be very glad if you would allow him the Honour of a conſtant Correſpondence with you.

You ſhew your charitable and generous Temper, in what you ſay concerning a Friend of mine in *Holland*, who is truly all that you think of him. He is married there, and has ſome kind of Settlement; but I could be glad, if you in *Ireland*, or I here (tho' of the latter ſay nothing to others) could get him a Prebendary of 100 or 200 *l. per Annum*, to bring him over into our *Church*, and to give him Eaſe, and a ſure Retreat to write in, where, I think he might be of great uſe to the Chriſtian World. If you could do this, you would offer him a Temptation would ſettle him amongſt us; if you think you cannot, I am never the leſs obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a Friend of mine, what you are able. If he ſhould miſs the Effect, yet I have ſtill the Obligation to you.

When your's of the 3*d* Inſtant met me in *London*, when I was there lately I was rejoiced at my Journey, though I was uneaſie in Town, becauſe I thought my being there, might give me an Opportunity to do you ſome little

little Service, or at leaſt ſhew you my willingneſs to do it. To that Purpoſe I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. *Methwin*, though he be a Perſon, in whoſe Company I remember not that I was ever but once in my Life. I miſſed him, by good Luck, both times, and my Diſtemper encreaſed ſo faſt upon me, that though I went to *London* with an intention to make ſome Stay there, yet I was forced away in eight Days, and had not an Opportunity to ſee Mr. *Methwin* at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my miſſing of him *good Luck*; but ſo I muſt always call that which any way favours my Deſign of ſerving you, as this did. For hereupon I applied my ſelf to a Friend of mine, who has an Intereſt in him, and one to whom your Worth and Friendſhip to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I deſired on your Behalf. And I promiſe my ſelf, from thence, that you will find Mr. *Methwin* will be as deſirous of your Acquaintance, as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, ſee that I have obeyed, or rather anticipated a Command of your's towards the latter end of your laſt Letter. What Sentiments I have of the uſage I have received from the Perſon you there mention, I ſhall ſhortly more at large acquaint you. What he ſays, is, as you obſerve, not of that Moment much to need an Anſwer; but the ſlie Deſign of it I think neceſſary to oppoſe; for I cannot allow any one's great Name a Right to uſe me ill. All fair Contenders for the Opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are ſo few that have Opinions, or at leaſt ſeem, by their way of defending them, to be really perſuaded of the Opinions they profeſs, that I am apt to think there is in the World a great deal more Scepticiſm, or at leaſt want of Concern for Truth, than is imagin'd. When I was in Town I had the Happineſs to ſee Mr. *Burridge*; he is, he ſays, ſpeedily returning to you, where I hope his Book, which is received with great Applauſe, will procure him ſomething more ſolid than the Name he has got him here; which I look upon as a good Fore-runner of greater Things to come. He ſpoke ſomething of his Intention to ſet about my Book, but that I muſt leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my Hand a Paper of Monſ. *L*———, writ to a Gentleman here in *England*, concerning ſeveral Things in my *Eſſay*. I was told, when I was in *London*, that he had lately ordered his Correſpondent to communicate them to me, and ſomething elſe he has ſince writ hither. He treats me all along with great Civility, and more Complement than I can deſerve. And being, as he is, a very great Man, 'tis not for me to ſay there appears to me no great Weight in the Exceptions he makes to ſome Paſſages in my Book; but his great Name and Knowledge in all Parts of Learning, ought to make me think, that a Man of his Parts ſays nothing but what has great Weight in it; only I ſuſpect he has, in ſome Places, a little miſtaken my Senſe, which is eaſie for a Stranger, who has (as I think) learned *Engliſh* out of *England*. The Servant I have now cannot copy *French*, or elſe you ſhould ſee what he ſays: When I have all his Papers you ſhall hear farther from me. I repine, as often as I think of the Diſtance between this and *Dublin*.

I read that Paſſage of your Letter to my Lady *Maſham* which concerned her Sight; ſhe bid me tell you, That ſhe hopes to ſee you here this Summer. You will, poſſibly, wonder at the Miracle, but that you muſt find in Mr. *Norris*'s Book. She has, 'tis true, but weak Eyes, which Mr. *Norris*, for Reaſons he knew beſt, was reſolved to make blind ones. And having fitted his Epiſtle to that Suppoſition, could not be hinder'd from publiſhing it ſo; though my Lady, to prevent it, writ him Word that ſhe was not blind, and hoped ſhe never ſhould be. 'Tis a ſtrange Power, you ſee, we Authors take to our ſelves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomſoever we will blind, and give them out to the World for ſuch, as boldly as *Bayard* himſelf. But 'tis time to ſpare you and your Eyes. I am, with the utmoſt Reſpect and Sincerity,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dublin, March 16. 169⅞.

I Muſt confeſs, dear Sir, I have not lately (if ever in my Life) been under a greater Concern, than at your long Silence. Sometimes I was angry with my ſelf, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could leſs tell why. As your Silence continued, my Diſtraction encreas'd; till, at laſt, I was happily relieved by your's of the 22*d* of *February*, which came not to my Hands till the 10*th* Inſtant. I then perceived I was to charge ſome Part of my troubled Time to the Conveyance of your Letter, which was almoſt three Weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my Concern, was the want of even your Shadow before me, for to this Moment I have not received that, which will be apt, on its Appearance, to make me an Idolater. Mr. *Howard* writes me Word, he has ſent it from *London* above five Weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our Correſpondent, to whom 'tis conſigned in *Cheſter*. However, ſeeing I know the Subſtance to be in Safety, and well, I can bear the hazard of the Shadow with ſome Patience, and doubt not but my Expectation will be ſatisfied in due time.

Both *Whiſton* and *Bentley* are poſitive againſt the Idea of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any Man) than on Dr. *S*——. 'Tis true, the latter has a great Name; but that, I am ſure, weighs not with you or me. Beſides, you rightly obſerve, the Dr. is no obſtinate Heretick, but may veer about when another Opinion comes in Faſhion; for ſome Men alter their Notions as they do their Cloaths, in Complyance to the Mode. I have heard of a Maſter of the *Temple*, who during the Siege of *Limerick*, writ over hither to a certain Prelate, to be ſure to let him know, by the firſt Opportunity, whenever it came to be ſurrender'd, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good Doctor's Eyes were opened, and he plainly ſaw the Oaths to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, were not only expedient, but Lawful, and our Duty. A good roaring Train of Artillery is not only *Ratio ultima Regum*, but of other Men beſides.

I fanſie I pretty well gueſs what it is that ſome Men find miſchievous in your *Eſſay*: 'Tis opening the Eyes of the ignorant, and rectifying the Methods of Reaſoning, which perhaps may undermine ſome received Errors, and ſo abridge the Empire of Darkneſs; wherein, though the Subjects wander deplorably, yet the Rulers have their Profit and Advantage. But 'tis ridiculous, in any Man to ſay in general, your Book is dangerous; let any fair Contender for Truth, ſit down and ſhew wherein 'tis Erroneous. Dangerous is a Word of an uncertain Signification, every one uſes it in his own Senſe. A *Papiſt* ſhall ſay 'tis dangerous, becauſe, perhaps, it agrees not ſo well with Tranſubſtantiation; and a *Lutheran*, becauſe his Conſubſtantiation is in hazard; but neither conſider, whether Tranſubſtantiation or Conſubſtantiation be true or falſe, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at leaſt gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is againſt it, muſt be dangerous.

I am extremely obliged to you for your introducing a Correſpondence between Dr. *Sloane* and me, and it would be the greateſt Satisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promiſe my ſelf Materials, in this Place, fit to ſupport it. However, I ſhall ſoon begin it, by ſending him an Account of the largeſt Quadruped that moves on the Earth, except the Elephant, with which this Country has anciently been plentifully ſtock'd, but is now quite periſhed from amongſt us, and is not to be found, for ought as I can learn, any where at preſent, but about *New England*, *Virginia*, &c.

And now I come to that Part of your Letter relating to Monſ. *Le Clerc*, which grieves me every time I think on't. There are ſo many Difficulties, in what you propoſe concerning him, that I know not how they will be ſurmounted. The Clergy here, have given that learned, pious, and candid Man, a Name that will frighten any Biſhop from ſerving him, though otherways inclinable enough in his own Breaſt. I know but two or three that are in any Poſt in the *Church* capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do it; but, at the ſame time, I know them to be ſuch cautious wary Men,

and

and ſo fearful of the Cenſure of the reſt of the Tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take Monſ. *Le Clerc* to be one of the greateſt Scholars in *Europe*; I look on him as one of the moſt judicious, pious, and ſincere Chriſtians that has appear'd publickly; and it would be an infinite Honour to us, to have him amongſt us; but, I fear, an Eccleſiaſtical Preferment will be very difficult to be obtained for him. And indeed, when I troubled you to give me ſome Account of him, it was in Proſpect of bringing him into my own Family, could his Circumſtances have allow'd it; for I took him to be a ſingle Man, and one of the Refugees in *Holland*, and wholly unprovided for. On his own Account, I am heartily glad he has any Settlement there; but, for my own Sake, I could wiſh he were in other Circumſtances. But, notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties, I have ventur'd to break this Matter to a Clergy-man here in a conſiderable Poſt, Dr. ..... Dean of ....., a Gentleman who is happy in your Acquaintance, and is a Perſon of an extenſive Charity, and great Candor. He reliſh'd the Thing extremely, but moved the forementioned Difficulties, and raiſed ſome farther Scruples concerning Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Ordination; for ordained he muſt neceſſarily be, to capacitate him for an Eccleſiaſtical Preferment; and he queſtion'd whether he would ſubmit to thoſe Oaths, and Subſcription of Aſſent and Conſent, that are requiſite thereto. But he promiſed me, that when he attends the King this Summer into *Holland*, as his Chaplain, he will wait on Monſieur *Le Clerc* at *Amſterdam*, and diſcourſe with him farther about this Matter. This Gentleman is the likelieſt Eccleſiaſtick in *Ireland* to effect this Buſineſs, for he is a riſing Man in the *Church*; and though he be very zealous in his own Principles, yet 'tis with the greateſt Charity and Deference to others; which, I think, is the true Spirit of Chriſtianity. I have not mention'd you in the leaſt to him, in all this Matter.

I am extremely obliged to you for the good Offices you have done me to Mr. *Methwin* our Lord Chancellor. I promiſe my ſelf a great deal of Satisfaction in the Honour of his Lordſhip's Acquaintance. And, I could wiſh, if it were conſiſtent with your Convenience, that you would let me know the Perſon you deſired to mention my Name to his Lordſhip.

I am heartily glad to underſtand, that you have taken notice of what the Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſays, relating to your Book. I have been in diſcourſe here, with an ingenious Man, upon what the Biſhop alledges; and the Gentleman obſerved, that the Biſhop does not ſo directly object againſt your Notions as Erroneous, but as miſuſed by others, and particularly by the Author of *Chriſtianity not myſterious*; but I think, this is no very juſt Obſervation. The Biſhop directly oppoſes your Doctrine, though, 'tis true, he does it on the Occaſion of the foreſaid Book. I am told the Author of that Diſcourſe is of this Country, and that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a Stranger in theſe Parts; I believe, if he belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any ſuch remarkable Man amongſt us.

I ſhould be very glad to ſee Monſ. *L*——'s Paper concerning your *Eſſay*. He is certainly an extraordinary Perſon, eſpecially in Mathematicks; but really, to ſpeak freely of him, in Relation to what he may have to ſay to you, I do not expect any great Matters from him; for methinks (with all Deference to his great Name) he has given the World no extraordinary Samples of his Thoughts this way, as appears by two Diſcourſes he has printed, both in the *Acta Erudit. Lipſiæ*, the firſt *Anno* 1694. pag. 110. *De primæ Philoſophiæ Emendatione, &c.* the other *Anno* 1695. pag. 145. *Specimen Dynamicum*, which truly to me is, in many Places, unintelligible; but that may be my Defect, and not his.

I beg you would excuſe me to my Lady *Maſham*, for the Error I committed relating to her Ladyſhip. I ever look'd on Mr. *Norris* as an *obſcure Enthuſiaſtick Man*, but I could not think he would knowingly impoſe on the World ſo notorious a Falſity in Matter of Fact. I wiſh Authors would take more Pains to open than to ſhut Men's Eyes, and then we ſhould have

more Succeſs in the Diſcoveries of Truth. ——— But I have almoſt out-run my Paper. I am,

Ever honour'd SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honour'd SIR, *Dublin, April 6. 1697.*

IN my laſt to you of *March 16.* there was a Paſſage relating to the Author of *Chriſtianity not myſterious.* I did not then think that he was ſo near me, as within the Bounds of this City; but I find ſince, that he is come over hither, and have had the Favour of a Viſit from him. I now underſtand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this Country; but that he has been a great while Abroad, and his Education was, for ſome time, under the great *Le Clerc.* But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his Acquaintance and Friendſhip to you, and the Reſpect, which, on all Occaſions, he expreſſes for you. I propoſe a great deal of Satisfaction in his Converſation; I take him to be a candid Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But there is a violent ſort of Spirit that reigns here, which begins already to ſhew it ſelf againſt him; and, I believe, will increaſe daily; for I find the Clergy allarmed to a mighty degree againſt him. And laſt *Sunday* he had his Welcome to this City, by hearing himſelf harangued againſt, out of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.

I have at laſt received my moſt eſteemed Friend's Picture; I muſt now make my grateful Acknowledgments to you, for the many idle Hours you ſpent in ſitting for it, to gratifie my Deſire. I never look upon it, but with the greateſt Veneration. But though the Artiſt has ſhewn extraordinary Skill at his Pencil, yet now I have obtained ſome Part of my Deſire, the greateſt remains unſatisfied; and ſeeing he could not make it ſpeak, and converſe with me, I am ſtill at a loſs. But I find you are reſolved, in ſome meaſure, to ſupply even that too, by the kind Preſents you ſend me of your Thoughts, both in your Letters, and in your Books, as you publiſh them. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, I am obliged to you for one or two of this Kind, that you have been pleaſed to favour me with; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartieſt Thanks for them. I long, indeed, to ſee your Anſwer to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*; but for *Edwards*, I think him ſuch a poor Wretch, he deſerves no notice. I am,

Moſt Worthy SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 10. April 1697.*

THough I do not ſuſpect that you will think me careleſs or cold in that ſmall Buſineſs you deſired of me, and ſo left it in negligent Hands, give me leave to ſend you a Tranſcript of a Paſſage in my Friend's Letter, which I received laſt Poſt.

" 'Tis

" 'Tis a great while ſince that Mr. *P*—— undertook to tell you that I had " ſpoken to Mr. *Methwin* about Mr. *Molyneux*, and that he received your " Recommendation very civilly, and anſwer'd, He ſhould always have a " great Regard for any Body you thought worthy of your Eſteem; and you " gave ſo advantageous a Character of Mr. *Molyneux*, that he ſhould covet his " Acquaintance, and therefore he muſt deſire the Favour of you to recommend " him to Mr. *Molyneux*.

Thus, my Friend, whoſe Words, though in them there be ſomething of Complement to my ſelf, I repeat to you juſt as they are in his Letter, that you may ſee he had the ſame Succeſs I promiſed you in my laſt.

In Obedience to your Commands, I herewith ſend you a Copy of Mr. *L*—'s Paper. The laſt Paragraph, which you will find writ in my Hand, is a Tranſcript of part of a Letter, writ lately to his Correſpondent here, one Mr. *Burnet*, who ſent it me lately, with a Copy of Mr. *L*——'s Paper. Mr. *Burnet* has had it this Year or two, but never communicated it to me, till about a Fortnight agone. Indeed Mr. *Cunningham* procured me a Sight of it laſt Summer, and he and I read it Paragraph by Paragraph over together, and he confeſſed to me, that ſome Parts of it he did not underſtand; and I ſhew'd him in others, that Mr. *L*——'s Opinion would not hold, who was perfectly of my Mind. I mention Mr. *Cunningham* to you, in the Caſe, becauſe I think him an extraordinary Man of Parts and Learning, and he is one that is known to Mr. *L*——. To anſwer your Freedom with the like, I muſt confeſs to you, that Mr. *L*——'s great Name had raiſed in me an Expectation which the Sight of his Paper did not anſwer, nor that Diſcourſe of his in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have ſince read, and had juſt the ſame Thoughts of it, when I read it, as I find you have. From whence I only draw this Inference, That even great Parts will not maſter any Subject without great Thinking, and even the largeſt Minds have but narrow Swallows. Upon this Occaſion I cannot but again regret the Loſs of your Company and Aſſiſtance, by this great Diſtance.

I have lately got a little Leiſure to think of ſome Additions to my Book, againſt the next Edition, and within theſe few Days have fallen upon a Subject, that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written ſeveral Pages on it, but the Matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get ſight of any End of it. The Title of the Chapter will be, *Of the Conduct of the Underſtanding*, which, if I ſhall purſue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deſerves, will, I conclude, make the largeſt Chapter of my *Eſſay*. 'Tis well for you, you are not near me; I ſhould be always peſtering you with my Notions, and Papers, and Reveries. It would be a great Happineſs to have a Man of Thought to lay them before, and a Friend that would deal candidly and freely.

I hope, e'er this, you and your Brother have received printed Copies of what the Dr. communicated to the Royal Society. I preſume it is publiſh'd before this time, though I have not ſeen it; for Dr. *Sloane* writ me Word, ſome time ſince, that it would be ſpeedily, and told me he would ſend it to you. And, if Mr. *Churchill* has taken that Care he promiſed me, I hope you have alſo received my *Letter to the Biſhop of* Worceſter, and that I ſhall ſoon receive your Thoughts of it.

The Buſineſs you propoſed to Dr. *S*—— is generouſly deſigned, and well managed, and I very much wiſh it Succeſs. But will not Dr. *S*—— be perſuaded to communicate to the World the Obſervations he made in *Turky*? The Diſcourſe I had with him ſatisfies me, they well deſerve not to be loſt, as all Papers laid up in a Study are. Methinks you ſhould prevail with him to oblige his Country.

Though my Paper be done, yet I cannot cloſe my Letter till I have made ſome Acknowledgments to you, for the many great Marks you give me of a ſincere Affection, and an Eſteem extremely above what I can deſerve, in your's of the *16th* of *March*. Such a Friend, procured me by my *Eſſay*, makes me more than amends for the many Adverſaries it has raiſed me. But, I think, no body will be able to find any thing Miſchievous in it, but what you ſay, which I ſuſpect, troubles ſome Men; and I am not ſorry for it, nor like

like my Book the worſe. He that follows Truth impartially, ſeldom pleaſes any Sett of Men; and I know not how a great many of thoſe, who pretend to be Spreaders of Light and Teachers of Truth, would yet have Men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their Words than their own Knowledge, juſt cook'd and ſeaſon'd as they think fit. But 'tis time to releaſe you after ſo long a trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Réflections de Mr. *L*—— ſur *l' Eſſay de l' Entendement Humain* de Monſieur LOCKE.

JE trouve tant de marques d' une penetration peu ordinaire dans ce que Monſ. Locke *nous a donné ſur l' Entendement de l' Homme, & ſur l' Education, & je juge la matiere ſi importante que j'ay cru ne pas mal employer le temps que je donnerois à une lecture ſi profitable; d' autant que j'ay fort medité moi même ſur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoiſſances. C'eſt ce qui ma fait mettre ſur cette feuille quelques unes des remarques qui me ſont venues en liſant ſon* Eſſay de l' Entendement. *De toutes les recherches il n'y a point de plus importante, puis que c' eſt la clef de toutes les autres.*

Le premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit eſtre nés avec nous. Monſ. Locke *ne les admet pas, non plus que les idées innées. Il a eu ſans doute de grandes raiſons de s'oppoſer en cela aux prejugés ordinaires, car on abuſe extremément du nom d'*idées, *&* de principes. *Les philoſophes vulgaires ſe font des principes à leur phantaſie, &* les Carteſiens, *qui ſont profeſſion de plus d' exactitude, ne laiſſent pas de faire leur retrenchement des idées pretendües, de l' etendüe de la matiere, & de l' ame; voulant s'exempter par là de la neceſſité de prouver ce qu'ils avancent; ſous pretexte que ceux qui mediteront les idées, y trouveront la meme choſe qu'eux, c'eſt a dire, que ceux qui s' accoutumeront à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penſer, auront les memes preventions, ce qui eſt trés veritable. Mon opinion eſt donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, ſi non les experiences & l'axiome de l'identicité ou (ce qui eſt la méme choſe) de la contradiction, qui eſt primitif, puis qu'autrement il n'y auroit point de difference entre la verité & la fauſſeté; & toutes les recherches ceſſeroient d'abord, s'il eſtoit indifferent de dire oüi ou non. On ne ſçauroit donc s'empecher de ſuppoſer ce principe, dés qu'on veut raiſonner. Toutes les autres verités ſont prouvables, & j'eſtime extremement la methode d'* Euclide *qui ſans s'arreter a ce qu'on croiroit eſtre aſſez prouvé par les pretendües idées, a demontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle un côté eſt toujours moindre que les deux autres enſemble. Cependant* Euclide *a eu raiſon de prendre quelques axiomes pour accordés, non pas comme s'ils eſtoient veritablement primitifs & indemonſtrables, mais par ce qu'il ſe ſeroit trop arretté, s'il n'avoit voulu venir aux concluſions qu' aprés une diſcuſſion exacte des principes: Ainſi il a jugé à propos de ſe contenter d'avoir pouſſé les preuves juſqu' à ce petit nombre de propoſitions, en ſorte qu'on peut dire que ſi elles ſont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'eſt auſſi. Il a laiſſé à d'autres le ſoin de demontrer ces principes memes qui d'ailleurs ſont deja juſtifiés par les experiences. Mais c'eſt dequoy on ne ſe contente point en ces matieres: C'eſt pourquoy* Apollonius, Proclus, *& autres, ont pris la peine de demontrer quelques uns des axiomes d'* Euclide. *Cette maniere doit étre imitée des philoſophes, pour venir enfin à quelques eſtabliſſemens, quand ils ne ſeroient que proviſionels; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idées j'en ay donné quelque eclairciſſement dans un petit Ecrit imprimé dans les* Actes de Sçavans *de* Leipzig *au mois de Novembre,* 1684. *pag.* 537. *qui eſt intitulé,* Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis, *& j' aurois ſouhaité que Mr.* Locke *l' êut veu & examiné, car je ſuis deſplus dociles, & rien n' eſt plus propre à avancer nos penſées que les conſiderations & les remarques des perſonnes de merite, lors qu'elles ſont faites avec attention & avec ſincerité. Je diray ſeulement ici, que les* idées vrayes *ou* reelles *ſont celles dont on eſt aſſeuré que l' execution eſt poſſible, les autres ſont douteuſes ou (en cas de preuve de l'impoſſibilité) chimeriques. Or la poſſibilité des idées ſe*

prouve

prouve tant à priori *par des demonſtrations, en ſe ſervant de la poſſibilité d' autres idées plus ſimples, qu'* à poſteriori *par les experiences, car ce qui eſt ne ſçauroit manquer d'eſtre poſſible. Mais les idées primitives ſont celles dont la poſſibilité eſt indemonſtrable, & qui en effet ne ſont autre choſe que les attributs de Dieu. Pour ce qui eſt de la queſtion, s'il* y a des idées & des verités crées avec nous, *Je ne trouve point abſolument neceſſaire pour les commencemens, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penſer, de la decider : ſoit qu'elles nous viennent toutes de dehors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raiſonnera juſte pourveu qu'on garde ce que j'ay dit cy deſſus & qu'on procede avec ordre & ſans prevention. La queſtion de* l' origine de nos idées & de nos maximes *n'eſt pas préliminaire en philoſophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrés pour la bien reſoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (meme celles de choſes ſenſibles) viennent de nôtre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger par ce que j'ay publié touchant la nature & la communication des ſubſtances & ce qu'on appelle* l'union de l'ame avec le corps. *Car j'ay trouvé que ces choſes n'avoient pas eſté bien priſes. Je ne ſuis nullement pour la* tabula raſa *d'* Ariſtote, *& il y a quelque choſe de ſolide dans ce que* Platon *appelloit* la reminiſcence. *Il y a meme quelque choſe de plus, car nous n'avons pas ſeulement une* reminiſcence *de toutes nos penſées paſſées, mais encore un* preſſentiment *de toutes nos penſées futures. Il eſt vray que c'eſt confuſement & ſans les diſtinguer, à peu près comme lorſque j'entends le bruit de la mer, j'entends celuy de toutes les vagues en particulier qui compoſent le bruit total; quoique ce ſoit ſans diſcerner une vague de l'autre : Et il eſt vray dans un certain ſens que j'ay expliqué, que non ſeulement nos idées, mais encore nos ſentimens naiſſent de noſtre propre fonds, & que l'ame eſt plus independante qu'on ne penſe, quoi qu'il ſoit toujours vrai que rien ne ſe paſſe en elle qui ne ſoit determiné.*

Dans le livre ii. *qui vient au detail des idées, j'avoue que les raiſons de Monſ.* Locke *pour prouver que* l'ame eſt quelquefois ſans penſer à rien, *ne me paroiſſent pas convainquantes ; ſi ce n'eſt qu'il donne le nom de* penſées *aux ſeules perceptions aſſés notables pour eſtre diſtinguées & retenues. Je tiens que l'ame & meme le corps n'eſt jamais ſans action, & que l'ame n'eſt jamais ſans quelque perception. Même en dormant on a quelque ſentimens confus & ſombre du lieu où l'on eſt & d'autres choſes. Mais quand l'experience ne le confirmeroit pas je crois qu'il y en a demonſtration. C'eſt à peu prés comme on ne ſçauroit prouver abſolument par les experiences s'il n'y a point de vuide dans l'eſpace & s'il n'y a point de repos dans la matiere. Et cependant ces ſortes de queſtions me paroiſſent decidées demonſtrativement, auſſi bien qu' à Mr.* Locke. *Je demeure d'accord de la difference qu'il met avec beaucoup de raiſon entre la* matiere & l'eſpace. *Mais pour ce qui eſt du* vuide *pluſieurs perſonnes habiles l'ont crû. Monſieur* Locke *eſt de ce nombre, j'en étois preſque perſuadé moy même, mais j'en ſuis revenu depuis long temps. Et l' incomparable Monſieur* Huygens *qui étoit auſſi pour le vuide, & pour les atomes, commença à faire reflexion ſur mes raiſons, comme ſes lettres le peuvent temoigner. La preuve du vuide priſe du mouvement, dont Mr.* Locke *ſe ſert, ſuppoſe que le corps eſt originairement* dur, *& qu'il eſt compoſé d'un certain nombre de parties inflexibles. Car en ce cas il ſeroit vray, quelque nombre fini d'atomes, qu'on pouroit prendre, que le mouvement ne ſauroit avoir lieu ſans vuide; mais toutes les parties de la matiere ſont diviſibles & pliables. Il y a encore quelques autres choſes dans ce ſecond livre qui m'arretent, par exemple lors qu'il eſt dit chap.* 17. *que* l'infinité ne ſe doit attribuer qu' à l'eſpace, au tems, & aux nombres. *Je crois avec Mr.* Locke *qu' à proprement parler on peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'eſpace, de temps, ni de nombre, qui ſoit infini, mais qu'il eſt ſeulement vrai que plus grand que ſoit un eſpace, ou temps, ou bien un nombre, il y a toûjours un autre plus grand que luy ſans fin, & qu'ainſi le veritable* infini *ne ſe trouve point dans un tout compoſé de parties. Cependant il ne laiſſe pas de ſe trouver ailleurs, ſçavoir dans* l'abſolu, *qui eſt ſans parties & qui a influence ſur les choſes compoſées, parce qu'elles reſultent de la limitation de l'abſolu. Donc* l'infini poſitif *n'étant autre choſe que l'abſolu, on peut dire qu'il y a en ce ſens un idée poſitive de l'infini, & qu'elle eſt anterieure à celle du fini. Au reſte en rejettant un infini compoſé on ne nie point ce que les Geometres demonſtrent de* ſeriebus infinitis, *& particulierement l'excellent Mr.* Newton. *Quant à ce qui eſt dit chap.* 30. de ideis adæquatis, *il eſt permis de donner aux termes la ſignification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant ſans blamer le ſens de Mr.* Locke *je mets un degré dans les idées ſelon lequel l' appelle* adequate *celle où il n'y a plus rien à expliquer. Or toutes les idées des qualités ſenſibles, comme de la lumiere, couleur, chaleur, n'eſtant point de cette nature, je ne les compte point parmis les* adequates, *auſſi n'eſt ce point par elles memes, ni* à priori, *mais par l'experience que nous en ſçavons la realité, ou la poſſibilité.*

Il

Il y a encore bien de bonnes choſes dans le livre iii. *où il eſt traité des mots ou termes. Il eſt très vray qu'on ne ſçauroit tout definir, & que les qualités ſenſibles n'ont point de* definition nominale, *& on les peut appeller primitives en ce ſens là. Mais elles ne laiſſent pas de pouvoir recevoir une* Definition réelle. *J'ay montré la difference de ſes deux ſortes de Definitions dans la Meditation citée cy deſſus. La* definition nominale *explique le nom par les marques de la choſe; mais la* Definition réelle *fait connoitre à* priori *la poſſibilité du defini. Au reſte j'applaudis fort à la Doctrine de Monſ.* Locke *touchant la demonſtrabilité des verités morales.*

Le iv *ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la connoiſſance de la verité, montre l'uſage de ce qui vient d'eſtre dit. J'y trouve (auſſi bien que dans les livres precedens) une infinité de belles reflexions. De faire là deſſus les remarques convenables, ce ſeroit faire un livre auſſi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me ſemble que les axiomes y ſont un peu moins conſiderés qu'ils ne meritent de l'eſtre. C'eſt apparement parce qu'excepté ceux des Mathematiciens on n'en trouve guere ordinairement, qui ſoient importans & ſolides: j'ay taché de remédier à ce defaut. Je ne mépriſe pas les propoſitions identiques, & j'ay trouvé qu'elles ont un grand uſage même dans l'analyſe. Il eſt trés vray, que nous connoiſſons nôtre exiſtence par une intuition immediate & celle de Dieu par demonſtration, & qu'une maſſe de matiere, dont les parties ſont ſans perception, ne ſçauroit faire un tout qui penſe. Je ne mépriſe point l'argument inventé, il y a quelques ſiecles, par* Anſelme, *qui prouve que l'étre parfait doit exiſter; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque choſe à cet Argument, parce qu'il ſuppoſe que l'eſtre parfait eſt poſſible. Car ſi ce ſeul point ſe démouſtre encore, la démonſtration toute entiere ſera entierement achevé. Quant à la connoiſſance des autres choſes, il eſt fort bien dit, que la ſeule experience ne ſuffit pas pour avancer aſſez en Phyſique. Un eſprit penetrant tirera plus de conſequences des quelques experiences aſſez ordinaires qu'un autre ne ſçauroit tirer des plus choiſies, outre qu'il y a un art d'experimenter & d'interroger, pour ainſi dire, la nature. Cependant il eſt toujours vray qu'on ne ſçauroit avancer dans le detail de la phiſique qu'à meſure qu'on a des experiences. Monſ.* Locke *eſt de l'opinion de pluſieurs habiles hommes, qui tiennent que la forme des Logiciens eſt de peu d'uſage. Je ſerois quaſi d'un autre ſentiment; & j'ay trouvé ſouvent que les paralogiſmes même dans les Mathematiques ſont des manquemens de la forme. M.* Huygens *a fait la même remarque. Il y auroit bien à dire là deſſus; & pluſieurs choſes excellentes ſont mepriſées parce qu'on n'en fait pas l'uſage dont elles ſont capables. Nous ſommes portés à méſpriſer ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il eſt vray que nous y apprenons bien des inutilités, mais il eſt bon de faire la ſonction* della cruſca, *c'eſt à dire de ſeparer le bon du mauvais. Mr.* Locke *le peut faire autant que qui que ce ſoit; & de plus il nous donne des penſées conſiderables de ſon propre crû. Il n'eſt pas ſeulement* Eſſayeur, *mais il eſt encore* Tranſmutateur *par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon metail. S'il continuoit d'en faire preſent au public, nous luy en ſerions fort redevables.*

Je voudrois que Monſ. *Locke* eut dit ſon ſentiment à Monſ. *Cunningham* ſur mes Remarques, ou que Monſ. *Cunningham* voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne ſuis pas de ceux qui ſont enteſtées, & la raiſon peut tout ſur moy. Mais les Affaires de negoce detournent Monſ. *Locke* de ces penſées, car cette matiere de negoce eſt de trés grande etendue & meme fort ſubtile & demimathematique, *&c.*

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 3. May 1697.*

THough the Honour you do me in the Value you put upon my Shadow, be a freſh Mark of that Friendſhip which is ſo great an Happineſs to me; yet I ſhall never conſider my Picture in the ſame Houſe with you, without Regret at my ſo far Diſtance from you my ſelf. But I will not continue to importune you with my Complaints of that Kind; 'tis an Advantage greater than I could have hoped, to have the Converſation of ſuch a Friend, though with the Sea between; and the remaining little Scantling of my Life would be too happy, if I had you in my Neighbourhood.

I am

I am glad to hear, that the Gentleman you mention in your's of the *6th* of the laſt Month, does me the Favour to ſpeak well of me on that Side the Water, I never deſerved other of him, but that he ſhould always have done ſo on this. If his exceeding great Value of himſelf do not deprive the World of that Uſefulneſs, that his Parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I ſhall be very glad. He went from *London*, as I heard afterwards, ſoon after I left it the laſt time. But he did me not the Favour to give me a Viſit whilſt I was there, nor to let me know of his intended Journey to you; if he had, 'tis poſſible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not ſorry I did not. I always value Men of Parts and Learning, and think I cannot do too much in procuring them Friends and Aſſiſtance. But there may happen Occaſions that may make one ſtop one's hand. And 'tis the Hopes young Men give, of what Uſe they will make of their Parts, which is to me the Encouragement of being concern'd for them. But, if Vanity increaſes with Age, I always fear whither it will lead a Man. I ſay this to you, becauſe you are my Friend, for whom I have no Reſerves, and think I ought to talk freely where you enquire, and poſſibly may be concerned; but I ſay it to you alone, and deſire it may go no farther. For the Man I wiſh very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do ſo. And therefore I deſire you to be kind to him; but I muſt leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far. If his Carriage with you gives you the Promiſes of a ſteady uſeful Man, I know you will be forward enough of your ſelf, and I ſhall be very glad of it. For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.

But I have ſomething to ſay to you of another Man. Monſ. *Le Clerc*, in a Letter I lately received from him, writes thus:

*Monſ. C—— me diſoit dernierement que s'il trouvoit occaſion d'entrer dans une maiſon de condition en qualité de percepteur il ſeroit ravi d'en profiter. C'eſt un fort honête homme, & qui ſeroit bien capable de s'acquiter de cet emploi. Il ne ſait l'*Anglois *que par les livres, c'eſt à dire, qu'il l'entend lors qu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le ſcauroit parler non plus que moi, faute d'habitude. Si quelque un de vos amis auroit beſoin de precepteur, & qu'il lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne ſauroit trouver d'homme plus ſage & plus reglé, outre qu'il ſait beaucoup de choſes utiles pour un emploi comme celui là, les belles lettres, l'hiſtoire,* &c.

This Mr. *C*——— is he that tranſlated my Book of *Education*, upon which Occaſion I came to have ſome Acquaintance with him by Letters, and he ſeems a very ingenious Man; and Mr. *Le Clerc* has often, before any thing of this, ſpoke of him to me with Commendation and Eſteem. He has ſince tranſlated *The Lady's Religion*, and *The Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity* into *French*. You may eaſily gueſs, why I put this into my Letter to you, after what you ſaid concerning Mr. *Le Clerc* in your laſt Letter but one.

You are willing, I ſee, to make my little Preſents to you more and greater than they are. Amongſt the Books that Mr. *Churchill* ſent you, you are beholden to me (ſince you will call it ſo) but for one; and to that the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, I hear, has an Anſwer in the Preſs, which will be out this Week. So that I perceive this Controverſie is a Matter of ſerious Moment beyond what I could have thought. This Benefit I ſhall be ſure to get by it, either to be confirmed in my Opinion, or be convinced of ſome Errors, which I ſhall preſently reform, in my *Eſſay*, and ſo make it the better for it. For I have no Opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I always ſhall be fond of, and ſo ready to embrace, and with ſo much Joy, that I ſhall own it to the World, and thank him that does me the Favour. So that I am never afraid of any thing writ againſt me, unleſs it be the waſting of my Time, when it is not writ cloſely in purſuit of Truth, and Truth only.

In my laſt to you, I ſent you a Copy of Mr. *L*———'s Paper, I have this writ me out of *Holland* concerning it:

Mr. L——— *Mathematicien de* Hannover *aiant oui dire, qu'on traduiſoit votre ouvrage, & qu'on l'alloit imprimer, a envoié ici à un de mes amis ce jugement qu'il en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tete. Cependant il a été bien aiſe qu'on vous le communicât. Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour cela. On m'a dit mille biens de ce*

Mathematicien. Il y a long temps que magna & præclara minatur, *ſans rien produire que quelques Demonſtrations detachées. Je croi neanmoiſis qu'il ne vous entend pas, & je doute, qu'il s'entende bien lui même.*

I ſee you and I, and this Gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the Man; and this ſort of Fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great Man as has been talked of him. His Paper was in *England* a Year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagin you will think he need not make ſuch a great Stir with it.

My *Eſſay*, you ſee is tranſlating into *French*, and it is by the ſame Mr. *Coſte* above-mentioned. But this need not hinder Mr. *Burridge* in what he deſign'd, for Mr. *Coſte* goes on exceeding ſlowly, as I am told.

You ſee how forward I am to importune you with all my little Concerns. But this would be nothing to what I ſhould do, if I were nearer you. I ſhould then be talking to you *De quolibet ente*, and conſulting you about a thouſand Whimſies that come ſometimes into my Thoughts. But with all this I unfeignedly am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

The Poem that was ſent you by Mr. *Churchill*, amongſt the other Books, I believe will pleaſe you, there are ſome noble Parts in it.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My moſt honoured Friend, *Dublin, May* 15. 1697.

NOthing could excuſe my keeping your kind Letter of *April* 10. ſo long by me unanſwer'd, but an unexpected and melancholly Accident that has lately befallen a dear Siſter of mine, who, on the 24th of the laſt Month, loſt her Husband, the Lord Biſhop of *Meath*, a Learned and Worthy Prelate. Our whole Family has ſo deeply partaken in this Trouble, that we have been All under a great Concern: but more particularly my ſelf, who am intruſted by the good Biſhop with the Diſpoſal of ſome of his Affairs. This has of late ſo taken me up, that I had not time to take the Satisfaction of writing to you; but the Hurry of that Buſineſs being ſomewhat abated, I reſume the Pleaſure of kiſſing your Hands, and of aſſuring you, with what a deep Senſe of Gratitude I receive the Kindneſs you have done me with my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*. I hope we ſhall ſee his Lordſhip ſoon here, for we underſtand he parts from *London* the 18th Inſtant.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you have been at in communicating to me Monſ. *L*———'s Paper, and I am now ſorry I ever put the Task on you; for to ſpeak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this Paper to make me alter the Opinion I had of Monſ. *L*———'s Performances this way. He is either very unhappy in Expreſſing, or I am very dull in Apprehending his Thoughts. I do not know but ſome of the Doubts he raiſes concerning your *Eſſay*, may proceed from his Unacquaintance with our Language; and this makes me yet more earneſt to procure the Tranſlation of your *Eſſay*; but Mr. *Burridge*, ſince he laſt arrived here, has been wholly employ'd in overtaking his Buſineſs in the Countrey, to which he is run much in Arrear. He is Chaplain to my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, and, on that account, I hope he will keep much in Town, and then I ſhall ply him hard.

I will give you a thouſand Thanks for the Preſent of your *Letter to the Biſhop of Worceſter*; but I need not give you my Opinion of it, otherwiſe than as you find it in the following Paragraph of a Letter which I received concerning it, from a Reverend Prelate of this Kingdom. (The preſent Biſhop of .... between ourſelves.)

" I read Mr. *Locke*'s *Letter to the Biſhop of Worceſter* with great Satisfaction, and am wholly of your Opinion, That he has fairly laid the great Biſhop on his Back; but 'tis with ſo much Gentleneſs, as if he were afraid not

" only

" only of hurting him, but even of ſpoiling or tumbling his Cloaths. Indeed " I cannot tell which I moſt admire, the great Civility and good Manners " in his Book, or the Force and Clearneſs of his Reaſonings. And I fanſy " the Biſhop will thank him privately, and trouble the World no more with " this Diſpute.

You ſee thereby my Friend's, and my own Opinion of your Book; and I can tell you farther, that all thoſe whom I have yet converſed with in this place, concerning it, agree in the ſame Judgment. And another (Biſhop too) told me, that *though your Words were as ſmooth as Oyl, yet cut they like a two-edg'd ſword.*

At the ſame time that Mr. *Churchill* ſent me your *Letter to the Biſhop*, he ſent me likewiſe the *Second Vindication of the Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*. If you know the Author thereof (as I am apt to ſurmiſe you may) be pleaſed to let him know, that I think he has done *Edwards* too much Honour in thinking him worth his notice; for ſo vile a poor Wretch, certainly, never appear'd in Print. But, at the ſame time, tell him, that as this *Vindication* contains a farther Illuſtration of the Divine Truths in the *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*, he has the Thanks of me, and of all fair candid Men, that I converſe with about it.

In giving you the Opinion we have here of your *Letter to the Biſhop of Worceſter*, I have rather choſen to let you know particularly that of ſome of our Biſhops with whom I converſe; for this Rank, if any, might ſeem inclinable to favour their Brother, could they do it with any ſhew of Juſtice. And yet, after all, I am told from *London*, that the Biſhop is hammering out an Anſwer to you. Certainly ſome Men think, or hope the World will think, that Truth always goes with the laſt Word.

You never write to me, that you do not raiſe new Expectations in my longing Mind of partaking your Thoughts, on thoſe noble Subjects you are upon. Your Chapter concerning the *Conduct of the Underſtanding*, muſt needs be very Sublime and Spacious. Oh Sir! never more mention to me our Diſtance as your Loſs: 'Tis my Diſadvantage! 'tis my Unhappineſs! I never before had ſuch Reaſon to deplore my hard Fate, in being condemned to this Priſon of an Iſland: But one day or other I will get looſe, in ſpite of all the Fetters and Clogs that incumber me at preſent. But if you did but know, in what a Wood of Buſineſs I am engaged, (by the greateſt part whereof I reap no other Advantage than the Satisfaction of being Serviceable to my Friends) you would pity me. But I hope ſoon to rid my Hands of a great part of this Trouble, and then I ſhall be at more Liberty. 'Till which happy time, and for ever, I remain

Your moſt faithful Friend,

and moſt humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR, *Dublin, May* 27. 1697.

THE Hints you are pleaſed ſo Friendly to communicate to me, in your's of the 3d inſtant, concerning Mr. *T*———, are freſh Marks of your Kindneſs and Confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the Apprehenſions I had conceived of that Gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without Reſerve to you, I do not think his Management, ſince he came into this City, has been ſo prudent. He has raiſed againſt him the Clamours of all Parties; and this, not ſo much by his Difference in Opinion, as by his unſeaſonable Way of Diſcourſing, Propagating, and Maintaining it. Coffee-Houſes, and publick Tables, are not proper Places for ſerious Diſcourſes relating to the moſt important Truths. But when alſo a Tincture of Vanity appears in the whole Courſe of a Man's Converſation, it diſguſts many that

may otherwiſe have a due Value for his Parts and Learning. I have known a Gentleman in this Town, that was a moſt ſtrict *Socinian*, and thought as much out of the common Road as any Man, and was alſo known ſo to do; but then his Behaviour and Diſcourſe was attended with ſo much Modeſty, Goodneſs, and Prudence, that I never heard him publickly cenſur'd or clamour'd againſt, neither was any Man in danger of Cenſure, by receiving his Viſits, or keeping him Company. I am very loth to tell you how far 'tis otherwiſe with Mr. *T*------ in this place; but, I am perſuaded it may be for his Advantage that you know it, and that you friendly admoniſh him of it, for his Conduct hereafter. I do not think that any Man can be diſpenſed with to diſſemble the Truth, and full Perſuaſion of his Mind in Religious Truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting Occaſions: But I think, Prudence may guide us in the Choice of proper Opportunities, that we may not run our ſelves againſt Rocks to no purpoſe, and inflame Men againſt us unneceſſarily. Mr. *T*—— alſo takes here a great Liberty, on all occaſions, to vouch your Patronage and Friendſhip, which makes many that rail at him, rail alſo at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge, by your ſhaking him off in your *Letter to the Biſhop of Worceſter*. But after all this, I look upon Mr. *T*—— as a very ingenious Man, and I ſhould be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think my ſelf indiſpenſibly bound by your Recommendation. One thing more I had almoſt forgot to intimate to you; That all here are mightily at a Loſs in gueſſing what might be the occaſion of Mr. *T*—'s coming, at this time, into *Ireland*. He is known to be of no Fortune or Employ, and yet is obſerved to have a Subſiſtence, but from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. Theſe Things, joyn'd with his great Forwardneſs in appearing publick, makes People ſurmiſe a thouſand Fancies. If you could give me Light into theſe Matters, as far as it may help me in my own Conduct, I ſhould be much obliged to you.

By the Books which Mr. *Coſte* has tranſlated, I perceive his Inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine, and I ſhould be very happy, could I give him, at preſent, any Encouragement to come into my poor Family. But I have a Gentleman with me, in the Houſe, whoſe Dependance is wholly upon me; and I cannot find Fault with my little Boy's Progreſs under him. When I formerly made Enquiry from you about Monſ. *Le Clerc*, I was in ſome Proſpect of providing for this Gentleman whom I now have, by the favour of a good Friend, who is ſince dead. So that, at preſent, having no Opportunity of diſpoſing of him to his Advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how ſoon it may be otherwiſe; and therefore be pleaſed, in the mean time, to let me know ſomething farther of Monſ. *Coſte*; as whether he be a complete Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, or other Language; whether a Mathematician, or given to experimental Philoſophy; what his Age, and where Educated? As to the *Belles Lettres & Hiſtoire*, &c. Monſ. *Le Clerc* has mentioned them already in his Character.

I am mightily pleaſed to find that ſome others have the ſame Thoughts of Monſ. *L*—— as you and I. His Performances in Mathematicks have made all the World miſtaken in him. But certainly in other Attempts I am of your Opinion, he no more underſtands himſelf, than others underſtand him.

Mr. *Churchill* favoured me with the Preſent of Sir *R. Blackmore*'s *K. Arthur*. I had *Pr. Arthur* before, and read it with Admiration, which is not at all leſſened by this ſecond Piece. All our *Engliſh* Poets (except *Milton*) have been meer Ballad-makers, in compariſon to him. Upon the Publication of his firſt Poem, I intimated to him, through Mr. *Churchill*'s Hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a Philoſophick Poem, from many Touches he gave in his *Pr. Arthur*, particularly from *Mopas*'s Song. And, I perceive by his Preface to *K. Arthur*, he has had the like Intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an Enemy to all Philoſophick Hypotheſes. Were I acquainted with Sir *R. Blackmore*, I could aſſure him, (and if you be ſo, I beſeech you to tell him) that I am as little an Admirer of Hypotheſes, as any Man, and never propoſed that Thought to him, with a Deſign that a Philoſophick Poem ſhould run on ſuch a Strain. *A natural Hiſtory of the great and*

and admirable Phænomena of the Univerſe, is a Subject, I think, may afford ſublime Thoughts in a Poem; and ſo far, and no farther, would I deſire a Poem to extend.

You ſee I am carried beyond my deſigned Bounds, by the Mark on t'other ſide this Leaf. But as I am never weary of Reading Letters from you, ſo, I think, I am never tired of Writing to you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by Subſcribing my ſelf intirely

Your moſt affectionate, and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 15. Jan. 1697.*

I Have the Honour of your two obliging Letters of the *15th* and *27th* of *May*, wherein I find the ſame Mind, the ſame Affection, and the ſame Friendſhip, which you have ſo frankly, and ſo long, made me happy in. And, if I may gueſs, by the Paragraph which you tranſcribed out of your Friend's Letter into your's of the *15th* of *May*, I ſhall have reaſon to think your Kindneſs to me is grown infectious, and that by it you faſcinate your Friends Underſtanding, and corrupt their Judgments in my favour. 'Tis enough for me, in ſo unequal a Match, if mighty Truth can keep me from a ſhameful Overthrow. If I can maintain my Ground, 'tis enough, againſt ſo redoubtable an Adverſary, but Victory I muſt not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that by this time, and you will ſee how ſilly a thing it is for an unskill'd Pigmy to enter the Liſts with a Man at Arms, verſed in the uſe of his Weapons.

My Health, and Buſineſſes that I like as little as you do thoſe you complain of, make me know what it is to want Time. I often reſolve not to trouble you any more with my Complaints of the Diſtance between us, and as often impertinently break that Reſolution. I never have any Thoughts working in my Head, or any new Project ſtart in my Mind, but my Wiſhes carry me immediately to you, and I deſire to lay them before you. You may juſtly think this carries a pretty ſevere Reflection on my Countrey, or my ſelf, that in it I have not a Friend to communicate my Thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of Friends to other Purpoſes. But a Man with whom one can freely ſeek Truth, without any regard to old or new, faſhionable or not faſhionable, but Truth merely for Truth's ſake, is what is ſcarce to be found in an Age; and ſuch an one I take you to be. Do but think then what a Pleaſure, what an Advantage it would be to me to have you by me, who have ſo much Thought, ſo much Clearneſs, ſo much Penetration, all directed to the ſame Aim which I propoſe to my ſelf, in all the Ramblings of my Mind. I, on this Occaſion, mention only the Wants that I daily feel, which makes me not ſo often ſpeak of the other Advantages I ſhould receive from the Communication of your own Notions, as well as from the Correction of mine. But, with this Repining, I trouble you too much, and, for the Favours I receive from you, thank you too little, and rejoyce not enough in having ſuch a Friend, though at a diſtance.

As to the Gentleman, to whom you think my friendly Admoniſhments may be of Advantage for his Conduct hereafter, I muſt tell you, that he is a Man to whom I never writ in my Life, and, I think, I ſhall not now begin. And, as to his Conduct, 'tis what I never ſo much as ſpoke to him of. That is a Liberty to be only taken with Friends and Intimates, for whoſe Conduct one is mightily concern'd, and in whoſe Affairs one intereſts himſelf. I cannot but wiſh well to all Men of Parts and Learning, and be ready to afford them all the Civilities, and good Offices in my Power. But there muſt be other Qualities to bring me to a Friendſhip, and unite me in thoſe ſtricter Ties of Concern. For I put a great deal of Difference between thoſe whom I thus receive into my Heart and Affection, and thoſe whom I receive

ceive into my Chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect Strangeneſs. I perceive you think your ſelf under ſome Obligation of peculiar Reſpect to that Perſon, upon the Account of my Recommendation to you; but certainly, this comes from nothing but your over-great Tenderneſs to oblige me. For if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a Man of Parts and Learning for his Age, but without any intention that that ſhould be of any other Conſequence, or lead you any farther, than the other Qualities you ſhould find in him, ſhould recommend him to you. And therefore, whatſoever you ſhall, or ſhall not do for him, I ſhall no way intereſt my ſelf in. I know, of your own ſelf, you are a good Friend to thoſe who deſerve it of you; and for thoſe that do not, I ſhall never blame your Neglect of them. The Occaſion of his coming into *Ireland* now, I gueſs to be the Hopes of ſome Employment, now upon this Change of Hands there. I tell you, *I gueſs*, for he himſelf never told me any thing of it, nor ſo much as acquainted me with his Intentions of going to *Ireland*, how much ſoever *he vouches my Patronage and Friendſhip*, as you are pleaſed to phraſe it. And as to his Subſiſtence, from whence that comes, I cannot tell. I ſhould not have waſted ſo much of my Converſation with you, on this Subject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you Light in theſe Matters, which I have done, as a Friend to a Friend, with a greater Freedom than I ſhould allow my ſelf to talk to another.

I ſhall, when I ſee Sir *Rich. Blackmore*, diſcourſe him as you deſire. There is, I with Pleaſure find, a ſtrange Harmony throughout, between your Thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building upon Hypotheſes, has been one of the great Hindrances of Natural Knowledge; and I ſee your Notions agree with mine in it. And, though I have a great Value for Sir *R. Blackmore*, on ſeveral Accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater Eſteem of him, than what he ſays about Hypotheſes in Medicine, in his Preface to King *Arthur*, which is an Argument to me, that he underſtands the right Method of Practiſing Phyſick; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, ſince he keeps in the only Way it is capable to be improved in; and has ſo publickly declared againſt the more eaſie, faſhionable, and pleaſing way of an Hypotheſis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true Art of Phyſick, which is the Curing of Diſeaſes, than all other Things put together; by making it learned, ſpecious, and talkative, but ineffective to its great End, the Health of Mankind; as was viſible in the Practice of Phyſick, in the Hands of the illiterate *Americans*, and the learned Phyſicians, that went thither out of *Europe*, ſtored with their Hypotheſes, borrowed from Natural Philoſophy, which made them indeed great Men, and admired in the Schools, but, in Curing Diſeaſes, the poor *Americans*, who had 'ſcaped thoſe ſplendid Clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagin how far a little Obſervation, carefully made, by a Man not tyed up to the four Humours; or *Sal*, *Sulphur* and *Mercury*; or to *Acid* and *Alcali*, which has of late prevailed, will carry a Man in the Curing of Diſeaſes, though very Stubborn and Dangerous, and that with very little and common Things, and almoſt no Medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own Experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my Letter is too long already. When I am Writing to you, the Pleaſure of Talking to you makes me forget you are a Man of Buſineſs, and have your Hands full. I beg your Pardon for it. 'Tis time to diſmiſs you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dublin, July 20. 1697.

THE lateſt Favour I received from my ever honoured Friend, was of the 15th of *June*, and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due Gratitude. I was mightily ſurprized to ſee the Biſhop of *Worceſter's Anſwer to your Letter*; I thought he would have let that Matter fall, and have privately thanked you, and have ſaid no more. This was the leaſt I expected from him; for I think indeed, he might have gone farther, and made his publick Acknowledgments to you. This had been like a Man of Ingenuity and Candor; and by this he had been more valuable, in the Opinion of all I converſe with here, than by the Shiftings, Windings, and Turnings he uſes in his laſt Piece. You well obſerve the Biſhop has ſhewn himſelf a Man at his Weapon; but I think him *Andabatarum more pugnare*, he winks as he fights. However, in the Poſtſcript he ſhews a Sample of the old Leven, and muſt not let you go without coupling his Obſervations on a *Socinian* Book, with his Confutation of your's; as if there were ſomething ſo agreeable between them, that they cannot be well ſeparated. This is ſuch an indirect Practice, and ſeems ſuch an invidious Inſinuation, that I cannot but give it the Name of *Malice*.

I am obliged to you for the Confidence you put in me, by communicating your Thoughts concerning Mr. *T*———, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his Oppoſers here, as you will find by a Book which I have ſent to you by a Gentleman's Servant, to be left for you at your Lodging; wherein you will meet with a Paſſage relating to your ſelf, which, though with Decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the Author's Advantage; for, with very great Aſſurance, (an uſual Companion of Ignorance) he undertakes to *demonſtrate the Immateriality of the Soul*, and to ſhew the Falſity of your Argumentation, wherein you aſſert, *That we have no Proof, but that God may communicate a Power of Thinking to a certain Syſtem of Matter*. But this is all but Aſſertion and Promiſe; we are ſo unhappy as yet to want this *Demonſtration* from this Author, and I fear we ſhall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my Opinion when you read his Book. The *Author* is my Acquaintance; but two Things I ſhall never forgive in his Book; the one is the foul Language, and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. *T*———; the other is, upon ſeveral Occaſions, calling in the Aid of the Civil Magiſtrate, and delivering Mr. *T*——— up to Secular Puniſhment. This, indeed, is a killing Argument; but ſome will be apt to ſay, That where the Strength of his Reaſon fail'd him, there he flies to the Strength of the Sword. And this minds me of a Buſineſs that was very ſurprizing to many, even ſeveral Prelates in this Place, the Preſentment of ſome pernicious Books, and their Authors, by the Grand Jury of *Middleſex*. This is look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Conſequence, to make our Civil Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one knows, upon a Change of Affairs, whoſe Turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But the Example has been follow'd in our Countrey; and Mr. *T*———, and his Book have been preſented here, by a Grand Jury, not one of which (I am perſuaded) ever read one Leaf in *Chriſtianity not myſterious*. Let the *Sorbone* for ever now be ſilent; a learned Grand Jury, directed by as learned a Judge, does the Buſineſs much better. The Diſſenters here were the chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when I asked one of them, What if a violent Church of *England* Jury ſhould preſent Mr. *Baxter*'s Books, as Pernicious, and condemn them to the Flames by the common Executioner? He was ſenſible of the Error, and ſaid, He wiſh'd it had never been done.

I muſt not forget to thank you for the Countenance I have received from my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, ſince his coming into *Ireland*. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your Friends Endeavours. My Lord is a Perſon from whom the Kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his Management has been very promiſing. Mr. *Burridge* is his Chaplain, and expects very ſoon to

be

be ſettled in a Pariſh here in *Dublin*, and then he promiſes me to proſecute the *Eſſay* with Vigour.

My Brother gives you his moſt humble Service. He is told by Mr. *Burridge*, that you had ſent him a Book in Medicine, but by what Hand, he could not inform him. He has ſuch a Value for every Thing that comes from you, that he deſired me to let you know, that no ſuch Book came to his Hands, or elſe he had not all this while defer'd his Acknowledgements.

I perceive you are ſo happy as to be acquainted with Sir *Richard Blackmore*; he is an extraordinary Perſon, and I admire his two Prefaces as much as I do any Parts of his Books; the firſt, wherein he expoſes the *Licentiouſneſs and Immorality of our late Poetry*, is incomparable; and the ſecond, wherein he proſecutes the *ſame Subject*, and delivers his Thoughts concerning *Hypotheſes*, is no leſs judicious. And I am wholly of his Opinion, relating to the latter. However, the *Hiſtory and Phænomena of Nature* we may venture at; and this is what I propoſe to be the Subject of a Philoſophick Poem. Sir *Richard Blackmore* has exquiſite Touches of this Kind, diſpers'd in many Places of his Books; (to paſs over *Mopas*'s Son) I'll inſtance one Particular, in the moſt profound Speculations of Mr. *Newton*'s Philoſophy, thus curiouſly touch'd in *King Arthur*, *Book* ix. *pag.* 243.

The Conſtellations ſhine at his Command,
He form'd their radiant Orbs, and with his Hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with ſuch a Force,
As might preſerve an everlaſting Courſe.

I doubt not but Sir *R. Blackmore*, in theſe Lines, had a Regard to the Proportionment of the projective Motion to the *Vis centripeta*, that keeps the Planets in their continued Courſes.

I have by me ſome Obſervations made by a judicious Friend of mine, on both Sir *R. Blackmore*'s Poems; if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir *R.* I ſhall ſend them to you; they are in the Compaſs of a Sheet of Paper. And, were it proper, I ſhould humbly deſire you to procure for me from Sir *R.* the Key to the Perſon's Names, in both his Poems; moſt of the firſt I have already, and a great many in the ſecond, but many I alſo want, which I ſhould be very glad to underſtand. But if herein I deſire any thing diſagreeable, I beg Sir *Richard*'s Pardon, and deſiſt.

Ever ſince you firſt mentioned to me, that Monſ. *Le Clerc* might be inticed into *Ireland* by a moderate Encouragement, it has ſat grievous on my Spirit, that it lay not in my Power to procure for him what might be worth his Acceptance. I ſhould reckon it (next to your Friendſhip) one of the greateſt Glories of my Life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to tranſplanting him hither. T'other Day I ventured to mention it to a great Prelate here, the Biſhop of ———. He was pleaſed to favour the Propoſal immediately, and gave me Directions, that I ſhould enquire whether Monſ. *Le Clerc* would be willing to take Orders in our *Church*, and to ſubmit to the Oaths and Injunctions thereof; and how far he is Maſter of the *Engliſh* Language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200 *l. per Ann.* in ſome Place of Eaſe and Retirement. Be pleaſed therefore, dear Sir, to let me be informed in theſe Particulars, and in whatever elſe you think requiſite in managing this Affair.

I have protracted this Letter as if I had a Deſign to kill you, by tiring you to Death. I beg your Excuſe for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *London, 11 Sept. 1697.*

IF you have received my Reply to the Biſhop, before this comes to your Hand, I ſhall need ſay no more to the firſt Paragraph of your obliging Letter of the 20th of *July*. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, he has taken Care you ſhould have it with ſpeed. I have order'd another to Mr. *Burridge*, who has, by his Undertaking, ſome Concernment now in my *Eſſay*. I am not delighted at all in Controverſie, and think I could ſpend my Time to greater Advantage to my ſelf. But, being attack'd, as I am, and in a way that ſufficiently juſtifies your Remarks on it, I think every Body will judge I had Reaſon to defend my ſelf; whether I have or no, ſo far as I have gone, the World muſt judge.

I think, with you, the Diſſenters were beſt conſider, *That what is Sauce for a Gooſe, is Sauce for a Gander.* But they are a ſort of Men that will always be the ſame.

You thank me for what is owing to your own Worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much Advantage as he gives by the Countenance he ſhews you. However, I am obliged by your Thanks to me, for, if I do not procure you as much Good as you are capable of receiving from any one that comes to you from hence, 'tis my Want of Ability, and not Want of Will. My Heart and Inclination, wherein the Friendſhip lies, will always be ſuch, as I can preſume, will not diſpleaſe you, in a Man whom I am very ſenſible you love.

Here was, the laſt Year, a Book in Phyſick publiſhed by a young Lad not Twenty, who had never ſeen the Univerſity. It was about the Motion of the Muſcles, with as good an Explication of it as any I have yet ſeen. I believe I might have ſpoke to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend your Brother one of them, for the ſake of the Author; (for as to the Subject itſelf, I fear I ſhall never ſee it explained to my Satisfaction) whether he did it or no, I have not yet asked; but the Book itſelf is not worth your Brother's Enquiry or Acknowledgment; though being written by ſuch an Author, made it a kind of Curioſity: I ſhould be very glad if I could do him here any Service of greater Importance. But I having now wholly laid by the Study of Phyſick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the Reading, in that Faculty. Pray give my humble Service to your Brother, and let me know whether he hath any Children, for then I ſhall think my ſelf obliged to ſend him one of the next Edition of my Book of *Education*, which, my Bookſeller tells me, is, out of Print; and I had much rather be at Leiſure to make ſome Additions to that, and my *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, than be employed to defend myſelf againſt the groundleſs, and, as others think, trifling Quarrel of the Biſhop. But his Lordſhip is pleaſed to have it otherwiſe, and I muſt anſwer for myſelf as well as I can, till I have the good luck to be convinced.

I was not a little pleaſed to find what Thoughts you had concerning Hypotheſes in Phyſick. Though Sir *R. B*'s Vein in Poetry be what every Body muſt allow him to have an extraordinary Talent in, and though with you I exceedingly valued his firſt Preface; yet I muſt own to you, there was nothing that I ſo much admired him for, as for what he ſays of Hypotheſes in his laſt. It ſeems to me ſo right, and is yet ſo much out of the way of the ordinary Writers, and Practitioners in that Faculty, that it ſhews as great a Strength and Penetration of Judgment, as his Poetry has ſhewn Flights of Fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the ſame Thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I ſhall not forget your Wiſhes, and ſhall acquaint him with the Obſervations you mention. And the Key you deſire I ſhall ſend you, if it be fit to be asked of him, which I am at preſent in ſome Doubt of.

Though I could myſelf anſwer many of your Queſtions concerning Monſ. *Le Clerc*; yet I have ſent them to him himſelf, with the Reaſon of them. I have not yet received his Anſwer, the Expectation whereof has delayed my

writing to you for ſome time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his Name and my own.

I ſhall be very glad to hear from you how the Linnen Manufacture goes on, on that ſide the Water, and what Aſſiſtance the Parliament there is like to give to it, for I wiſh Proſperity to your Country, and, very particularly all manner of Happineſs to you. I am unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

What I told you formerly of a Storm coming againſt my Book, proves no Fiction. Beſides what you will ſee I have taken notice of in my Reply, Mr. *Serjeant*, a Popiſh Prieſt, whom you muſt needs have heard of, has beſtowed a thick 8vo upon my *Eſſay*, and Mr. *Norris*, as I hear, is writing hard againſt it. Shall I not be quite ſlain, think you, amongſt ſo many notable Combatants, and the Lord knows how many more to come?

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, Sept.* 11. *1697.*

MY laſt to you was of *July* 20. ſince which time I have not had the Happineſs of a Line from you. But I am ſatisfied you are better employ'd; and indeed, when I ſee daily what Swarms of angry Waſps do ariſe againſt you (beſides many which reach not our View in this place) I wonder not that you ſhould be ſo far engaged as to have little time to throw away on me. T'other day I met with the laſt Effort of Mr. *Edwards*'s Malice; I do now heartily pity the poor Wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken notice of hereafter, than the Railings of *Oliver*'s Porter in *Bethlem*. I have ſeen alſo a Philoſophical Writer againſt you, of another Strain, one *J. S.* that writes againſt all Ideiſts; this Gentleman, though civil, yet to me is abſolutely unintelligible, ſo unfortunate I am. Who he is I know not, but ſhould be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his Book.

Mr. *T*——— is, at laſt, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman, by his imprudent Management, had raiſed ſuch an univerſal Outcry, that 'twas even dangerous for a Man to have been known once to converſe with him. This made all wary Men of Reputation decline ſeeing him; inſomuch that at laſt he wanted a Meal's-Meat (as I am told) and none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhauſted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half a Crown, and run in Debt for his Wigs, Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform'd;) and laſt of all, to compleat his Hardſhips, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into Cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be proſecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this Kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his courſe. I did believe you might be a Stranger to theſe Proceedings a great while, unleſs I had intimated them to you; and that is one of my Deſigns in writing this to you.

I am here very happy in the Friendſhip of an honourable Perſon, Mr. *Moleſworth*, who is an hearty Admirer and Acquaintance of your's. We never meet but we remember you; he ſometimes comes into my Houſe, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a Viſit to me, but to pay his Devotion to your Image that is in my Dining-Room.

I ſhould be glad to hear farther from you concerning Monſ. *Le Clerc* and Monſ. *Coſte*, in relation to what I formerly writ to you concerning thoſe Gentlemen. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured SIR, *Dublin, Oct.* 4. 1697.

I Percieve we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th of the laſt Month, for of that Date was your laſt to me, as you will find mine likewiſe to you bore the ſame.

You have already anſwer'd ſome of my impertinent Enquiries in that Letter: You tell me therein, who *J. S.* is that writes againſt you. I do not now wonder at the Confuſedneſs of his Notions, or that they ſhould be unintelligible to me. I ſhould have much more admired, had they been otherwiſe. I expect nothing from Mr. *Serjeant* but what is abſtruſe in the higheſt degree.

I look for nothing elſe from Mr. *Norris*; I thought that Gentleman had enough on't, in his firſt Attempt on your *Eſſay*; but he's ſo over-run with Father *Malebranche*, and *Plato*, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to ſet him right, and I give him up as an inconvincible Enemy.

But above all theſe, I ſhould wonder at the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s Obſtinacy, did I not think that I partly know the Reaſon thereof. He has been an old Soldier in Controverſies, and has hitherto had the good Luck of Victory; but now, in the latter end of his Wars, to be laid on his back (as he thinks the World would certainly ſay, unleſs he has the laſt Word) would wither all his former Laurels, and loſe his Glory. Your Reply to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more Patience, becauſe I am pretty well ſatisfied in the Matter already.

I am very glad to underſtand that we are to expect another Edition of your *Education*, with Additions. I never thought you writ too much on any Subject whatever.

I have formerly written to you, to know farther concerning Monſ. *Coſte*, who tranſlated ſome of your Books into *French*. I fanſy, by that Gentleman's Inclinations to your Works, he and I ſhould agree very well. Pray let me know, whether to his *Belles Lettres* he has any Skill in the Mathematicks, Natural Hiſtory, *&c.* As alſo what his Circumſtances are, as to his Education, Parentage, *&c.* For, according to theſe, I may judge whether I can give him any Encouragement to come hither.

You had been troubled with this Letter ſooner, but that I waited for the incloſed, to ſatisfy your Enquiry concerning our Linnen Manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a Bill to be Enacted for the Encouragement thereof. This Bill is now before the Council of *England*, purſuant to our Conſtitution of Parliament. What Alterations, Additions, and Amendments it may receive there, we know not; but I am apt to think you will have the Conſideration and Modelling thereof at your Committee of Trade. We are very ſenſible, that the Act we have drawn up, (whereof the incloſed are the Heads) is not ſo perfect and compleat as it may be, but this we thought a fair Beginning to ſo great an Attempt, and that Time muſt be given for a farther Progreſs, and carrying it higher, by additional Laws, as Occaſion may require. The Woollen Manufacture of *England* was not Eſtabliſhed at that high Pitch (to which now 'tis raiſed) by any one Law, or any one Generation. It muſt be ſo with us in Relation to our Linnen; but this, we hope, may be a fair Step towards it: *Eſt quoddam prodire tenus, &c.*

James Hamilton of *Tullymore*, Eſq; is an indefatigable Promoter of this Deſign, and I may ſay indeed the whole Scheme is owing to his Contrivance. He is an hearty Admirer of your's, and communicated to me the incloſed Abſtract purpoſely for your Satisfaction; deſiring me with it to give you his moſt humble Service, and to requeſt of you your Thoughts concerning this Matter, by the firſt Leiſure you can ſpare.

Whilſt our Houſe of Commons were framing this Bill, our Lords Juſtices communicated to us ſome Papers which they had received from the Lords Juſtices of *England*, laid before them by your Board. But theſe Papers coming in a little too late, when we had juſt cloſed the Bill, and a very little time before our laſt Adjournment for three Weeks; all we did with them

was to remit them again to our Lords Juſtices and Council, with the Houſe's deſire, that if their Lordſhips ſhould think fit to excerp any Thing out of thoſe Papers, and add it to our Act, whilſt they had it before them, in order to be tranſmitted into *England*, their Lordſhips might do therein as they pleaſed, and the Houſe would agree to any ſuch Additions, when the Act came before us tranſmitted in due Form under the Seal of *England*. Whether the Lords Juſtices will make any ſuch Additions out of thoſe Papers, I cannot yet tell; but I am ſure there were many Things in thoſe Papers that highly deſerved to be put in Execution.

My Brother gives you his moſt humble Service, and ſhould be very proud of the Preſent of your *Education*. For though he has yet only two Daughters, yet he is in hopes of many Sons; and the Girls Minds require as much framing, as the Boys, and by the ſame Rules: And that I take to be the chief Part of Education. I am,

Your's moſt ſincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

My moſt honoured Friend, *Dublin, Oct.* 28. 1697.

IF Men could deſtroy by a Quill, as they ſay Porcupines do, I ſhould think your Death not very far off. But whatever Venom they mix'd with their Ink againſt you, I hope it is not mortal; I am ſure in my Opinion 'tis not the leaſt harmful or dangerous. Your *Reply to the Biſhop of Worceſter* ſhews how vainly the mightieſt Champion ſpends his Darts at you, and with what Force and Strength of Reaſon you return them on his own Head. But notwithſtanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak Efforts; for he that was ſo fully poſſeſs'd of his own Sufficiency, as to think he could deal with your firſt Letter to him, will certainly never lay down the Cudgels till his Blood be about his Ears: And if he thought himſelf obliged in Honour to juſtifie his firſt Blunders, much more will he think himſelf ſo now, when he is thrown over Head and Ears in the Mire. To paſs by all the reſt of your *Reply* (wherein you have given him many a ſevere Wound) I think he is no where ſo clearly and diſgracefully foil'd, as by the Converſation between you and your Friend concerning his Notions of *Nature* and *Perſon*. But above all, the Conſequence you draw from thence, of his being obliged to write againſt his own *Vindication of the Trinity*, muſt needs wound him to the Heart; and indeed I do not ſee how 'tis poſſible for him to avoid the Force of that Blow, by all his Art and Cunning. Yet write he will, I am ſure on't, and pour fourth an abundance of Words; but ſo he may for ever. I envy not the Place of his *Amanuenſis*.

But all this while I have forgot to return you my Acknowledgments for the Favour of your Book. I am extremely obliged to you for remembering me amongſt your other Friends, whenever you are pleas'd to oblige the learned World with any of your happy Thoughts. I had no ſooner peruſed them, but they were ſnatch'd out of my Hands by my Lord Chancellor, (ſo covetous are all Men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

Amongſt the other ſmall Craft that appears againſt you, I met with one *J. H's State of* England, *in Relation to Coin and Trade*. I hear the Author's Name is *Hodges*. He is much of a Claſs in this Particular, with Mr. *Serjeant*, in Relation to your *Eſſay*, that is, both to me unintelligible.

The incloſed is a Sample of what this Place produces againſt you: I wiſh you may not ſay, that it reſembles our Mountains and Bogs, in being barren and uſeleſs. I have ventur'd to ſend you my ſhort Anſwer thereto; for a longer I think it did not deſerve. I have not ſeen the Biſhop ſince this has paſs'd; but we are ſo good Friends, that this Buſineſs will cauſe no Anger between us. I am

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Biſhop of ——'s Letter to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Johnſtown, Oct. 26. 1697.*

I Have met with Mr. *Locke's Reply* to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and have had Leiſure to look it over here. I meddle not with the Controverſie between them, but confeſs I am a little ſurpriz'd at what I find *p.* 95, and 96. where we have theſe Words: *To talk of the* Certainty of Faith, *ſeems all one to me, as to talk of the Knowledge of Believing:* And, *when it is brought to* Certainty, Faith *is deſtroy'd:* And, *bring it to* Certainty, *and it ceaſes to be* Faith. And he in Terms owns, *p.* 39. *With me to know and to be certain, is the ſame Thing; what I know, that I am certain of, and what I am certain of, that I know.* And, *p.* 92. *Knowledge I find in my ſelf, and I conceive in others, conſiſts in the Perception of the Agreement or Diſagreement of the immediate Objects of the Mind in Thinking, which I call Ideas.* And, *p.* 38. *Certainty conſiſts in the Perception of the Agreement or Diſagreement of two Ideas.* Now to me it ſeems, that according to Mr. *Locke* I cannot be ſaid to know any thing except there be two Ideas in my Mind, and all the Knowledge I have muſt be concerning the Relation theſe two Ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing elſe; which, in my Opinion, excludes all Certainty of Senſe, and of ſingle Ideas, all Certainty of Conſciouſneſs, ſuch as Willing, Believing, Knowing, *&c.* and, as he confeſſes, all Certainty of Faith, and laſtly, all Certainty of Remembrance, of which I have formerly demonſtrated, as ſoon as I have forgot, or do not actually think of the Demonſtration. For I ſuppoſe you are well aware, that in demonſtrating Mathematical Propoſitions, 'tis not always from actual Perception of the Agreement of Ideas, that we aſſume other Propoſitions formerly demonſtrated to infer the Concluſion, but from Memory: and yet we do not think our ſelves leſs certain on that Account. If this be the Importance of Mr. *L*'s Words, as it ſeems to me to be, then we are not certain of the Acts of our Mind; we are not certain of any thing that remains in our Minds merely by the ſtrength of our Memory; and laſtly, we are not certain of any Propoſition, though God and Man witneſs the Truth of it to us: And then judge how little Certainty is left in the World, and how near this laſt comes to Mr. *Toland*'s Propoſition, That Authority or Teſtimony is only *a Means of Information, not a Ground of Perſuaſion:* For I muſt own, that I think I am only perſuaded of the Truth of a Thing, in Proportion to the Certainty I have of it: And if Knowledge and Certainty be reciprocally the ſame, and conſiſt in the Perception of the Agreement or Diſagreement of two Ideas; where I do not perceive theſe, though God and Man, nay the whole World ſhould teſtifie to me that they do agree or diſagree, I cannot be certain of it. I muſt profeſs my ſelf of another Opinion; and I think I am as certain there was ſuch a Man as Mr. *L.* from the Teſtimony of you, and other Circumſtances, tho' I perceive no Agreement or Diſagreement in this Caſe between the two Ideas, to convince me of his Being; as that the three Angles of a ſtraight-lin'd Triangle are equal to two right Angles, where I actually perceive the Agreement, or rather Equality: Or, that the Area of a Cyclois is equal to triple the generating Circle, of which I am certain by Memory, tho' I do not at preſent perceive the Demonſtration, or any Agreement between the Ideas of the three Circles and a Cyclois, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, That *Agreement* and *Diſagreement* are Metaphorical Terms when applied to Ideas; for *Agreement* properly, I think, either ſignifies, *firſt*, a Compact between two Perſons; or, *ſecondly*, two Things fitting one another, as the two Parts of a Tally; or, *thirdly*, the Likeneſs of two Things, as of a Pair of Coach-horſes; or, *fourthly*, the Aptitude of two Things to ſupport or preſerve one another. So ſeveral Meats agree with the Stomach; but I do not find, that in a Propoſition, the Ideas have an Agreement in any of theſe Senſes; and I rather think the old way of expreſſing this Matter ought to be retained. I learned in *Smiglecius*, that when the *Species Intelligibilis* of the Predicate was the ſame with the *Species* of the Subject, the one might be affirmed of the other: And when the *Medius ter-*

minus

minus was the ſame with the one extreme Term in one of the Premiſſes, and the other extreme the ſame with it in the other of the Premiſſes, the one might be affirmed of the other in the Concluſion, becauſe of the old Axiom. *Quæ ſunt idem uni tertio, ſunt idem inter ſe.* You may uſe the Metaphorical Term of Agreement here inſtead of Identity; but Mr. *L.* has told us, *p.* 153. That *Metaphorical Expreſſions (which ſeldom terminate in Truth) ſhou'd be as much as poſſible avoided, when Men undertake to deliver* clear and diſtinct Apprehenſions, *and exact Notions of Things.*

I do find that Men's Thoughts do not differ ſo much as their Words, and that moſt Men are of one Mind, when they come to underſtand one another, and have the ſame Views; and hence many Controverſies are only Verbal. I doubt not but my Difference from Mr. *L.* in this Matter may be of the ſame Nature, and perhaps, if I had carefully read his Book of *Human Underſtanding*, I might perceive it; but I have neither Opportunity, Leiſure, or Inclination to do ſo, and believe a great Part of the World to be in the ſame Circumſtances with me; and I verily believe, that the Expreſſions I have noted in his *Reply*, will ſeem unwary to them as well as to me.

I do find he claims a Liberty that will not be allow'd him by all, *p.* 92. *to pleaſe himſelf in his Terms*, ſo they be uſed conſtantly *in the ſame and a known Senſe.* I remember others have claimed the ſame Liberty under the Notion of making their own Dictionary; but I reckon the changing a Term, tho' I declare my Senſe, and forewarn the Reader of it, to be a very great Injury to the World; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to ſignifie the ſame Thing, equally injurious; and that a Man has only this Liberty where he introduces a new Thing, that has yet no Name. And I believe you ſee my Reaſons for being of this Opinion, and therefore ſhall not mention them. Let me only obſerve, that the want of this Caution ſeems to me to have brought moſt of Mr. *L*'s Trouble on him. Words were indeed Arbitrary Signs of Things in thoſe that firſt impoſed them, but they are not to us. When we uſe the beſt Caution we can, we are apt to tranſgreſs in changing them; and when we do ſo out of Weakneſs, we muſt ask Pardon, but muſt not claim it as a Liberty, it being really a Fault. A few Minutes lying on my Hands, has given you this Trouble; and I know your Kindneſs to Mr. *L.* will not make it ungrateful to you, whilſt it aſſures you that I am,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant.

I could never comprehend any neceſſity for a Criterion of Certainty to the Underſtanding, any more than of one to the Eye, to teach it when it ſees. Let the Eye be rightly diſpoſed, and apply an Object to it, if duly apply'd, it will force it to ſee: And ſo apply an Object to an Underſtanding duly qualified, and if the Arguments or Object be as they ought to be, they will force the Underſtanding to aſſent, and remove all Doubts. And I can no more tell, what is in the Object, or Arguments, that aſcertains my Underſtanding, than I can tell what it is in Light, that makes me ſee. I muſt ſay then, the ſame God that ordered Light to make me ſee, ordered Truth, or rather certain Objects, to aſcertain my Underſtanding; and I believe Mr. *L.* can hardly give any other Reaſon why his Agreement, *&c.* of Ideas ſhould cauſe Certainty.

Mr. MOLYNEUX's *Anſwer to the* BISHOP.

My LORD, *Dublin, October* 27. 1697.

I Am extremely obliged to your Lordſhip, that having a few Minutes lying on your Hands in your Retirement from this Town, you are pleaſed to beſtow them on my Friend and me. I ſhould have acknowledged the Favour more early, had your Servant ſtaid for an Anſwer when he delivered your's to me; but he was gone out of my Reach before I was aware of it.

And

And now, my Lord, all the Anſwer I ſhall trouble your Lordſhip with at preſent, is this; that your Lordſhip is much in the right on't, that had you read Mr. *Locke's Eſſay of Human Underſtanding* more carefully and throughout, you had never made the Objections you raiſe againſt him in your Letter to me; for your Lordſhip would have found his fourth Book abundantly ſatisfactory in the Difficulties you propoſe, and particularly the 2*d* and 18*th* Chapters of the fourth Book, are a full Anſwer to your Lordſhip's Letter.

But your Lordſhip ſays, you have neither *Opportunity*, *Leiſure*, or *Inclination* to read the *Eſſay*. My LORD, I would not then have *Leiſure* or *Inclination* to animadvert on a Book, that I had not (if not *Inclination*) at leaſt *Leiſure* to read. This, with Submiſſion, I cannot but ſay is great Partiality. If your Lordſhip ſays, your Letter relates to his *Reply* to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*; neither will this do, in my humble Opinion; ſeeing your Lordſhip ſeems to ſurmiſe (as indeed you gueſs rightly) that the *Eſſay* might have ſet you right in this Matter. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dear SIR, *Dublin, Decemb.* 18. 1697.

'TIS now above three Months ſince I heard from you, your laſt being of *Sept.* 11. You will therefore excuſe my Impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and ſend this merely to know how you do. 'Tis an anguiſhing Thought to me, that you ſhould be ſubject to the common Frailties and Fate of Mankind; but it would be ſome Alleviation to my Trouble, that, if you are ill, I ſhould know the worſt of it. This has ſo wholly taken up my Mind at preſent, that I have no Inclination to write one Word more to you in this; but again, to repeat my Requeſt to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am diſſatisfied, I am extremely uneaſy; but for ever ſhall be

Your moſt affectionate Admirer,

and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 10. Jan. 169⅞.*

YOUR gentle and kind Reproof of my Silence, has greater Marks of true Friendſhip in it, than can be expreſs'd in the moſt elaborate Profeſſions, or be ſufficiently acknowledg'd by a Man, who has not the Opportunity nor Ability to make thoſe Returns he would. Though I have had leſs Health, and more Buſineſs ſince I writ to you laſt than ever I had for ſo long together in my Life; yet neither the one nor the other had kept me ſo long a Truant, had not the Concurrence of other Cauſes, drill'd me on from Day to Day, in a Neglect of what I frequently purpoſed, and always thought my ſelf obliged to do. Perhaps the Liſtleſneſs my Indiſpoſition conſtantly kept me in, made me too eaſily hearken to ſuch Excuſes; but the Expectation of hearing every Day from Monſ. *Le Clerc*, that I might ſend you his Anſwer, and the Thoughts that I ſhould be able to ſend your Brother an Account, that his curious Treatiſe concerning the Chaſers in *Ireland* was printed, were at leaſt the Pretences that ſerved to humour my Lazineſs. Buſineſs kept

me

me in Town longer than was convenient for my Health: All the Day from my riſing was commonly ſpent in that, and when I came home at Night, my Shortneſs of Breath, and Panting for want of it, made me ordinarily ſo uneaſy, that I had no Heart to do any thing; ſo that the uſual Diverſion of my vacant Hours forſook me, and Reading it ſelf was a Burthen to me. In this Eſtate I linger'd along in Town to *December*, till I betook my ſelf to my wonted Refuge, in the more favourable Air and Retirement of this Place. That gave me preſently Relief againſt the conſtant Oppreſſion of my Lungs, whilſt I ſit ſtill: But I find ſuch a Weakneſs of them ſtill remain, that if I ſtir ever ſo little, I am immediately out of Breath, and the very dreſſing or undreſſing me is a Labour that I am fain to reſt after to recover my Breath; and I have not been once out of my Houſe ſince I came laſt hither. I wiſh nevertheleſs that you were here with me to ſee how well I am: For you would find, that, ſitting by the Fire's ſide, I could bear my Part in diſcourſing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my Life. If you were here (and if Wiſhes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to Day) you would find three or four in the Parlour after Dinner, whom you would ſay, paſs'd their Afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly as any People you have this good while met with. Do not therefore figure to your ſelf, that I am languiſhing away my laſt Hours under an unſociable Deſpondency and the Weight of my Infirmity. 'Tis true, I do not count upon Years of Life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneaſy Hours here in the four and twenty; and if I can have the Wit to keep my ſelf out of the ſtifling Air of *London*, I ſee no Reaſon, but by the Grace of God, I may get over this Winter, and that terrible Enemy of mine may uſe me no worſe than the laſt did, which as ſevere, and as long as it was, let me yet ſee another Summer.

What you ſay to me in your's of the 4*th* of *October*, concerning the Biſhop of *W*....., you will, I believe, be confirm'd in, if his *Anſwer to my Second Letter*, of which I ſhall ſay nothing to you yet, be got to you.

Mr. *Coſte* is now in the Houſe with me here, and is Tutor to my Lady *Maſham*'s Son. I need not, I think, anſwer your Queſtions about his Skill in Mathematicks and Natural Hiſtory: I think it is not much; but he is an ingenious Man, and we like him very well for our Purpoſe; and I have a particular Obligation to you, for the Reaſon why you enquired concerning him.

I come now to your's of the 28*th* of *Octob.* wherein you have found by this time, that you propheſied right concerning the Bp. of *W*....., and if you can remember what you ſaid therein, concerning Abundance of Words, you will not, I ſuppoſe, forbear ſmiling, when you read the firſt Leaf of his laſt *Anſwer*.

If there be not an Evidence of Senſe and Truth, which is apt and fitted to prevail on every human Underſtanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced; there is at leaſt a Harmony of Underſtandings in ſome Men, to whom Senſe and Nonſenſe, Truth and Falſhood, appears equally in the reſpective Diſcourſes they meet with. This I find perfectly ſo between you and me, and it ſerves me to no ſmall Purpoſe to keep me in Countenance. When I ſee a Man diſintereſted as you are, a Lover of Truth as I know you to be, and one that has Clearneſs and Coherence enough of Thought to make long Mathematical, *i. e.* ſure Deductions, pronounce of *J. H.* and *J. S.*'s Books, that they are unintelligible to you; I do not preſently condemn my ſelf of Pride, Prejudice, or a perfect Want of Underſtanding, for laying aſide thoſe Authors, becauſe I can find neither Senſe nor Coherence in them. If I could think that Diſcourſes and Arguments to the Underſtanding, were like the ſeveral Sorts of Cates to different Palates and Stomachs, ſome nauſeous and deſtructive to one, which are pleaſant and reſtorative to another; I ſhould no more think of Books and Study, and ſhould think my Time better employ'd at Puſh-pin than in Reading or Writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is Truth oppoſite to Falſhood, that it may be found if People will, and is worth the ſeeking, and is not only the moſt valuable, but the pleaſanteſt Thing in the World. And therefore I am no more troubled

troubled and diſturb'd with all the Duſt that is raiſed againſt it, than I ſhould be to ſee from the Top of an high Steeple, where I had clear Air and Sunſhine, a Company of great Boys or little Boys (for 'tis all one) throw up Duſt in the Air, which reach'd not me, but fell down in their own Eyes.

Your Anſwer to your Friend the Biſhop was certainly a very fit and full one to what he had ſaid, and I am obliged to you for it: But he nevertheleſs thought his Objections ſo good, that I imagine he communicated them to my Antagoniſt; for you will find the very ſame in his Anſwer, and almoſt in the ſame Words. But they will receive an Anſwer at large in due Time.

It will not be at all neceſſary to ſay any thing to you concerning the Linnen Bill, which made ſo great a Part of your Letter of *Oct. 4th*, and was the whole Buſineſs of that of *Oct. 16th*. You know (I believe) as well as I what became of that Bill. Pray return my humble Thanks to Mr. *Hamilton* for his kind Expreſſions concerning me, and for the Favour he did me in thinking me any ways able to ſerve his Country in that Matter. I am ſo concern'd for it, and zealous in it, that I deſire you to aſſure him, and to believe your ſelf, that I will neglect no Pains or Intereſt of mine to promote it as far as I am able; and I think it a Shame, that whilſt *Ireland* is ſo capable to produce Flax and Hemp, and able to nouriſh the Poor at ſo cheap a Rate, and conſequently to have their Labour upon ſo eaſie Terms, that ſo much Money ſhould go Yearly out of the King's Dominions, to enrich Foreigners, for thoſe Materials, and the Manufactures made out of them, when his People of *Ireland*, by the Advantage of their Soil, Situation, and Plenty, might have every Penny of it, if that Buſineſs were but once put into a right Way. I perceive by one of your Letters, that you have ſeen the Propoſals for an Act ſent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. *Hamilton*, or any other Man, whom you knew able, and a diſintereſted well-wiſher of his Country, would conſider them together, and tell me whether you think that Project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable or will fail, and what may be added or alter'd in it to make it effectual to that End. I know, to a Man a Stranger to your Country, as I am, many Things may be overſeen, which by Reaſon of the Circumſtances of the Place, or State of the People, may in Practice have real Difficulties. If there be any ſuch in regard of that Project, you will do me a Favour to inform me of them. The ſhort is, I mightily have it upon my Heart to get the Linnen Manufacture eſtabliſhed in a flouriſhing way in your Country. I am ſufficiently ſenſible of the Advantages it will be to you, and ſhall be doubly rejoiced in the Succeſs of it, if I ſhould be ſo happy that you and I could be inſtrumental in it, and have the chief Hand in forming any thing that might conduce to it. Imploy your Thoughts therefore I beſeech you about it, and be aſſured, what Help I can give to it here ſhall be as readily and as carefully employ'd, as if you and I alone were to reap all the Profit of it.

I have not yet heard a Word from Monſ. *Le Clerc*, in Anſwer to my Enquiries, and the Queſtions you ask'd, or elſe you had heard ſooner from me. I muſt beg you to return my Acknowledgments to Mr. *Moleſworth* in the civilieſt Language you can find, for the great Complement you ſent me from him. If he could ſee my Confuſion as often as I read that Part of your Letter, that would expreſs my Senſe of it better than any Words I am Maſter of. I can only ſay that I am his moſt humble Servant, and I have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet with the Opportunities I ſought to improve the Advantages I propos'd to my ſelf, in an Acquaintance with ſo ingenious and extraordinary a Man as he is.

I read your Brother's Treatiſe, which he did me the Honour to put into my Hands, with great Pleaſure, and thought it ſo unreaſonable to rob the Publick of ſo grateful a Preſent by any Delay of mine, that I forthwith put it into Dr. *Sloane*'s Hand to be publiſhed, and I expected to have ſeen it in Print long e'er this Time. What has retarded it I have not yet heard from Dr. *Sloane*, who has not writ to me ſince I came into the Country: But I make no Doubt but he takes Care of ſo curious a Piece, and the World will have it ſpeedily. I muſt depend on you, not only for excuſing my Silence to your ſelf, but I muſt be obliged to you to excuſe me to your Brother for

not having written to him my ſelf to thank him for the Favour he did me. I hope e'er long to find an Opportunity to teſtifie my Reſpects to him more in Form, which he would find I have in Reality for him, if any Occaſion of that Kind ſhould come in my Way. In the mean time I believe, if he ſaw the Length of this Letter, he would think it enough for one of a Family to be perſecuted by ſo voluminous a Scribler, and would be glad that I ſpared him. I am both his, and,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Dear SIR, *Dublin, March* 15. 169$\frac{7}{8}$.

IN the midſt of my Trouble for your long Silence, ſoon after I had writ to two or three Friends to enquire after your Health, I was happily reliev'd by your's of laſt *January* the 10*th* from *Oates*. I am heartily concern'd that you paſs'd over the laſt Winter with ſo much Indiſpoſition; but I rejoice with you that you have 'ſcaped it, and hope you will yet paſs over many more. I could make to you great Complaints likewiſe of my own late Illneſs; but they are all drown'd in this One, that I am hinder'd for a while in ſeeking a Remedy for them. I fully propoſed to be at the *Bath* this Spring early, but I am diſappointed at preſent, and cannot ſtir from hence till my Lord Chancellor *Methwin* return to this Kingdom. It has pleaſed the young Lord *Woodſtock*, by Directions from his Majeſty, to chuſe my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, Mr. *Van Homrigh* preſent Lord Mayor of this City, and my ſelf, to be his Guardians, and Managers of his Affairs in this Kingdom. Nothing can be done without two of us; ſo I am ty'd by the Leg. Were it only in my Health that I am diſappointed, I could the eaſier bear it; but I am delay'd from embracing my dear Friend, which is moſt grievous of all. Yet I hope it will be ſo but for a time; for if my Lord Chancellor comes over in any convenient Seaſon, I will certainly get looſe. But this I cannot hope for till the Parliament in *England* riſes. I ſhould be glad to know from you when that is expected; for indeed they bear very hard upon us in *Ireland*. How juſtly they can bind us without our *Conſent* and *Repreſentatives*, I leave the *Author* of the *two Treatiſes of Government* to conſider. But of this I ſhall trouble you farther another time, for you will here more hereafter.

I have ſeen the Biſhop of *Worceſter*'s *Anſwer* to your *ſecond Letter*. 'Tis of a Piece with the reſt, and you know my Thoughts of them already. I begin to be almoſt of old *Hobb*'s Opinion, That were it Men's Intereſt, they would queſtion the Truth of *Euclid*'s *Elements*, as now they conteſt almoſt as full Evidences.

I am very glad Monſ. *Coſte* is ſo well ſettled as you tell me: I deſign'd fully to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious *Frenchman* of that Sort, or any ſuch hereafter comes to your Knowledge, I ſhould be very glad you would give me Intimation thereof.

I had certainly anſwer'd that Part of your Letter relating to the Linnen Manufacture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually by Mr. *Hamilton* himſelf, who gave me Hopes of his going into *England*, and was reſolv'd perſonally to wait on you about it. He is Maſter of the whole Myſtery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have diſcours'd you moſt ſatisfactorily concerning it. I promiſed him a Letter to you whenever he goes over, which will now be very ſpeedily, and then I doubt not but you will concert Matters together much for the Good of this poor Kingdom.

My

My Brother gives you his moſt humble Service, and thanks you for the Care you took about his Diſcourſe concerning *Chafers*. We hear from Dr. *Sloan* that it is printed. I am

Your moſt humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *Oates, 6. April 1698.*

THERE is none of the Letters that ever I received from you gave me ſo much Trouble as your laſt of *March* 15. I was told that you reſolved to come into *England* early in the Spring, and lived in the Hopes of it more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater Hopes of it than you can imagine; but it enliven'd me; and contributed to the Support of my Spirits more than you can think. But your Letter has quite dejected me again. The Thing I above all Things long for, is to ſee, and embrace, and have ſome Diſcourſe with you before I go out of this World. I meet with ſo few capable of Truth, or worthy of a free Converſation, ſuch as becomes Lovers of Truth; that you cannot think it ſtrange if I wiſh for ſome time with you, for the expoſing, ſifting, and rectifying of my Thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther in the Diſcovery of Truth than what I have already publiſhed, it muſt be by your Encouragement that I muſt go on to finiſh ſome Things that I have already begun, and with you I hoped to diſcourſe my other yet crude and imperfect Thoughts, in which, if there were any Thing uſeful to Mankind, if they were opened and depoſited with you, I know them ſafe lodg'd for the Advantage of Truth ſome time or other. For I am in Doubt whether it be fit for me to trouble the Preſs with any new Matter; or if I did, I look on my Life as ſo near worn out, that it would be Folly to hope to finiſh any Thing of Moment in the ſmall Remainder of it. I hop'd therefore, as I ſaid, to have ſeen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the Lump unexplicated in my Mind, I ſcarce yet know what it is my ſelf; for I have often had Experience, that a Man cannot well judge of his own Notions, till either by ſetting them down in Paper, or in diſcourſing them to a Friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were ſpread them fairly before himſelf. As for Writing, my ill Health gives me little Heart or Opportunity for it; and of ſeeing you I begin now to deſpair: And that which very much adds to my Affliction in the Caſe is, that you neglect your own Health on Conſiderations, I am ſure, that are not worth your Health; for nothing, if Expectations were Certainties, can be worth it. I ſee no likelihood of the Parliament's riſing yet this good while; and when they are up, who knows whether the Man, you expect to relieve you, will come to you preſently, or at all. You muſt therefore lay by that Buſineſs for a while which detains you, or get ſome other Body into it, if you will take that Care of your Health this Summer which you deſigned, and it ſeems to require: And if you defer it till the next, who knows but your Care of it may then come too late. There is nothing that we are ſuch Spendthrifts of as of Health; we ſpare every thing ſooner than that, though whatever we ſacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the Liberty I take with you: You have given me an Intereſt in you: and it is a Thing of too much Value to me, to look coldly on whilſt you are running into any Inconvenience or Danger, and ſay nothing. If that could be any Spur to you to haſten your Journey hither, I would tell you I have an *Anſwer* ready for the Preſs, which I ſhould be glad you ſhould ſee firſt. It is too long: The Plenty of Matter of all ſorts, which the Gentleman affords me, is the Cauſe of its too great Length, though I have paſſed by many Things worthy of Remarks: But what may be ſpared of what there is, I would be glad ſhould be blotted out by your Hand. But this between us.

Amongſt other Things I would be glad to talk with you about before I die, is that which you ſuggeſt at the bottom of the firſt Page of your Letter. I am mightily concern'd for the place meant in the Queſtion, you ſay you will ask the Author of the Treatiſe you mention, and wiſh extremely well to it; and would be very glad to be inform'd by you what would be beſt for it, and debate with you the Ways to compoſe it. But this cannot be done by Letters, the Subject is of too great Extent, the Views too large, and the Particulars too many to be ſo managed. Come therefore yourſelf, and come as well prepar'd in that matter as you can. But if you talk with others on that Point there, mention not me to any body on that Subject; only let you and I try what Good we can do for thoſe whom we wiſh well to. Great Things have ſometimes been brought about from ſmall Beginnings well laid together.

Pray preſent my moſt humble Service to your Brother; I ſhould be glad of an Opportunity to do him ſome Service. That which he thanks me for in my Care about his Diſcourſe concerning the *Chafers*, was a Service to the Publick, and he owes me no Thanks for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful, and moſt humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Moſt honoured dear SIR, *Dublin, April 19. 1698.*

I Have formerly had Thoughts of coming into *England*, as I have told you, on occaſion of my Health. But ſince the Receipt of your's of *April 6.* which came to my Hands but this Morning, that Conſideration weighs but little with me. The Deſire of ſeeing and converſing with you, has drowned all other Expectations from my Journey, and now I am reſolved to accompliſh it, let what will come on't. Your Perſwaſions and Arguments, I think, have Something in them of Incantation: I am ſure their Charms are ſo powerful on me on all Occaſions, I can never reſiſt them. I ſhall therefore embrace you, God willing, as ſoon as ever the Parliament of *England* riſes. I fix this Period now, not ſo much in Expectation of our Chancellor's Arrival, as on another Account. My dear Friend muſt therefore know, that the Conſideration of what I mention'd in my laſt, from the incomparable Author of the *Treatiſe*, &c. has moved me to put Pen to Paper, and commit ſome Thoughts of mine on that Subject to the Preſs in a ſmall 8vo, entituled, *The Caſe of* Ireland's *being bound by Acts of Parliament in* England, *ſtated.* This you'll ſay is a nice Subject, but I think I have treated it with that Caution and Submiſſion, that it cannot juſtly give any Offence; inſomuch that I ſcruple not to put my Name to it, and, by Advice of ſome good Friends here, have preſum'd to dedicate it to his Majeſty. I have ordered ſome of them to Mr. *Churchill* to be preſented to you, and ſome of your Friends; and they are now upon the Road towards you. I have been very free in giving you my Thoughts on your Pieces; I ſhould be extreamly obliged to you for the like Freedom on your Side upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accompliſh'd Performance, it was done in Haſte, and intended to overtake the Proceedings at *Weſtminſter*; but it comes too late for that: What Effect it may poſſibly have in Time to come, God and the wiſe Council of *England* only knows; but were it again under my Hands, I could conſiderably amend and add to it. But till I either ſee how the Parliament at *Weſtminſter* is pleaſed to take it, or till I ſee them riſen, I do not think it adviſeable for me to go on t'other ſide the Water. Tho' I am not apprehenſive of any Miſchief from them, yet God only knows what Reſentments captious Men may take on ſuch Occaſions.

My

My Brother gives you his moſt reſpectful Service: He has now ready a Diſcourſe on our *Giant's Cauſway*, which indeed is a ſtupendous natural Rarity: He has addreſſed it to Dr. *Liſter*; but you will ſoon ſee it in the *Tranſactions*.

Mr. *Burridge* goes on now with ſome Speed: I had lately an Occaſion of writing to Mr. *Churchill*, and I gave him an Account of his Progreſs. I hope the whole will be finiſhed ſoon after Midſummer; and indeed in my Opinion he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLINEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *London, 9 July, 1698.*

I Am juſt come to *London*, where your former Promiſe, and what Mr. *Churchill* ſince tells me, makes me hope to ſee you ſpeedily. I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit to that happy Time, abundance that I have to ſay to you. For I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR, *Dublin, Sept. 20. 1698.*

I Arrived here ſafely the 15th Inſtant, and now that the Ruffling and Fatigue of my Journey is a little over, I ſit down to a Task, which I muſt confeſs is the hardeſt I was ever under in my Life; I mean, expreſſing my Thanks to you ſuitable to the Favours I received from you, and ſuitable to the inward Senſe I have of them in my Mind. Were it poſſible for me to do either, I ſhould in ſome meaſure be ſatisfied; but my Inability of paying my Debts, makes me aſhamed to appear before my Creditor. However, thus much with the ſtricteſt Sincerity I will venture to aſſert to you, that I cannot recollect through the whole Courſe of my Life, ſuch ſignal Inſtances of real Friendſhip, as when I had the Happineſs of your Company for five Weeks together in *London*. 'Tis with the greateſt Satisfaction imaginable, that I recollect what then paſſed between us, and I reckon it the happieſt Scene of my whole Life. That Part thereof eſpecially, which I paſs'd at *Oates*, has made ſuch an agreeable Impreſſion on my Mind, that nothing can be more pleaſing. To all in that excellent Family, I beſeech you, give my moſt humble Reſpects. 'Tis my Duty to make my acknowledgements there in a particular Letter; but I beg of you to make my Excuſe for omitting it at this time, becauſe I am a little preſs'd by ſome Buſineſs that is thrown upon me ſince my Arrival. To which alſo you are obliged for not being troubled at preſent with a more tedious Letter from,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged,

and entirely affectionate Friend and Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR, *London, Sept. 29. 1698.*

YOur's of the 20th has now discharged me from my daily Imployment of looking upon the Weathercock, and hearkening how loud the Wind blow'd. Though I do not like this Distance, and such a Ditch betwixt us, yet I am glad to hear that you are safe and sound on t'other side the Water. But pray you speak not in so magnificent and courtly a Style of what you received from me here. I lived with you, and treated you as my Friend, and therefore used no Ceremony, nor can receive any Thanks but what I owe you doubly, both for your Company, and the Pains you were at to bestow that Happiness on me. If you keep your Word, and do me the same Kindness again next Year, I shall have Reason to think you value me more than you say, though you say more than I can with Modesty read.

I find you were beset with Business when you writ your Letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet for all that, I cannot forgive your Silence concerning your Health and your Son. My Service to him, your Brother, and Mr. *Burridge*, and do me the Justice to believe, that I am with a perfect Affection,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* BURRIDGE.

SIR, *Oates, October 27. 1698.*

YOU guessed not amiss, when you said in the beginning of your's of the 13th Instant, that you gave me the Trouble of a Letter: for I have received few Letters in my Life, the Contents whereof have so much troubled and afflicted me, as that of your's. I parted with my excellent Friend when he went from *England*, with all the Hopes and Promises to my self of seeing him again, and enjoying him longer in the next Spring. This was a Satisfaction that helped me to bear our Separation; and the short Taste I had of him here, in this our first Interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer Conversation, which he promised me the next Time: But it has served only to give me a greater Sense of my Loss, in an eternal Farewel in this World. Your earlier Acquaintance may have given you a longer Knowledge of his Virtue and excellent Endowments, a fuller Sight or greater Esteem of them, you could not have than I. His Worth and his Friendship to me, made him an inestimable Treasure, which I must regret the Loss of, the little Remainder of my Life, without any Hopes of repairing it any Way. I should be glad if what I owed the Father could enable me to do any Service to his Son. He deserves it for his own Sake (his Father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his Father's. I desire you therefore to assure those who have the Care of him, that if there be any Thing wherein I at this Distance may be any way serviceable to young Mr. *Molyneux*, they cannot do me a greater Pleasure than to give me the Opportunity to shew, that my Friendship died not with him.

Pray give my most humble Service to Dr. *Molyneux* and to his Nephew.

I am

SIR,

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Aug.* 27. 1692.

I'M very ſenſible of your great Civility in remembering me upon ſo ſhort an Acquaintance as I had with you in *Holland* ſo long time ſince; and I aſſure you without any Complement, I reckon it amongſt the moſt fortunate Accidents of my Life, my ſo luckily falling into your Converſation, which was ſo candid, diverting and inſtructive, that I ſtill reap the Benefit and Satisfaction of it. Some Years after I left you in *Holland*, upon my Return for *England* I contracted no ſmall Intimacy with Dr. *Sydenham*, on the Account of having been known to you his much eſteemed Friend, and I found him ſo accurate an Obſerver of Diſeaſes, ſo throughly skill'd in all uſeful Knowledge of his Profeſſion, and withal ſo communicative, that his Acquaintance was a very great Advantage to me: And all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, beſides the Information of many uſeful Truths, and a great deal of very pleaſing Entertainment I have met with, in the Peruſal of your lately publiſh'd Writings: So that on many Accounts I muſt needs ſay, there are very few Men in the World, to whom I can with the like Sincerity profeſs my ſelf to be, as I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt real Friend, and

very humble and obliged Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, Nov.* 1. 1692.

THE Indiſpoſition of my Health, which drove me out of *London*, and keeps me ſtill in the Country, muſt be an Excuſe for my ſo long Silence. The very great Civility you expreſs to me in your Letter, makes me hope your Pardon for the Slowneſs of my Anſwer, whereby I hope you will not meaſure the Eſteem and Reſpect I have for you. That your own diſtinguiſhing Merit, amongſt the reſt of my Countrymen I met with at *Leyden*, has ſo ſettled in me, that before the Occaſion your Brother's Favour lately gave me to inquire after you, I often remember'd you; and 'twas not without Regret I conſidered you at a Diſtance that allow'd me not the Hopes of renewing and improving my Acquaintance with you. There being nothing of value ſo much, as ingenious knowing Men, think it not ſtrange that I laid hold on the firſt Opportunity, to bring myſelf again into your Thoughts. You muſt take it as an Exerciſe of your Goodneſs drawn on you by your own Merit: For whatever Satisfaction I gain to myſelf in having recovered you again, I can propoſe no Advantage to you, in the Offer of a very uſeleſs and infirm Acquaintance, who can only boaſt that he very much eſteems you.

That which I always thought of Dr. *Sydenham* living, I find the World allows him now he is dead, and that he deſerved all that you ſay of him. I hope the Age has many who will follow his Example, and by the way of accurate practical Obſervation, as he has ſo happily begun, enlarge the Hiſtory of Diſeaſes, and improve the Art of Phyſick, and not by ſpeculative Hypotheſes fill the World with uſeleſs, though pleaſing Viſions. Something of this Kind permit me to promiſe my ſelf one Day from your Judicious Pen. I know nothing that has ſo great an Encouragement from the good of Mankind as this.

I beg you to preſent my moſt humble Service to your Brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midſt of his Parliamentary Affairs, whereof I know a great Part muſt fall to his Share, with my Thanks for the Favour

of

of his of the 15*th* of *Octob.* which lately found me out ſafe here. Let him know that I am exceedingly ſenſible of the Obligation, and ſhall at large make my Acknowledgments to him as ſoon as good Manners will allow it. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and moſt faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Dec.* 20. *1692.*

I'M much concerned to hear you have your Health no better, and on this Occaſion cannot but deplore the great Loſſes the intellectual World in all Ages has ſuffer'd by the ſtrongeſt and ſoundeſt Minds poſſeſſing the moſt infirm and ſickly Bodies. Certainly there muſt be ſome very powerful Cauſe for this in Nature, or elſe we could not have ſo many Inſtances, where the Knife cuts the Sheath, as the *French* materially expreſs it: And if ſo, this muſt be reckon'd among the many other inſeparable Miſeries that attend human Affairs.

I could wiſh the Phyſician's Art were ſo powerful and perfect, as in ſome Meaſure to prevent ſo great an Evil; but we find where once Nature, or the *OEconomia Animalis* of the Body is ſo depraved, as not to co-operate with Medicine, all Remedies, and the Courſes of them prove wholly ineffectual, or to very little Purpoſe. But ſtill the more imperfect Phyſick is, ſo much the more is owing to thoſe, who the leaſt improve ſo difficult a Province, which certainly has been conſiderably advanced by ſome late *Engliſh* Authors; and that puts me in Mind to deſire of you your Thoughts, or what other learned Phyſicians you converſe with ſay, concerning Dr. *Morton* and his late *Exercitations on Fevers.* As for his *General Theory* of them, I eſteem it, as all others of this Kind, a ſort of mere waking Dream, that Men are ſtrangely apt to fall into, when they think long of a Subject, beginning quite at the wrong End; for by framing ſuch Conceits in their Fancies, they vainly think to give their Underſtandings Light, whilſt the Things themſelves are ſtill, and perhaps ever muſt remain in Darkneſs.

In his firſt Exercitation that treats of *Agues,* I don't find he has ſaid any Thing very material or worth Notice, that the World did not ſufficiently know before, unleſs it were ſome Hiſtories of the irregular Shapes and Symptoms this Diſtemper appears under, which I think may be very inſtructive to the Phyſician, and of great Eaſe and Advantage to the Sick.

But his practical Remarks in his ſecond Exercitation about *continuing and remitting Fevers,* if they be judiciouſly founded upon many and ſteddy Obſervations, ſo that they may ſafely paſs into a Rule, muſt certainly be of great Moment in directing the Management and Cure of Fevers. I confeſs my Experience in this Diſtemper, as yet falls ſomething too ſhort for to determine poſitively, whether all his Obſervations be real and well grounded; but as far as I can judge at preſent, ſeveral of them do hold good.

I remember to have heard Dr. *Morton* was once a *Presbyterian* Preacher; and though he were, this does not make him a jot the leſs capable in above 20 Years Practice to have carefully obſerved the Accidents that naturally occur in the Progreſs of a Diſeaſe; and if he be but a true and judicious Regiſter, 'tis all I deſire from him.

You ſee I have taken great Freedom in giving a Character according to my Apprehenſions of this Author, but 'tis only to encourage you to uſe the ſame Liberty; for if at your Leiſure you would let me know your own Thoughts, or what other candid Men ſay concerning him and his Methods of Cure, or any other uſeful Tract that comes Abroad, you will extremely oblige,

SIR,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

T. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE *to Mr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, Jan.* 20. 169⅔.

I Muſt acknowledge the Care you take of my Health, in a Way wherein you ſo kindly apply to my Mind; and if I could perſuade my ſelf that my weak Conſtitution was owing to that Strength of Mind you aſcribe to me, or accompanied with it, I ſhould find therein, if not a Remedy, yet a great Relief againſt the Infirmities of my Body. However, I am not the leſs obliged to you for ſo friendly an Application; and if the Cordial you preſcribe be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious Mind) your Kindneſs is not to be blamed, who I am confident wiſh me that Satisfaction, or any Thing elſe that could contribute to my Health.

The Doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I liv'd in Town and convers'd among the Phyſicians there, a good Reputation amongſt thoſe of his own Faculty. I can ſay nothing of his late Book of *Fevers*, having not read it my ſelf, nor heard it ſpoke of by others: But I perfectly agree with you concerning general Theories, that they are for the moſt part but a ſort of waking Dreams, with which, when Men have warm'd their own Heads, they paſs into unqueſtionable Truths, and then the ignorant World muſt be ſet right by them. Tho' this be, as you rightly obſerve, beginning at the wrong End, when Men lay the Foundation in their own Fancies, and then endeavour to ſuit the *Phænomena* of Diſeaſes, and the Cure of them, to thoſe Fancies. I wonder that, after the Pattern Dr. *Sydenham* has ſet them of a better Way, Men ſhould return again to that Romance Way of Phyſick. But I ſee it is eaſier and more natural for Men to build Caſtles in the Air of their own, than to ſurvey well thoſe that are to be found ſtanding. Nicely to obſerve the Hiſtory of Diſeaſes in all their Changes and Circumſtances, is a Work of Time, Accurateneſs, Attention and Judgment, and wherein if Men, through Prepoſſeſſion or Oſcitancy, miſtake, they may be convinced of their Error, by unerring Nature and Matter of Fact, which leaves leſs Room for the Subtlety and Diſpute of Words, which ſerves very much inſtead of Knowledge in the learned World, where methinks Wit and Invention has much the Preference to Truth. Upon ſuch Grounds as are the eſtabliſh'd Hiſtory of Diſeaſes, *Hypotheſes* might with leſs Danger be erected, which I think are ſo far uſeful, as they ſerve as an Art of Memory to direct the Phyſician in particular Caſes, but not to be rely'd on as Foundations of Reaſoning, or Verities to be contended for; they being, I think I may ſay all of them, Suppoſitions taken up *gratis*, and will ſo remain, till we can diſcover how the natural Functions of the Body are performed, and by what Alteration of the Humours or Defects in the Parts they are hinder'd or diſorder'd. To which purpoſe I fear the *Galeniſts* four Humours, or the Chymiſts *Sal*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*, or the late prevailing Invention of Acid and Alcali, or whatever hereafter ſhall be ſubſtituted to theſe with new Applauſe, will upon Examination be found to be but ſo many learned empty Sounds, with no preciſe determinate Signification. What we know of the Works of Nature, eſpecially in the Conſtitution of Health, and the Operations of our own Bodies, is only by the ſenſible Effects, but not by any Certainty we can have of the Tools ſhe uſes, or the Ways ſhe works by. So that there is nothing left for a Phyſician to do, but to obſerve well, and ſo by Analogy argue to like Caſes, and thence make to himſelf Rules of Practice: And he that is this way moſt ſagacious, will, I imagine, make the beſt Phyſician, though he ſhould entertain diſtinct Hypotheſes concerning diſtinct Species of Diſeaſes, ſubſervient to this End, that were inconſiſtent one with another, they being made uſe of in thoſe ſeveral ſorts of Diſeaſes, but as diſtinct Arts of Memory in thoſe Caſes. And I the rather ſay this, that they might be rely'd on only as artificial Helps to a Phyſician, and not as Philoſophical Truths to a Naturaliſt. But, Sir, I run too far, and muſt beg your Pardon for talking ſo freely on a Subject you underſtand ſo much better than I do. I hope the Way of Treating of Diſeaſes, which with ſo much Approbation Dr. *Sydenham* had introduced into the World, would

have beaten the other out, and turned Men from Viſions and Wrangling to Obſervation, and endeavouring after ſettled Practices in more Diſeaſes, ſuch as I think he has given us in ſome. If my Zeal for the ſaving Men's Lives, and preſerving their Health (which is infinitely to be prefer'd to any Speculations ever ſo fine in Phyſick) has carried me too far, you will excuſe it in one who wiſhes well to the Practice of Phyſick, though he meddles not with it. I wiſh you, and your Brother, and all yours, a very happy New-Year, and am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Nov.* 4. 1693.

FOR a While I defer'd making any Return for the Favour of your laſt Letter, on the Account I underſtood by one of your's to my Brother, that I was ſuddenly to expect another Obligation from you, by the Receipt of your Treatiſe of *Education*, which Yeſterday firſt came to my Hands; and now I return you my hearty Thanks for both your Kindneſſes together, of which ſhould I expreſs the real Thoughts I have, I ſhould ſeem to run either into extravagant Complement, or groſs Flattery: But thus much I muſt needs ſay, that as your Letter certainly contains in ſhort, the only true Method for the proſecuting the curing Part of the Practice of Phyſick, and the ſure Way of improving it; a Matter of the chiefeſt Good in relation to Men's Bodies: So your Book of *Education* lays down ſuch Rules for the breeding of Youth, as if followed, muſt neceſſarily prove of the greateſt Advantage to the better Part of Man, the Mind; by inſenſibly diſpoſing it to an habitual Exerciſe of what is vertuous and laudable, and the Acquiſition of all ſuch Knowledge as is neceſſary for one's own Good, or that of others whom we are to converſe with. Whence I can't but think, had thoſe of our own Countries but a thorough Perſuaſion, and a right Senſe of the great Benefit that redounds from a careful Education, ſo as univerſally to put it in Practice, without Queſtion we ſhould ſoon become a Nation as remarkably different from the reſt of the World for the inward Endowments of our Minds, and the Rectitude of our Manners, as the Negro's are from the reſt of Mankind for their outward Shape and Colour of Body. But this I fear is a Happineſs only to be wiſhed for; however, he that makes it his Endeavour to promote ſo great a Good, by ſhewing the certain Way to it, if they will follow him, juſtly deſerves the high Eſteem of all that know how to value a truly Publick Spirit.

I hope, Sir, you have your Health better, and that we may ſuddenly have Abroad your *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, with thoſe farther Additions and Alterations you have ſome while ſince deſigned for the Preſs: I'm confident 'tis impatiently expected by all that are acquainted with your Writings, and that peculiar clear Manner of delivering Truth you are ſo much Maſter of, but by none more than,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Octob. 25. 1697.*

I Should oftener make Acknowledgments to you for your Favours, and expreſs the great Eſteem I bear you, but that this barren Place affords little elſe to ſay; and this I can't think Reaſon enough to trouble one ſo buſy and uſefully engaged as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you, by this worthy Gentleman Mr. *Berriſford* your Acquaintance, for a Preſent of a Book, I underſtand by my Brother you deſigned for me, tho' I was ſo unlucky as to miſs of it; and alſo communicate to you the incloſed Letter, which the Biſhop of *Clogher* was pleaſed (perhaps out of his too Partial Friendſhip) to tell me deſerved to be made Publick, and deſired me accordingly to tranſmit it to Dr. *Sloane:* But this I would not do, unleſs it have your Approbation alſo; ſo that 'tis wholly at your Diſpoſal to do with it as you pleaſe, as is likewiſe

SIR,

Your very affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 27. Oct. 1698.*

DEath has with a violent Hand haſtily ſnatch'd from you a dear Brother. I doubt not but on this Occaſion you need all the Conſolation can be given to one unexpectedly bereft of ſo worthy and near a Relation. Whatever Inclination I may have to alleviate your Sorrow, I bear too great a Share in the Loſs, and am too ſenſibly touch'd with it myſelf, to be in a Condition to diſcourſe you on this Subject, or do any thing but mingle my Tears with your's. I have loſt in your Brother, not only an ingenious and learned Acquaintance, that all the World eſteemed; but an intimate and ſincere Friend, whom I truly loved, and by whom I was truly loved: And what a Loſs that is, thoſe only can be ſenſible who know how valuable and how ſcarce a true Friend is, and how far to be preferred to all other ſorts of Treaſure. He has left a Son who I know was dear to him, and deſerved to be ſo as much as was poſſible for one of his Age. I cannot think my ſelf wholly incapacitated from paying ſome of the Affection and Service was due from me to my dear Friend, as long as he has a Child or a Brother in the World. If therefore there be any Thing at this diſtance wherein I in my little Sphere may be able to ſerve your Nephew or you, I beg you by the Memory of our deceaſed Friend to let me know it, that you may ſee, that one who loved him ſo well cannot but be tenderly concerned for his Son, nor be otherwiſe than I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble,

and moſt affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX *to Mr.* LOCKE.

SIR, *Dublin, Nov. 26. 1698.*

AS you have a true Senſe of every thing, ſo you were very much in the right, when you tell me in the Letter you favour'd me with of the 27*th* of laſt Month, that I needed all the Conſolation could be given one that had loſt ſo unexpectedly a dear and only Brother. His Death indeed has been a ſevere Affliction to me, and though I have you, and many more, that bear a great Share with me in my Sorrow; yet this does no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the heavier upon me; for it doubles my Grief to think what an unſpeakable Loſs he muſt be to ſo near a Relation, that is ſo much lamented by thoſe that were only acquainted with him. I could not believe that Mortality could have made ſo deep an Impreſſion on me, whoſe Profeſſion leads into ſo thorough a Familiarity with it; but I find a paſſionate Affection ſurmounts all this, and the *tecum obeam lubens*, though it was the Expreſſion of a Poet, yet I am ſenſible was a very Natural one where we love extremely, and the *Indians* prove it no leſs in Fact. Could any outward Circumſtance of his Life have increaſed that brotherly Affection I had for him, it muſt have been that he had ſo great a Part in your Friendſhip, who muſt be allowed to have a nice Judgment in diſcerning the true Characters and Worth of Men. He frequently in his Life-time has expreſſed to me with great Complacency of Mind, how happy he thought himſelf in your Acquaintance, and he ſpoke of you ſeveral times, during his ſhort Sickneſs, with great Reſpect. With his own Hand he has writ this Clauſe in his Will: *I give and bequeath to my excellent Friend* John Locke *Eſq*; *Author of the* Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, *the Sum of five Pounds to buy him a Ring, in Memory of the Value and Eſteem I had for him.* This I ſhall take care to ſend you in a Bill by Mr. *Churchill*'s Hands, when he ſtates the Account as it ſtands between him and my Brother. The only Child he has left behind him, is under my Care and Management. I ſhall endeavour to diſcharge this Truſt, with all the Regard to my Brother's Memory, and the Advantage of his Child, I can: But it grieves me to think, that I muſt ſurely fall very much ſhort of that extraordinary Application and Prudence his Father would have ſhewn in his Education; for he made it the chiefeſt, and indeed the only Buſineſs of his Life. I have made his little Son as ſenſible as his tender Age would allow, how much he is obliged to you, his Father's Friend, for your earneſt Deſire to ſerve him: I wiſh you may both prolong your Lives ſo, as he may one Day be more thankful and capable of your Kindneſs, by profiting much from your good Inſtructions and Advice. And ſince you ſo earneſtly preſs me by the Memory of your deceaſed Friend, to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I'll venture to break the Bounds of Modeſty ſo far, as to tell you I ſhould be extremely pleaſed to receive from yourſelf the laſt Edition of your incomparable *Eſſay of Human Underſtanding*, and ſuch other Pieces of your Works as you ſhall think fit; for all which, as I have a great Eſteem; ſo I ſhould have a more particular Regard coming from your ſelf, as a private Memorial of my dear Brother's Friend, and of a Perſon for whom I have ſuch an extraordinary Value, as I ſhall ever be proud of owning myſelf,

SIR,

Your truly affectionate and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE *to Dr.* MOLYNEUX.

SIR, *Oates, 25. Jan. 169⅔.*

I Have been ſlower in returning you my Thanks for the Favour of your Letter of the 26*th* of *Nov.* and the Civilities you expreſs to me in it, than perhaps I ſhould have been. But the Truth is, my Thoughts never look

look towards *Dublin* now, without caſting ſuch a Cloud upon my Mind, and laying ſuch a Load of freſh Sorrow on me for the Loſs of my dear Friend, your Brother, that I cannot without Diſpleaſure turn them that Way; and when I do it I find my ſelf very unfit for Converſation and the Entertainment of a Friend. 'Tis therefore not without Pain that I bring my ſelf to write you a ſcurvy Letter. What there wants in it of Expreſſion, you muſt make up out of the Eſteem I have for the Memory of our common Friend; and I deſire you not to think my Reſpects to you the leſs, becauſe the Loſs of your Brother makes me not able to ſpeak them as I would.

Since you are pleaſed to put ſuch a Value on my Triſles, I have given Order to Mr. *Churchill* to ſend you my laſt *Reply to the Biſhop of Worceſter*, and the laſt Edition of my Treatiſe of *Education*, which came forth ſince Mr. *Molyneux*'s Death. I ſend this with the more Confidence to you, becauſe your Brother told me more than once, that he followed the Method I therein offer to the World, in the breeding of his Son. I wiſh you may find it fit to be continued to him, and uſeful to you in his Education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the Son of ſuch a Father, and wiſh that he may grow up into that Eſteem and Character, which his Father left behind him amongſt all good Men who knew him. As for my *Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding*, it is now out of Print, and if it were not, I think I ſhould make you but an ill Complement in ſending it you leſs perfect than I deſign it ſhould be in the next Edition, in which I ſhall make many Additions to it: And when it is as perfect as I can make it, I know not whether in ſending it you I ſhall not load you with a troubleſome and uſeleſs Preſent. But ſince by deſiring it you ſeem to promiſe me your Acceptance, I ſhall as ſoon as it is re-printed take the Liberty to thruſt it into your Study. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble, and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

CUM ante dies decem ad amicum noſtrum D^m^ Guenellonem ſcripſi, facile credes quod te, V. C. non inſalutatum præteriverim: Verum mei officii tuorumque beneficiorum ratio poſtulat à me aliam & ſalutandi & gratias agendi Methodum, ne aut obiter aut negligenter id quod mihi maxime incumbit agere videar. Præſertim cum Guenellonis noſtri ſilentium me incertum reddat an meæ ad ipſum pervenerint literæ, quas ſane minime vellem intercidiſſe; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obſtrictus ſum, aut parum memor aut parum gratus appearem, credatiſque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum deleviſſe memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam ſignificavi quam humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officioſe adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas ſuadet Viri iſtius ſumma humanitas, quanquam illud parum eſt, ſi cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. D^m^ Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus ſalutem verbis non facile reperio, cum nulla ſint quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & ſemper habebo gratias æquare poſſint, tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad D^m^ Guenellonem ſcripſi. Amœnitas loci, & ſi non deſidia, ſaltem quietis amor, & moleſti quam in itinere perpeſſus ſum averſatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægreſſum ulciſcor otium, valde jucundæ ſunt; ſed longe jucundiores forent ii aliquot veſtrum expatiandi haberem ſocios, quod tam mei quam veſtri cauſa continuo opto, præſertim ſic favente cœlo: Nec enim credo ſanitati incommodum eſſet præſertim

tim Dᵉ Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robuſtæ prodeſſet maxime credo hic ſerenus & liber aer. Quid agatur apud vos, præſertim noſtrorum reſpectu, ad me perſcribas rogo; præſertim me de tua amicorumque noſtrorum valetudine certiorem facias. Sum,

Cleve, 28. *Sept.* 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

DUas à te, Vir ampliſſime, officii & benevolentiæ plenas hic accepi literas, nec ingratus tibi videbor ſpero, ſi ad ſingula, prout oportet, non fuſe reſpondeam, temporis anguſtia impeditus. Hoc unum enixe rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu Comitis Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, tranſmiſſo ea de re vel ad me vel ad te nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, & ſi jam non adeſt, quotidie expectatur. Mea multum intereſt, ut quam fieri poteſt, mature illius acceſſum cognoſcam. Hoc cum dixero, ſatis ſcio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrime id mihi innoteſcat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius diſcedit. Amicos meos meo nomine quam officioſiſſime quæſo ſalutes. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Cleve, 3. *Octob.* 1685.

Tui obſervantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir Clariſſime,

SI duabus tuis amiciſſimis epiſtolis parum vel nihil à me reſponſum eſt, id inſtanti tabellarii diſceſſui imputes rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum, tuæ vero conſuetudinis & jucundiſſimi juxta ac doctiſſimi ſermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratiſſimis literis nihil dicerem, niſi gravis aliqua ſubeſſet cauſa cur de adventu Comitis Pembrokiæ quam fieri potuit citiſſime certior fierem. Sed jam, quo maxime propendet animus, ad te, Vir optime, & ſcripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuſo amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnifice, de veſtris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter loquentem. Hi ſunt fateor magnæ & non fictæ amicitiæ aliquando errores de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iiſdem rebus ſentienti ignoſcas, & me credas amicitiæ & gratitudinis dictata ſequi cum in ea perſiſtam ſententia, aliqua me apud vos accepiſſe beneficia quibus reſpondere verbis nec poſſim nec debeam. Et niſi vos omnes in re, contra quam par eſt, voluntati meæ obſtare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tua authoritate, qua plurimum apud præſtantiſſimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam juſtæ finem imponeres. Si, quod videris promittere, ſed heu! longum abeſt, his in collibus & ſylvarum umbra, tua frui daretur & amicorum noſtrorum conſuetudine, crederem ego ſpecimen aliquod aurei rediiſſe ſæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in ſylvis ſolum degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentia vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt Poetæ: An aliquid aliud nos docent Hiſtorici, hoc tempore non eſt mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluiſſe & ſine graviore aliquo ſymptomate. Locum illum Epiſtolæ tuæ ubi ſcriptorum tuorum memineris non ſine mœrore legi, ſentio quantam ex diſceſſu meo fecerim jacturam & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerim reliqua tua ſcripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem quam ex jam lectis multo cum fructu percepiſſem. Si vis ut ſincere & aperte dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis delucide propoſitas, argumentorum

rum rationibus melius ſubnixas, à partium ſtudiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importune, tam dedita opera, criticum tam paucis potuiſſe dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miſerum! magnam partem fructus, quem ex iſta mea critica ſeveritate mihi propoſui, perdidi. Plurima enim quæ inter legendum notaveram non tam tui corrigendi quam mei informandi feci animo, de quibus tecum ulterius inquirendum ſtatueram. Non eſt igitur quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas, ſatis eſt ſi vehementi nimis inquiſitori & culpandi anſas ſtudioſe quærenti ignoſcas. Quanquam non male pictæ tabulæ indicium eſt ſi quis cogatur in ea quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor eo eſſent ſcripta idiomate ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciſcendi copioſam materiam. Quod ſcribis de critici critico * facile credo; quamprimum enim attigi iſtum undecimæ epiſtolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obſtrepentium exclamationes quaſi de religione omnino actum eſſet, nôſti hujuſmodi hominum mores, quominus heterodoxum aliquid poſſint refellere, ne nihil in cauſa Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, incuſationibus, calumniis inſurgunt. Fateor argumentum iſtud modeſte proponendum fuiſſe, & caute tractandum, ſed tamen ejuſmodi eſt ut mereatur tandem ſumma cum acribia diſcuti. Si omnia quæ in ſacris libris continentur pro theopneuſtis pariter habenda ſine omni diſcretione, magna ſane præbetur philoſophis de fide & ſinceritate noſtra dubitandi anſa. Si è contrario quædam pro ſcriptis pure humanis habenda: ubi conſtabit ſcripturarum divina autoritas, ſine qua corruet religio chriſtiana? quodnam erit criterium? quis modus? adeo ut in hac queſtione, ſi qua alia, maxime fundamentali, ſumma cum cautione, prudentia, modeſtia agendum, præſertim ab eo cui uti credo jam non nimium favent eccleſiaſticæ poteſtates & theologorum claſſes. Sed ſigna cecinerunt, & expectandus eſt conflictus. Ego qui ubique ſolam quæro veritatem, eamque quantum capere poſſum, ſive inter orthodoxos reperio ſive heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua eſſe in eo ſcripto quæ mihi plene non ſatisfaciunt, alia quibus reſpondere non poſſum; de illis ab authore libenter reſponſum acciperem, ſi commodum exiſtimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Ni fallor, author ſæpius utitur contra apoſtolorum continuam inſpirationem hoc argumento, quod ſc. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ ſine auxilio Spiritus Sancti dici poterant; quod tamen conceſſum, contra divinam S. ſcripturæ authoritatem & Θεοπνευſίαν nihil concludit. Aſſeritur in S. ſcriptura conſtans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit S. Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. p. 241.) quod cœlitus ipſi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit certitudini ſcripturæ, quandoquidem ejuſmodi res eſſet, quam certo & infallibiliter cognoſcere potuit ſine revelatione divina. Quæ ſenſibus & certa cognitione apoſtolis conſtabant, non opus erat revelatione ut earum hiſtoria ab apoſtolis tradita pro indubitata haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines ſuſpicentur hoc argumentum potius quæſitum quam è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promiſſi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fuſe tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur poſſe accommodari apoſtolo Paulo, ſi quis attente legat illius hiſtoriam Act. ix. & ſeq. Unde enim ille evangelii hoſtis, &, ut ipſe alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire myſteriorum evangelii interpres & præco ſine inſpiratione ſupernaturali & divina? V. Act. ix. 19, 20. Hæc aliqua eorum quæ mihi inter legendum parum ſatisfecerunt, alia fuerunt quorum oblitus ſum: ſed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter ſcirem. Verum cum plurima alia ſunt quæ videntur omnimodam S. Scripturæ infallibilitatem & inſpirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non poſſe reſpondere, enixe rogo ut quid ea de re ſentias mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant jamdiu ante tractatus hujus lectionem dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratiſſimum mihi facies ſi hunc mihi adimas ſcrupulum. Cum ſumma quæſo amicitiæ, gratitudinis & exiſtimationis ſignificatione hanc incluſam hoſpiti meo optimo trades. Illiuſque

& tuam

* *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d' Hollande ſur l' Hiſtoire critique du P. Simon.*

& tuam & Guenellonis fœminam meo nomine ſalutes, reliquoſque noſtros omnes. Vale, & longas epiſtolas ſcribenti ignoſcas, nam tecum loqui haud facile deſiſto.

Cleve, 6 Oct. 1685.

Tibi devotiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S.P.D.*

QUanquam longo uſu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à conſuetudine tamen tua, Vir doctiſſime & amicorum optime, me divelli ſine magna animi ægritudine pati non poſſum. Tu enim me eruditione tua inſtruere; judicio confirmare; conſilio dirigere; & amicitia & comitate ſolari ſolebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: ſed ita plerumque mecum agi ſolet, ut ubi & quibuſcum eſſe maxime cupio refragante fortuna raro permiſſum ſit. Devorandum igitur ut potero hujus abſentiæ tædium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præſertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adverſarii illi, qui domi ſuæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam ſumus ſæculo expectaſſe non dubito. Si candide, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi ſcio non diſplicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris undecunque venientem. Sin iracunde, veteratorie, maligne, paucis placebunt, niſi ſui ſimilibus; quicquid demum acciderit hoc certum eſt, quod tu illæſus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem quæris non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixoſis hujuſmodi diſputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non ſuis adſtruendis quærunt gloriam: Artificis & laudem merentis eſt ædificare. Sed pugnaces hoſce ſibi & curis ſuis relinquamus. Si quid in B—— placidius & liberalius reperiſti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidie augeri numerum, præſertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidie ſeruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius ſunt indolis amici quibus hic te favente familiariter utor. Uterque Grævius ſalutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium ſæpius quæſitum nondum domi reperi; hujus ſeptimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem tranſegit, cum domum redierit non diu inſalutatum permittam. Vale cum tua tuiſque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 Oct. 1686.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S.P.D.*

Vir reverendiſſime, amiciſſime, colendiſſime,

SIne fati & ineluctabili prædeſtinationis vi experior in me ipſo, quomodo peccandi initia quandam ſenſim afferunt ſecum peccandi neceſſitatem. Literis tuis amiciſſimis 9. & 14. Febr. datis reſpondendi quamprimum eas acceperam anſam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum feſtinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio, jam deceſſus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, ſatis ad literas ſcribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus ſum eam, qua alias uſus ſum, ſcribendi libertatem. In hoc ſilentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus quaſi inſcius incidi miſer, quod jam tempore auctum pene confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamus ſemel irretiti, & modeſti pariter & pervicaces in vitiis ſuis indureſcunt. Vides quo in ſtatu jam ſum, & niſi credere me vis omnia certa & immutabili neceſſitate evenire, negligentiæ huic meæ ignoſcere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrheſia. De Germana patrum theologia idem tecum plane ſentio. Maxima ſemper fuit ſemperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci ſunt in tanta ſcriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo ſub aere nati.

Sed

Sed me hac de re à tua opinione non eſſe alienum non multum miraberis. Aliquid amplius fateor eſt, quod ego numeros tuos ſecretos notaverim, & quod tu hoc obſervaveris. Cave tibi & ignoſce quamprimum ſilentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis ſim moleſtus, vides me in ſecretiora tua penetrare. *Scire volunt ſecreta domus,*—& nôſti quod ſequitur,——*atq; inde timeri.* Magicæ hæ metuendæ ſunt artes nimis perſpicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enaſcuntur fonte, & id mihi teſtatum faciunt quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tua harmonica quadam ſympathia regi plane & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum ſemper fore certum eſt, O! utinam eodem modo & ſciens fieri poſſem. Ut enim verum fatear inſcius tuis numeris uſus ſum, ſed gaudeo me prodiiſſe tenus; vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi accideret. Agnoſco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas pro omni tua cura & opera, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locata. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale & me ama

Tui amantiſſimum,

Rotterodami, Mar. 8. 16 18/5 87

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S.P.D.*

QUid illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par eſt, nec reſpondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipſo conceſſa uti ſine viribus ad ea quæ decent præſtanda neceſſariis? Jucundiſſima tua & floribus undique referta epiſtola ad ea quæ ſcribis iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat, ut vero calamum ſumam, & aliquid meo more reſcribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etſi enim grati ſit animi, argutis & facetis amici ſermonibus aliquid reſpondere, imprudentis tamen eſt & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agreſtia, pretioſis vilia, vel in ipſo literarum commercio reponere. Fruſtra igitur à te libertate donatus ſum, munus ſane in ſpecie magnificum, ſed niſi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire poſſis ingenio, plane inutile, fruſtra enim accuſabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & juſta ſit defenſio hebetem non debere eſſe loquacem, nec decere χάλκεα χρυσέων, ut ut enim eo modo liber ſim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paratus ſis omnia ab amica voluntate profecta in bonam partem interpretari, hoc boni omnia conſulentis non parva laus eſt, ſed male interim ſcribentis peſſima excuſatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus en te iterum compellare auſim melioribus ſtudiis vacantem, ſi quid in eo pecco, nolo incuſare vim à fatis illatam, cauſam ſane, ſi qua ſit, omnium maxime improbam, ſed te ipſum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longiſſime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoſcam & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamſi referre non poſſim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epiſtolas paratiſſimum & cupidiſſimum: Ad meas reſcribendas etiamſi cupiam tardum, & ſane tam neceſſitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum iſta excuſatione uti non potes, & mature ſcribas rogo & abunde. Id ni facias audies me graviter querentem, te non præſtare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; ſed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitiæ ſemper viximus, ut tu propere & cumulate omnia officia benevolentiæ præſtares, ego vel in agnoſcendo parcus & lentus eſſem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos vetuſtate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil inſolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res eſt; in hac tamen culpa non prorſus ingratus videri vellem, ſi id in ſe aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam qua ſe deſtitutum fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro mihi patrocinium quod mihimet præſtare non poſſum. Sed de me ſatis, ad majora nunc venio tua, ſcil. typographo haud parum iraſ-

cor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procraſtinet, ſpero jam accedente ſole operarum diligentia incaleſcet. De Epiſcopii etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod poſtulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res eſt fatear, ſcripſeram prius ad te niſi ſperaveram antehac me Amſtelodamum acceſſurum, ut jucundiſſima illic amicorum conſuetudine fruerer, imprimis tua, ſine qua hi ipſi veris non amœne tranſeunt dies. Vale, Vir præſtantiſſime, & ut facis me ama

Rotterodami, 16 *Maij* 1687.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBOROH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

NOnne ſatis tibi eſt, Vir clariſſime, Judæum † viciſſe, niſi eodem opere inter Chriſtianos, tui amantiſſimum tibi etiam prorſus ſubjuges? Diverſis fateor armis nos aggrederis, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obſtrictum tenes, è quibus ille ſe vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronuntiare poſſum, me tibi ſemper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro cui non ſufficit me ſuis cumulare beneficiis, niſi inſuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum ſuas ſibi laudes ipſe detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit, & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amica tua urbanitate facilius me quocunque velis circumducere poſſis, quam ille alter ſua quemquam metaphyſica: Sed ne expectes tamen ut unquam eo uſque me deducas, ut concedam iſtam feſtinationem, qua exemplar ad me primum omnium miſiſti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & feſtinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ acceptum refero. Tu forſan prout tua eſt humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putâſti ei primo omnium donare, quem noveras debere ex jam deguſtato opere vehementiſſime omnium expetere hanc diſſertationem, & deſiderare redintegratam ſibi denuo legendi voluptatem. Hujuſmodi meritum facile agnoſco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æque exoptatum, æque acceptum eſſe potuit ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego iſtam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit vix credet ille, ſibi hoc munere tantum factum eſſe beneficium, ut gaudeat tam mature hunc librum in manus ſuas perveniſſe. De eo quod in calce epiſtolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam procul que fuiſſe. Sed patientius ferendum quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquoſque amicos noſtros, officioſiſſime quæſo meo nomine ſalutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterd. 11 *Sept.* 1687.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

NImis ſeverus profecto es, Vir clariſſime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentiæ valde immemor, dum te cunctationis inſimulas, apud hominem uti nôſti omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auſpicatus es, *Nihil deterius amico cunctatore*, ſive de te ipſo cogites, ſive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire poſſit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos qui amicitiam cum fide colunt non ultimum mihi locum vendico.

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† *De Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo.* (St. Orobio.)

Si

Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum ſit tu ipſe videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & ſi illis ſemel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me ſiſtam? Iſtud ſynagogæ decretum ſatis ut mihi videtur à Judæis aſtute promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaſpites aliquid habeat quod aliis dicat, etiamſi nihil habeat quod tibi reſpondeat: è conſulto hoc factum credo, ut ſalvo honore & quantum fieri poſſit cauſa, poſſit ex arena decedere: tua enim argumentandi methodus an naſutulis quibuſdam Chriſtianis, & nihil niſi ſua probantibus, placebit, neſcio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea ſe magis implicatos ſentient, quam fieri ſolet ab iis qui Chriſtianam religionem ad ſuum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent quod ſolide Judæis opponere poſſent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas ut diſtinctione opus ſit) tam incommoda uſus ſum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convaleſcens, ſpero me non diu cariturum ea voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam ſpero credes mihi ſatisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi ſcriptum, ſive characteres reſpicias ſive latinitatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo ſi quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, ſi verum dicere liceat, ſe res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici quas tuis incluſas memoras nuſpiam reperio, ſpero eas Amſtelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturas. Illum, tuam, tuos, noſtros, quæſo meo nomine ſalutes, & me ames, Vir ampliſſime,

Rotterd. 23 *Sept.* 1687. *Tui amantiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

INter cardiaca, & uti noſtri vocant, reſtaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maxime recreatum ſentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenis reſpondiſſem, ſi quid certum de valetudine mea pronunciare auſus fuiſſem; ſubinde enim cum me jam ſanum ſalvumque credideram, recidivam paſſus inter ſpem morbumque diu verſatus diſtuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorſus convaluiſſe confiderem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitiæ plenas tibi expreſſit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi à D^no^ Veenio per Helmontium miſiſti ſumma cum cura & feſtinatione: quanquam fruſtra, famula enim per negligentiam everſa phiola incluſum effudit liquorem. Sed jam ſpero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis ſubinde lævia quædam ſentio ſymptomata, quæ ſpero non recrudeſcentis mali eſſe minas, ſed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te ſigillatim ſcribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita ſollicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis grate reſpondere non poſſim. Gaudeo vehementer te pauco ſanguine redemiſſe quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & mature ſemper uſurum: quamprimum aliquam ſentis gravitatem corporis, præſertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæ ſectionem tibi ſtatim confugiendum. Hoc ni facias de te ſano magis metuendum erit quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus ſumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiſcimur quo ſæpius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis cæteriſque amicis Amſtelodamenſibus debeo quibus mea ſanitas ita cordi eſt; nec ſperare poſſum vitam mihi ſatis diuturnam fore ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, poſſim agnoſcere, hoc velim tibi perſuaſum habeas me quantulus quantulus ſum totum tuum eſſe. Salutes quæſo quam humillime meo nomine Veenioſque Guenelloſque & collegas omnes, illiſque dicas mihi eos tam eximios eſſe medicos, ut magis mihi proſint illorum vota quam aliorum remedia. Lectiſſimam tuam fœminam quam officioſiſſime etiam ſalutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando pergefacere.

Rotterd. 20 *Oct.* 1687. *Tui cum amore obſervantiſſimus,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime;

CUM nihil adeo corporis ſanitatem foveat & reſtauret ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundiſſimæ tuæ literæ amoris & benevolentiæ tuæ teſtes, in hac, in qua diu verſatus ſum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint ſolatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me ſæpe pertæſum, reficiebant illa tua ſemper grata ſemper ſuaviſſima: & cum alia nauſeabundus reſpuerem, ſalutifera illa ſale tuo Attico condita appetentius ſemper deſideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epiſtolis tuis creaſſe moleſtiam, niſi ſimul credere velis ingratam fore convaleſcentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, ſtudio tuo maximus fuiſti ſalutor, nec deſtiterunt tantæ amicitiæ indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum gratiarum actione agnoſco, noſti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidiſſe. Quanquam, ſi hæc tibi juſta ſatis videri poſſit cauſa, aliquantulum procraſtinavi, ut confirmatæ ſanitatis nuncium tibi poſſem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convaleſcentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobium nobis tam citò ereptum, non quod in eo amiſeris triumphi ornamentum, ſcio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum eſſe ſollicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confeſſio non diſplicuiſſet: ſed deſtinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactam eorum quæ in inquiſitione paſſus eſt hiſtoriam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujuſdam Galli quæ nuper prodiit de iis quæ ipſe etſi Catholicus paſſus eſt ab inquiſitoribus Luſitanis in Goa Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo noſtro confirmari omnia vel ſuperari poſſe facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad ſilentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid iſtius rei tenes memoria velis chartis conſignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis reſtat methodi iſtius evangelicæ teſtimonium. Doleo me non interfuiſſe collegarum convivio, non quod oſtreis caruerim, in hujuſmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejuſmodi convivarum ſermo aliquid magis ſapidum & jucundius ſalſum habet, quam ipſa oſtrea Gaurana. Salutes eos quæſo meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam fœminam, totamque Veenii & Guellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres ſeptimanas ad D^m le Clerc ſcripſi, unaque chartas aliquas miſi, an recte acceperit aveo ſcire, jam enim iſtis rebus vacare incipio: ipſum meo etiam nomine ſalutes.

Vale, & ut ipſe valeam, amando & ſcribendo effice

Rotterd. 30 *Nov.* 1687. *Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ſpectatiſſime;

QUantumvis obfirmato animo minas meas non expaveſcis, ſenties tamen aliquando data occaſione quid ſit irritâſſe crabronem, in eo enim genere merito numerari poſſit provocatuſque iratuſque amicus. Nondum vidi Acta illa Lipſienſia ubi tu coram ſiſteris, ſed euge! jam ſalva res eſt, incepi de iſtius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex ſyſtematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod diſpliceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod ſupra vulgus ſaperet, ſi vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis ſi non voluntas, ſaltem vis eſt, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones ſubſcriptionum plus ſemel in Angliam miſi, ſed hactenus reſponſi nihil accepi: ego data occaſione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo ſucceſſu neſcio, hæc enim & hujuſmodi, niſi præſto adſis & hæſitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras valde placet: brevi habebitis ſpero quæ ſufficient ad juſtum volumen,

lumen, in quo ſanctitas Officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animoſque in ſui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum plene eſſet tot & tanta ſanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere, prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis ſtabilitur & propagatur fides tandem innoteſcat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re ſcripſit ad te Furleius noſter. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetſtenium convenire, eaque occaſione has incluſas illi tradendas ad te mittere auſim. Scripſi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquoſque miſi ad illum libros, alioſque poſtulavi & feſtinato ad me mittendos, ſed nihil audio, nihil reſpondet. Eoque magis ſilentium ejus me ſollicitum habet quod ſimul miſeram duo volumina *Garcillaſſi de la Vega* D° Veenio (cum epiſtola quam ad eum ſcripſi) reddenda quæ olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum rogo meo nomine reliquoſque collegas. Vale, Vir amiciſſime, & me ama ut facis

Rotterd. 22 *Jun.* 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ſpectatiſſime,

SIve iratum me ſive gratum exiſtimari vellem, ſentio me jam nimis diu tacuiſſe. Amicum amico reſpondiſſe crabronem irritanti vindictam retuliſſe citius oportuit. Sed ego neſcio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere poſſim neſcio, me Slado noſtro (ſi cum eo ita agerem) valde diſpliciturum ſat ſcio, qui hujuſmodi Lentulos æquo animo ferre non poteſt. Editionem MS. * de quo cum Wetſtenio tranſigebas dolendum plane eſt non procedere, & metuo ſi jam non procedat illius impreſſio, ne intereat tam luculentum hiſtoriæ monumentum; quod ſane multis quæ jam omnium manibus verſatur libris longe anteferendum exiſtimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici noſtri Tentamen, ut ipſe vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poeſi: non parum lucis inde affulſurum pſalmis, reliquiſque quæ in S. S. exſtant, ſcriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum pſalmorum librum ſibi ita reſtitutum edi optarem: incites illum rogo ut quantum per alia negotia liceat hoc opus feſtinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis hebræis verſatiſſimo cum hoc dixiſſem, credere non potuit, exemplo perſuaſus jam credet. Plura habui dicenda, ſed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus ſint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterd. 30 *Julij,* 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

FAmulus meus Amſtelodamum res ſuas agens profecturus meam non prius rogavit veniam quam inſtaret deceſſus, adeo ut ad te ſcribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius abſens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus eſt, cum tam amicos doctoſque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, ſi, uti ſperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis aſſumendis, & ſtragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in ſanguine excitatur fervor non ſine magno ægroti malo & diſcrimine. Hoc vel invito extorſit mihi meus in te tuoſque amor, & ex-

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* *Hiſtoria Inquiſitionis.*

& expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo ſpero in ſtatu eſt, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præſertim tibi haud ingratis. Furleius noſter Principi ante deceſſum adfuit & coram allocutus eſt, ut illius opem contra perſecutionem hac in provincia, ſi unquam alias, certe jam intempeſtive cœptam, efflagitaret. Rem ita urſit, ut placuerit Principi epiſtolam ſcribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris miniſtrum eccleſiæ Mennonitarum juſſerat ex autoritate ſynodi intra octiduum ſolum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Hiſtoriam iſtius Foecke Floris ex aliis quam ex me melius cognoſces. Furleio enim noſtro ante hanc cauſam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem chriſtianorum rem in ejus libertate agi ratus, cauſam illius prono animo ſuſcepit & ſtrenue egit; ſi enim abfuiſſet παῤῥησία nihil promoviſſet. Hujus epiſtolæ ſufflamine repreſſum audio in præſens perſecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas veſtros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, Vir optime, cum integra tua familia, ſic animitus opto,

Rotterd. 24 *Nov.* 1688.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

QUod imprimis hinc decedens deſideravi ut ſcil. te, Vir ampliſſime, reliquoſque amicos Amſtelodamenſes amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quaſi dedita opera mihi maxime adverſari videntur. Primo glacies & feſtinatio, deinde in ipſo itinere pluvia intercepit. Die enim ſabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem fœminam ad Amſtelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber ſatis violentus me Delphos tranſeuntem perfudit, quod incommodum Hagæ etiam paſſus ſum. Ita totus madidus acceſſi ad illam quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam ſanitati meæ nimis periculoſum non diſſuaſit ſolum ſed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus menſibus pene unica quaſi deſignato unius dieculæ vobiſcum ſpem, qua hinc geſtiens deceſſi prorſus abſtulit. In aula omnia tam parata ab abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento Principem claſſem conſcenſurum nemo dubitet. Iſtud deſtinatum iter ad vos incœpi non tam vento quam Principis religioni confiſus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamſi ventus orientalis invitaret; ſed jam nihil aliud expectatur quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo ſimul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri veſperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic langueſcendum ſit neſcio; hoc certo ſcio, nihil moleſtius eſſe quam ad faſtidium uſque laborare otio, & tamen ad id quod maxime velles tempus non ſuppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam vel alteram, vultus, ſermo, amplexus amicorum neſcio quid habent, quo ſe explere anima mea anxie deſiderat. Quo vos in me ſitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo eſt dubium, nec augeri poſſet mutua noſtrûm amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dextras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere cujus totus ſum. Hoc ſi mihi jam non conceſſum fuerit, alias ſpero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa ſunt quæ hanc navigandi occaſionem non mihi omittendam ſuadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatæ jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias tranſitus, & nobiliſſimæ fœminæ ſive cura ſive amicitia qua cum iturus ſum. Velim hoc tibi perſuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperiſſe & pene dixeram parentes, quod enim in illo nomine cariſſimum eſt, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendoſque fortiora ſanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus ſum. Habeo hic amicos ſemper mihi colendos, imo & inviſendos ſi res & dies patiatur. Hoc certo ſcio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi ut cum illis ſolidum aliquando & illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum eſt, ut à meis abſens & in communi omnium mœrore nullam ſentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod

attinet

attinet (Vir omnium optime, amiciſſime, dilectiſſime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, ſuavitatem, amicitiam, ſatis in te uno reperi (ut cæteros taceam) quo mihi ſemper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuoſiſſimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec ſcio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura ſit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatum, familiam patriam incolumes conſervet & cuſtodiat, ut diu ſis eccleſiæ & omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam ſit, qualis futurus ſit, nihil addam, cum meum ſpero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum eſſe quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis teſtatum habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundiſſimis dicas, jam jam penitus perſuaſo facile perſuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberiſque, Veeniis, Guenelloniſque omnibus plurimam ſalutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius ſtatuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, ſi non fugientem, minus urbane certe quam oportuit valedicentem. Sed ita ſunt fere res humanæ, ut nil præter voluntatem in noſtra ſit poteſtate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea ſingulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confeſſionem deſutura eſt. Vale, Vir colendiſſime, & me ut facis ama

Rotterd. 16 *Feb.* 1689. *Tui in perpetuum amantiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

VEreor ne nomine negligentiæ tibi ſuſpectus ſim, quod tam diuturno utor ſilentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati, nec noſtræ denique amicitiæ omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum ſolo non animum mutâſſe, qui tibi idem qui olim eſt, & ubicunque terrarum fuero idem futurus eſt amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu amicorum vel inviſentium vel viſendorum conſuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde diſperſarum ad præſentem uſum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (abſit verbo invidia) ſi non acceſſio, ſaltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excuſatio, & quod graviſſimum omnium eſt, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima qua in terram deſcendi hora ad D^m^ Guenellonem feſtinante calamo & vernacula lingua inter ſalutantium turbam ſcripſi, ut per eum te cæteros amicos meos Amſtelodamenſes ſalutarem. Quicquid enim lætum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum eſſe, quod non cum minore voluptate recordarer, quam quod hic oculis uſurparem. Burnetus Epiſcopus Salisburienſis deſignatur. In parlamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum eſt ſub duplice titulo, *Comprehenſio* ſcil. & *Indulgentia.* Prima eccleſiæ pomœria extendenda ſignificat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam ſignificat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ſe unire vel nolunt vel non poſſunt. Quam laxa vel ſtricta hæc futura ſint, vix dum ſcio, hoc ſaltem ſentio, clerum epiſcopalem his aliiſque rebus quæ hic aguntur non multum favere, an cum ſuo vel reip. commodo ipſi videant. De ſolutione, de qua ad te ante diſceſſum ſcripſi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 12. *Mar.* 1689. *Tui amantiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

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PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir doctiſſime,

TOlerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege ſtabilitam te ante hæc audiiſſe nullus dubito. Non ea forſan latitudine qua tu & tui ſimiles veri & ſine ambitione vel invidia chriſtiani optarent. Sed aliquid eſt prodire tenus. His initiis jacta ſpero ſunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus ſtabilienda olim erit Chriſti eccleſia. Nulli à cultu ſuo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, niſi Romani, ſi modo juramentum fidelitatis præſtare velint, & renuntiare tranſubſtantiationi & quibuſdam dogmatibus eccleſiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem Quakeris diſpenſatum eſt; nec illis obtruſa fuiſſet malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confeſſio fidei, ſi aliqui eorum iſtam fidei confeſſionem non obtuliſſent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratias tibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus *de Tolerantia* & pace eccleſiaſtica quæ mihi miſiſti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fotricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquiſitionis jam pene deſcripta gaudeo, uti ſpero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia ſancitam ad D^m le Clerc miſi, quo interprete intelliges quouſque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale, & me ama

Lond. 6 *Jun.* 1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

PRiores tuas intercidiſſe valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficiſci poteſt quod mihi, uti convenit, non ſit valde carum. Noviſſimas tuas 29 Maij datas amore & benevolentia uſitata plenas accepiſſe lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorem faciunt. S^cti Officii hiſtoriam oſcitantia bibliopolæ in ipſo partu ita hærere doleo. Prolegomena tua D^a Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum Indicem quem tam amice promittis avide expectamus, ut iſta ſciagraphia operis tui ſtructuram prælibemus, interim optantes ut quam citiſſime integrum volumen Chriſtiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore neceſſarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis perſecutionis ſub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis eccleſiaſticæ, quam minores ſectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragœdias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura ſit eo in ſpeculo, qui ſibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Ejus lectionem ſibi & utiliſſimam & jucundiſſimam fore ſpondet D^a Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis perſecutionem maxime averſatur. Gratulatur ſibi ſe in partem amicitiæ qua patrem amplexus es ſucceſſiſſe, te officioſiſſime ſalutat, plurimum æſtimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiæ & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Hiſtoriam tuam de ſurda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare poſſum. Duo juvenes, utrique ſurdi, quorum alter à Doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheſeos profeſſore, alter à Doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ uſum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, diſtincte ſatis & articulate, tonus ſolum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum ſit neſcio, alter adhuc vivit legendi ſcribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures ſunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir eſt ex generoſa

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proſapia, nec diu eſt à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberiſque tuis, Veeniis Guenelloniſque & collegis noſtris plurimam ſalutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 18 *Jun.* 1691. *Tui amantiſſimum*,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUod grandem tibi jamdiu deſtinaveram epiſtolam ideo accepiſti nullam. Quæſivi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fuſius colloqui poſſem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amiciſſima epiſtola cui jamdudum reſponſum oportuit. Sed neſcio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium ſublatum eſt, ut ne propriis quidem & domeſticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam quid à tribus jam menſibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti inſtar videtur, ut quiſque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis naſcentium, quæ nec ſciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum hiſtoriæ S^cti Officii Domina Cudwortha & ego legimus ſimul magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis deſiderium, quod jam ſub prælo eſſe cum gaudio à quodam Scoto non ita pridem ex veſtra Batavia redeunte accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus chriſtiano orbi imprimis utile. Hoſpes mea tyrannidi eccleſiaſticæ inimiciſſima ſæpe mihi laudat ingenium & concilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impenſum; creditque fruſtra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique ſtrepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in eccleſia, vis in rebus religionis (uti paſſim mos eſt) aliis ſub nominibus utcunque ſpecioſis obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum eſt cum D^re iſto theologo qui tam mira docuit de angelis in libro ſuo de ſpirituum exiſtentia †? an non expertus eſt fratrum ſuorum pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia zelum? mirum ſi impune evadat. Apud nos prælum quod video nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives ſcire aut legere multum deſiderabunt. Ita obſtrepunt undique arma, ut Muſarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipſa theologica jam conſopita magnam in partem conquieſcit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea ſpes vana eſt, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controverſiæ. Bene eſt ſi incertas aliquando ferant inducias; ut mutua charitate ſanentur penitus quis expectabit? magna mihi apud te excuſatione opus eſt ut tam diuturno ſilentio ignoſcas. Id tibi perſuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decreſcenti & minus fervidæ amicitiæ tribuendum: te ut ſemper maxime æſtimo, amo, amplector, ſemperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis & me ama

Lond. 14 *Nov.* 1691. *Tui ſtudioſiſſimum*,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

SI ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me ſuſpiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor cum res poſtulat longe alienum. In hoc literarum commercio ſi qua utor libertate, id plerumque

† *Balthaſar Bekker.*

evenit cum ad eos ſcribendum ſit, quibus benevolentiama micitiamque meam re potius quam verbis teſtatam fore mihi in animo eſt. Hoc an tu probaveris neſcio, ita ego tibi perſuaſum velim. Nemo enim omnium qui te magis ſuſpicit, æſtimat, diligit quam ego: id nunc facio & ſemper faciam.

Non placet Wetſtenii in edenda Sancti Officii hiſtoria cunctatio, hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te identidem relegente & ſub incudem ſæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam jam occurrit, ſcil. alterum hujuſmodi volumen duodecim circiter ab hinc annis Monſpeſſulis extitiſſe ab hoc diſtinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujuſmodi volumina.

Zelus theologicus, uti video, ſemper & ubique idem eſt, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor ſcire cupio, ſi evaſit mirum eſt, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur quo tempore ſcripſiſti, favente etiam Amſtelodamenſium prædicatorum deſidia, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujuſmodi orthodoxiæ propugnatores non ſolent errantibus ignoſcere. Presbyteriani in Scotia quid agant mallem ex aliis quam ex me ſcires. Zelus illic in frigido iſto aere per antiperiſtaſin incaleſcere videtur. Satis fervide diſciplinæ ſuæ operam dant, an ſatis prudenter, an ſatis modeſte, ipſi videant. Sed ubi cauſa Dei agitur, ut nôſti, & ejus Eccleſiæ, quid ſibi theologi non putant licere, autoritatem ſuam ſoli Deo acceptam referentes. D^m le Cene ſemel vidi Londini, ſed ſemel tantum, idque obiter apud nobiliſſimum Boyleum, adeo ut ſermocinandi locus non eſſet de rebus illius vel amicis Amſtelodamenſibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus ſum valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis. Epiſcopum illum cui D^m le Cene commendâſti credo pacis eccleſiaſticæ ſincere ſtudioſum. Sollicitus ſum de valetudine Veenii noſtri, anguſto eſt pectore, & metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis aſſuetus rure otio intabeſcat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque ſenectam, multum illi debeo quod ſemper gratus agnoſcam. Recte facis quod perſecutionem religionis ergô in pontificiis ſolum damnas. Si quam inter chriſtianos ſectam ſeligas cujus crudelitatem inſecteris à reliquis, laudaberis, quanquam perſecutio ubique eadem eſt & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim eccleſia ſibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re Infallibilitatem. D^a Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æſtimatione reſalutat. Saluta quæſo uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Guenellonem, omnemque iſtam ſtirpem officioſiſſime meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendiſſime, & me ut facis ama,

Oates, 29 *Feb.* 1692.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

De miraculis poſt apoſtolorum tempora certiorem fieri cupio. Non ego ſatis verſatus in hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica, ut quid de iis ſtatuam nôrim. Rogo igitur obnixe, nam mea intereſt ſcire, an poſt apoſtolorum tempora edita fuerint in eccleſia chriſtiana miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriæ tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Conſtantini imperium vel diutius duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum eſt cujus tam ſpecioſa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum quæ in ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis memorantur catalogum, ſed an conſtat ex fide dignis hiſtoricis fuiſſe vera miracula, an raro vel ſæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud eccleſiæ conceſſum.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis ad urbem accedens hodie primum Archiepiſcopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum diſputationem, excuſavit ſilentium quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus una cum autore, & gratias quas nondum egit ſe habere agnovit. Hiſtoriam Sancti Officii jam valde oportunam judicavit. Capitum indicem ſumma cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione conſilium aperuiſſem, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit, ut ſi adfuiſſes hoc ſibi non ingratum fore certus eſſes. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modeſtiam, & laudo conſilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monſtrabo, quod ſcio honori ducet, & ſi quid mutandum videtur indicabo. Interim dixit ſe habere librum Luſitaniæ editum de quodam actu Inquiſitionis in Luſitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt Paparum bullæ aliaque diplomata quibus poteſtas Sancti Officii conceſſa & ſtabilita eſt, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipſe, illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipſo quæſitus non repertus eſt. Volumen eſt, ut aiunt, in 8vo. Brevi ipſum iterum reviſam, eam curam cuidam domeſticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præſto ſit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præſcribam, & ſi nondum videris ipſum librum tibi mutuo commodabit reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus. Grævium, Guenellonem, Veenioſque omnes meo nomine ſaluta. Clerico noſtro, quem officioſiſſime ſaluto, ante aliquot ſeptimanas an menſes dicam ſcripſi, an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ ignoro, nam ab iſto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæſo illi indices, ne me tarditatis, ſi mea intercideric epiſtola, ſuſpicetur, Fœminam tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque ſummo cum affectu ſaluto. Vale, Vir digniſſime, & ut facis me ama,

Lond 30 *Jun.* 1692.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui feſtinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis juſſeras præſens curarem. Archiepiſcopus quamprimum acceſſeram, maximas ſe tibi gratias habere profeſſus eſt, opus ſibi perplacere, ſeque à libri tui lectione hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatiſſimo abſtinere non poſſe: ſed magnam ejus partem ſumma cum voluptate ex quo accepit percurriſſe. Verum quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipſius verbis cum ad te deſtinatas literas ſcribere vacaverit. Epiſcopus Salisburienſis multa & his ſimilia mihi dixit, & ſe adeo detentum immerſumque eſſe argumento libri tui (quo hiſtoriam inquiſitionis ultra quam expectari poterat delucidam accuratamque tradidiſti) ut ad te ſcribere donec totum pervolverit non potuerit; ſe interim gratias tibi ampliſſimas reddere. Comes Pembrokienſis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi juſſit, donec ipſe ſua manu agnoſcet acceptiſſimum à te beneficium. Bathonienſem & Wellenſem epiſcopum in domo procerum quæſivi ſed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet hora una vel altera à meo hoſpitio eum in ram brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum uti reliquis omnibus certo ſcio. Cæterum curavi ut D^us^ Clarke communis noſter amicus eum adeat, ut excuſet librum incompactum à te miſſum,

quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo quam horum virorum nomine gratias agere deberem, tantus ceſſator eſſem, ubi feſtinandum potius eſſet, ut neglecta propioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res eſt; ſanus urbem adii, ſed unius diculæ mora adeo mihi mutata eſt valetudo, ut reſpirare vix potuerim. Ingraveſcebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere neceſſe eſſet.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^na^ Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat quam authoris præſentia, & quos ſecum ſemper adfert ſales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reverſus ſum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam qua ſpe qua voluptate facile dijudicare potes, ſed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non eſſe minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc deſtinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hoſpiti meo & bibliopola Smith, ut ſingula ſingulis quam ociſſime traderentur antequam liber uſpiam apud nos proſtaret venalis, quod diligentiſſime factum eſt; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam oportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem ſtatuendum eſt de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutiſſimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum ſuaderem, ut in perpetuum ..... effrontes adverſarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is ſit locus tutiſſimus libenter tecum inquirerem.

Epiſcopii vitam tua manu æternitati conſecrandam gaudeo: ſed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam proditurus, metuo ne illius quoque hiſtoria prodeat etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conſervandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Johannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetſtenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod ſcio maturius futurum quam ſi ego unum hinc ad eum Amſtelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citiſſime tranſmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adſcribat, quod ego ſolvam. Malela author eſt nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico ſe lucem inde mutuaturum ſperavit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inſervire deſiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratiſſimam.

De Palinodia quam ſcripſiſti in noviſſimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos quod poſſit ferre ſecundas, imo quod ſuperat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias ſi cupias, jam enim nimis turgeſcit pagina.

Clerico noſtro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies ſcripſi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice compoſita in iſta familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos cæteroſque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberoſque quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 28 *Nov.* 1692.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUamprimum ad urbem acceſſi nudiſtertius reverendiſſimus archiepiſcopus me ad ſe vocari curavit, & ut conveni de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit ſe ad te ſcripſiſſe negotiorum multitudine hactenus impeditus, paratamque epiſtolam ſigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inſcriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi tranſmittendam curarem, quod libens ſuſcepi. Inſuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à ſe editarum, ut etiam ad te illum tranſmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiſcentem quem-

quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Hactenus de archiepiſcopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea quam ex hiſtoriæ tuæ lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhauſiſti argumentum; certe illud myſterium iniquitatis mundo palam expoſuiſti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, poſt brevem hac in urbe moram rus reverſurus, pergam porro ut ſatisfaciam ei quod in me excitâſti deſiderio. Noviſſimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratiſſimis reſponſum hac in charta expectare non debes. Feſtinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero ad otii & quietis receſſus opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occaſio, hic vix reſpirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam conſuetam agnoſco. Te maximo cum affectu ſaluto, tuoſque omnes, imprimis dilectiſſimam conjugem, liberoſq; Veenios, Guenelloneſque noſtros, omniaque tibi proſpera & felicia precor. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 10 *Jan.* 169$\frac{2}{3}$. *Tui amantiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

JUſte meum à te reprehendi ſilentium libens fateor, nec ſi ſeveriore manu delinquentem correxiſſes queri poſſim. Etſi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuiſſe ad officia, ut non niſi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuiſſe, ut me primis vocibus male reſpondentem iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excuſatione valetudinis quam ipſe tibi pro me ſuggeſſiſti uti non poſſum. Gratias enim Deo ex quo ad te ultimas dedi recte ſatis pro more meo valui, nec tamen ſine omni cauſa à ſcribendo abſtinui. Maximam partem libri tui ſumma cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem uſque pervolvere, ut de toto opere à capite ad calcem perſpecto, eas quas poſſem gratias laudeſque redderem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita quæ mihi reſtabant legenda ſpem quotidie fecerunt intra paucos dies potuiſſe abſolvi. Sed ſic negotiorum & inviſentium ſeries, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine ſe invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxiſſent, niſi noviſſimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione labentis temporis immemorem, primiſque cogitationibus indormientem excitâſſent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnoſco; ſed eo conſilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpare vix poſſis: aut ſi qua fuerit culpa, ei ſpei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem quæ erga te ſemper fuit, nec minime dum ego tacerem ſiluiſſe profiteri geſtio. Hiſtoria tua Inquiſitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libere pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perſpicuitate, teſtium fide mihi plane videtur opus abſolutiſſimum, nec video quid in eo deſiderari poſſit. Et ab omnibus quotquot conſulere contigit maxime laudatur. Clericum noſtrum nullas à me jam à pluribus hebdomadis (ut ſcribis) accepiſſe doleo; ſcripſi enim ad eum ante duos circiter menſes, iis incluſas à Comite Pembrokienſi ad illum miſi literas quas intercidiſſe vereor, quandoquidem D^{us} Clericus in noviſſimis ſuis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuiſſe recte memini, & credo ea in epiſtola quandoquidem tu id hactenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Caſtellionis editionem qualem tu narras apud vos deſignari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus non dubito: Poſt diuturnam ruſticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi conceſſit plurimorum doctorum colloquia, prout datur occaſio alios conſulam, quamvis vix credi poteſt elegantem editionem, tam elegantis verſionis notis etiam aliiſque ſcriptis eo ſpectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placituram. Filiam tuam dilectiſſimam quam febre continua laborâſſe ſcripſeras tibi ſuiſque ſanam ſalvamque reſtitutam ſpero, reliquos tuos noſtroſque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes quotquot ſunt meo nomine rogo quam officioſiſſime ſalutes,

quibus

quibus diuturnam ſanitatem & proſpera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis ſoſpitet. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare

Lond. 10 *Nov.* 1693.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

QUalem te, Vir ſpectatiſſime, ſemper crediderim, talem re ipſa experior ad omnia inſucatæ amicitiæ officia natum, qui non ſolum pronus in beneficia bene merendi nullam prætermittis occaſionem, ſed, quod difficilius eſt, eadem facilitate ignoſcis amicorum delictis, qua alii offenſiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum ſilentium graviori reprehenſione dignum, ſimulac tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quaſi prima vocula penitus deletum condonas. Agnoſco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam æſtimas, nec ſilentio imminutam ſuſpicatus fueris. Id enim tibi perſuaſum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deeſſe poſſe, amicitiam qua te amplector, qua ſemper amplexurus ſum, mihi deeſſe vel labefactari nunquam poſſe.

In Hiſtoria tua Inquiſitionis, ex quo noviſſime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progreſſus feci, quotidianis negotiis hactenus impeditus. Quod ſi ex duobus primis libris, quos ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil poteſt eſſe in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectam illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid deſiderari poteſt. Laudo ſtudium tuum, quod pleriſque in locis ipſa authorum verba citaveris, & ſi nihil contineant quod tu breviore & elegantiore ſtylo exprimere non potuiſſes, ſi lectori placere unica eſſet cura, ſed cum quo genere hominum tibi res eſt recte tecum reputâſti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & ſævitia ex eorum ipſorum ore optime diſcenda, vix enim credi poterant, ſi ab extraneo vel adverſario afferrentur. Quæ autem ex aliis hauſeris authoribus tam ſero, ut editioni inſeri ſuis apte in locis non potuerint, tuique marginibus libri adſcripſeris, ea, ſi nimis longa non ſint, ut tibi nimiam tranſcribendi creent moleſtiam, ſi mihi per otium excerpta tranſmittere velis, gratiſſimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & ſuis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil deſit huic myſterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas per Hibernum illum tranſmiſſas ille ſuis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio qualem tu deſcripſeris, nec deſunt hic tantæ ſpei fautores. Editionem illam Caſtellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & noſtratibus gratam fore nullus dubito. Quod de Harmonia Evangelica doctiſſimi mei Toinardi ad me ſcribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius eſt unquam cogitabo, niſi ut ipſum authorem ad opus ſuum luce digniſſimum edendum, qua data occaſione, & quantum poſſum, impellam & inſtigem. Non quod ego hunc theſaurum literato orbi invideam, ego ſumma ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem ejus ſemper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi viſum eſt) fide mihi concreditum eſt hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inſcio aut inconſulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum eſſet ſtatim ſub prælo mitterem, ſed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à ſuis ſpes eſt proditurum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodiit hic liber, quem Toinardo gratiſſimum fore ſcio. Si reperire poſſis viam qua ad illum tranſmitti poteſt, mihi feceris acceptiſſimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem eſt *Joannes Mallela Antiochenus* Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occaſionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum ſive compactum ſive incompactum, prout commodiſſimum erit vecturæ, quæſo ad illum mittas, *à Monſieur Toinard à Orleans.* Gaudeo Veenium noſtrum ſanum ſalvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediiſſe. Vir qui in artis ſuæ exercitatione à juventute uſque conſenuerat, continui tædio otii credo langueſceret. Illum & Guenellonem noſtrum uxoreſque cum tota familia quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos ſtabilitam ſpero, omnia fauſta, uti par eſt, illis & tibi tuiſque

tuiſque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam fœminam tuam, liberoſque, quos ſanos ſalvoſque tibi Deus diu conſervet. Vale, Vir humaniſſime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 13 *Jan.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir colendiſſime,

ETſi meam in ſcribendo tarditatem prorſus excuſare nequeam, me tamen eo proceſſiſſe negligentiæ, ut per totos novem menſes te inſalutatum præterirem nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis ſilentium haud invitus fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum ſatietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum ſpero. Puduit ſane ad te iterum ſcribere antequam opere tuo penitus perlecto meam de eo ſententiam ſive potius gratulationem potuerim perſcribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua Inquiſitionis Hiſtoria perceperim vix dicere poſſum. Ita ſcripta eſt ut decet hiſtoriam ſcribi, ubi non ad faſtum aut delectationem inventa vel ornata res eſt quo facilius incauris lectoribus fucum faciat, ſed omnia authorum fide & documentorum teſtimoniis rata & ſuffulta ſunt: adeo ut quorum maxime intereſt redarguere, ne hiſcere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandæ crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis ſuis protraxiſti, ut ſi qua reſtarent in iſtis eccleſiæ, ſive potius Antichriſti ſatellitibus, humanitatis veſtigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & juſtitia ſuſque deque habetur. Verum ſi hæc opprobria quæ refelli non poſſunt nihil illos moveant, reformatis ſaltem & ex ſæviſſimo hoc ergaſtulo ereptis animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem quacunque ſpecie ſive religionis ſive concordiæ irrepere iterum conantem. Ea eſt diſputantium ſæpe contentio, ea argumentorum ſubtilitas & longa ſeries, ut non ſit uniuſcujuſque ſe argutiis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de ſumma controverſiæ judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat hiſtoriam, ſentiat ſtatim illic certe deeſſe religionem, charitatem, juſtitiam, ubi violata æquitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelij genio remotiſſima: ideoque dignum opus exiſtimo quod in cujuſque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam diſtincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidiſti, & teſtibus exceptione majoribus confirmâſti, ut nihil in eo deſiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos inſtruat, omneſque ſtabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat ad hoc argumentum pertinens ex libris ante editam hiſtoriam tuam non viſis, rogo ut per otium, ſi non ſit nimis operoſum, ad me velis tranſmittere; omnia enim huc facientia in librum tuum ad marginem aptis in locis adſcripta conjicere animus eſt, uti nuper ex itinerario in orientem hoc quod ſequitur excerptum, paginæ 276. libri tui inſerui.

Le St Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ſes injuſtices, & ſes cruautés, regne ici [à Malthe] plus tyranniquement qu' à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funeſtes recits, dont je vous epargnerai la triſteſſe, ſeulement vous dirai je, que les Confeſſeurs, qui par tout ailleurs ſont tenus de garder le ſecret ſur peine du feu, ſont ici dans l'obligation de les reveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'Inquiſition, quoi qu'ils ne l'avoüent pas, car ce ſeroit le moien d'empecher les gens de ſe confeſſer: mais c'eſt une choſe qu'on ſçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout ſoupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux ſans dire mot aprés quoi l'Inquiſiteur envoye prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il ſçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait ſaiſir, alors c'eſt à lui de ſe reſſouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que ſi malheureuſement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le delit, dont il eſt coupable, ait eſté ſi ſecret que le ſeul confeſſeur en ait eu connoiſſance, & que ſe repoſant là deſſus il ne veuille pas avoüer; c'eſt fait de cet homme là, on l'eſtrangle dans la priſon, & puis quelque tems aprés on dit à ſes parens qu'il

qu'il n'eſt pas beſoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux ſont ceux qui ne ſont point aſſujettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau Voyage au Levant $\frac{153}{477}$ *imprimé en* 12°. *à la Haye*, 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & ſi ſic ulciſcaris ſilentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum produturam gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim; quanta quanta addideris in eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æſtimatione apud eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Theologos ſcio. Quid in poſterum futurum ſit neſcio, audio enim nonnullos Calviniſmum amplexuros & prædeſtinationem (ſic inter illos convenit) palam ſcriptis propugnaturos. Quot & quales in partes ſuas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata ſocietas, nondum conjicere licet. Latent omnia & ſecreto peraguntur, & ſi ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam ſecreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evaſurum, niſi aliunde oriatur hoc conſilium, alioſque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter ſe colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint quo tendant rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hactenus. Dolet certe tantam inter nos loci eſſe intercapedinem, ſi vicinus eſſem haberes me conſultorem quotidie oſtia tua pulſantem. Pauci admodum ſunt limati judicii homines quibuſcum poteris libere de ſpeculationibus quibuſcumque, multo minus de rebus religionis differere. Deeſt mutua charitas, deeſt candor, & ut ſuæ quiſque ignorantiæ velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, niſi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel cenſuris onuſtus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipſo queror tanquam aliquid paſſus ab iniquo amicorum judicio; ſed tamen jucundum eſt in proximo habere quem de maximis minimiſque aperte & audacter conſulas. Libri mei de Intellectu humano ſecunda editio diſtrahitur celerius quam credere poſſem, nec adhuc invenit diſſertatio illa utcunque heterodoxa oppugnatorem. Utinam eo eſſet ſermone conſcripta, ut tuo uti de univerſis eo in opere contentis judicio liceret. Urgent aliqui verſionem, quærit traductorem Bibliopola, & ſperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & ſuccreſcentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, niſi lento gradu & interciſis temporibus, tuam perlegere hiſtoriam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingreſſum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat tamen ut verſionem recenſere velim, ut ſi qua à meo ſenſu aberraverit corrigam, quod ſane vix recuſare poſſum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epiſtolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 26 *Oct.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MAgna cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etſi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuiſſe imminutum plene perſuaſus eſſem, nihilominus poſt tam diuturnum ſilentium literas tuas videre non potuit non eſſe gratiſſimum. Hiſtoriam meam Inquiſitionis calculo tuo probari, eſt quod mihi gratulor. Scio judicium tuum eſſe candidum ac limatiſſimum. In præconiis vero quæ addis agnoſco propenſiſſimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræſentavit. Ego veritati litare ſtudui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipſi doctores pontificii, imo inquiſitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando ſparſim in ipſorum libris procedendi modus deſcribitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injuſtitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia ſimul inter ſe connexa nude, ſine fuco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, nequidem ex acerrimis inquiſitionis patronis, me malæ fidei inſimulaturum; & ſi quis id auſit, ſtatim autorum, quorum nomina margini paſſim adſcripſi, teſtimoniis redargui poterit.

poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prodeunt! Tu historiam meam dignam judicas quæ in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero 19 die Maij hujus anni, edicto Cardinalium, in tota rep. christiana inquisitorum generalium condemnata est, ejusque lectio severissime prohibita sub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo post, videl. 22 Maij, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas Basilicæ principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis solitis & consuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem sententiam quis ab Inquisitione expectet, contra historiam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipsius, quas occultas omnibusque ignotas esse cupit, à tenebris erutas palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non sanctitate venerandum, sed injustitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & impostoris execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, si vere describatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos postmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ inposterum in aliis, qui forte mihi ostendentur reperiam, libentissime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itinerario Du Mont annotâsti, quæ optime illo quem designâsti loco margini historiæ meæ adscribi possunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito an narratio illius vera sit. Malæ fidei ipsum neutiquam accuso: sed fieri facile potest, ut peregrinatores non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & consuetudinum patriarum on admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus consentanea sine accuratiore investigatione annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ nostræ mores & consuetudines describunt, observavi. Ratio dubitandi est: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta ecclesiastica sollicite admodum urgere, arcana confessionis non esse patefacienda; imo ne hæresin quidem sub sigillo confessionis revelatam; solummodo sacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæresin confessio absolutionem impertiantur, sed omnibus quas possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur exacte in praxi Inquisitionis observari, & sub specioso confessionis non revelandæ prætextu simpliciores inescari posse, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquisitoribus ignota sunt, confiteantur, quæ à sacerdotibus porro inquisitoribus revelari possunt, neque à tali impostura tribunalis illius sanctitatem abhorrere credo: attamen quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare ausim, nisi autor sit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco quem mihi suggessisti ex itinerario Du Mont, addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquisitorum praxin sæpe adversari inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus; inquisitoresque unice tantum spectare, qua ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita fraudibus irretitos misera morte perdant. Post hasce scriptas tristis me de subita optimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Destinaveram ipsi Theologiæ meæ Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem antequam tradi potuerit mortuus est. Ecclesiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantissimo antistiti orbatæ statum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens est etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis substituat, illi si non parem, quod vix sperare ausim, tamen vestigia ejus quantum fieri potest proxime prementem! Ille tibi & Dominæ Masham vitam ad seros usque annos producat. Vale, & me ut facis amare non desine

Amstelod. 12 *Dec.* 1694.

Tui amantissimum,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIbrum tuum à bibliopola & epiſtolam tuam 12 datam rectè accepi, utrumque gratiſſimum, & quia tuam, & quia à te. Epiſtolam tuam à capite ad calcem ſumma cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiæ tuæ nuperæ talem illi obtigiſſe patrem cui nec mens defuit, nec viſcera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus chriſtiano homini eſſet mirandum, niſi inter hujuſmodi zelotas chriſtianæ religionis diu verſatus eſſem. Sed ubique ejuſdem farinæ homines reperire eſt, qui an ſalutem quærant animarum, an evangelio quæſtum faciant judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indigner hic illic undique video. Theologiam tuam Chriſtianam quamprimum otium nactus fuero diligentius perſcrutabor, his enim jam fere ſtudiis mihi vacandum cenſeo, tantoque impenſius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut cæteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo quem de dubiis theologicis libere poſſum conſulere. Quantum virum reſpublica anglicana, quantum columen eccleſia reformata amiſerit alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis ſtabilem, candidum, ſincerum ſummo meo cum damno & deſiderio amiſi amicum.

Addenda tua ad Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis quamprimum rus rediero locis ſuis inſeram novum amicitiæ tuæ monumentum. Rectè mones de excerptis ex itinerario Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui ſcriptores (qua uſus es cautione) pro teſte citari poteſt, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quæ fidem facerent iſti quæ ex tota pontificiorum œconomia enaſcitur: illos ſcil. quicquid præ ſe ferant, non omiſſuros tantam rei ſuæ bene gerendæ & hæreſeos extirpandæ occaſionem, quæ ex confeſſionibus poſſit oriri: nec aliter confeſſiones tacitas eſſe, ſi quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis & quibus non opus eſſet, non evulgarentur. Hæc ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut ſcires tua munera quibus me tam magnifice cumulâſti ad me ſalva perveniſſe. Si ita ſilentium meum ulciſcaris, dubitari poſſit an non commodum fuerit peccare: ſcias enim velim de tuis epiſtolis quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici poſſe, optimam eſſe quæ longiſſima eſt. Die Veneris noviſſimo ad urbem appuli, in hoſpitio meo inveni literas Clerici noſtri 7 datas, quibus brevi reſponſurus ſum, interim rogo ut illum Guenellonemque noſtrum meo nomine ſalutes, utrique gratias agam pro epiſtolis mea manu ubi otium & ſolatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque, Veenium noſtrum optimamque uxorem illius ſaluto & Grævium Ultrajectenſem, cui ego debeo epiſtolam, & illius humanitati nondum reſpondiſſe pudet. Vale, & perge ut facis me amare

Lond. 11 *Dec.* 1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

ULtimam meam epiſtolam rectè ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Autographum ſententiarum inquiſitionis Tholoſanæ Romani in manus meas incidiſſe mirantur: quod N. N. ſacerdos quidam ab Epiſcopo Hollandiæ ad ipſum miſſus ut libri poſſeſſorem ex ipſo reſciſcat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepiſſe reſpondit; verum alium ejus eſſe poſſeſſorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim viſum Monſpeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia viſum alium eſſe ab hoc. Addit ille, ſacerdotem rogâſſe, ut ex me nomen poſſeſſoris exquirat. Reſpondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare; illud ſemel me ex fratre ipſius audiviſſe

viſſe, ſed penitus illius oblitum eſſe: & licet ſcirem, inconſultum eſſe illud ſacerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam ſollicite inquiri judicem, ut poſſeſſore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc ſibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occaſionem habeant me falſi accuſandi. Idem ſibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optâſſe me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicâſſet: ſed quoniam vox emiſſa reverti nequit, nihil ulterius eſſe aperiendum; ſed paucis tantum reſpondendum me poſſeſſoris nomen ignorare. Hoc in ſe ſuſcepit, ſed non recte ſervavit; nam ex fratre ſuo poſtea nomen hoc reſcivit, & proculdubio ſacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, ſe neſcire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare ſe non poſſe, nec quod indicaverit, nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc cerum eſt, nomen ſacerdoti innotuiſſe, quia alius poſtea Furlæum, ad quem hæc ſcripſeram, acceſſit, & poſſeſſorem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus ſcripſit. Spero librum à te jam emtum, ac Furlæum illius eſſe poſſeſſorem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à ſacerdote teſtimonium de libri authenteia exegerit, & ſacerdotis candorem, qui id tam luculenter dedit. Interim ſi forte exemplar ipſum nacti fuiſſent, & Romam miſiſſent, non video qua ratione volumen quod edidi ſuppoſititium dicere poſſent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, hiſtoriaſque ſingulares illius temporis refert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præſtat tamen id in manibus non eſſe illorum, quorum intereſt myſteria hæc iniquitatis tegi, & coram ſole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis epiſtolæ huic adſcripta, quæ, ſi operæ pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam profeſſor Kilonienſis contra Theologiam meam Chriſtianam Exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum ſatis, ut audio, craſſum nondum vidi; ſed in Actis Lipſienſibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejuſmodi antagoniſtam ego calamum non ſtringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; ſed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate eccleſiaſtica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma eſt conſenſus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales fruſtra diſputatur. Non enim operæ pretium eſt, ut inquiramus quid eccleſia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius eccleſiæ ſatis notum eſt; ſed, an illius doctrina vera ſit, & à ſcriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & ſub ſpecioſo orthodoxiæ conſervandæ prætextu propria dominatio ſtabilitur. Sic orthodoxia ſemper penes potentiorem erit, veritaſque alia erit Romæ, alia Genevæ, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, ſi humana placita orthodoxiæ κειτ/ειον ſunt. Quæ in illis Exercitationibus maxime odioſa occurrunt Lipſienſes accurate annotârunt. Obſervavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam an inconſultum zelum, quod ſi in autoribus quos recenſent quædam reperiantur aut convitia, aut inclementius in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſollicite indicare ſoleant, verbiſque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Neſcio quo ſuo facto Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſentientium fraterna tolerantia. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinximus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque ſilentio & contemtu illos ulciſcar. Sed aliud quid eſt quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendiſſimi Bathonienſis ac Wellenſis in ſe ſuſcepit verſionem vitæ Epiſcopii à me conſcriptæ in linguam latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epiſtolis eccleſiaſticis præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis remonſtrantium ſynodalibus, quæ cum à me è latino in belgicum ſermonem tranſlata ſint, ipſe è belgico in latinum vertere non debet, ſed prout in ipſis libris latine leguntur exhibere. Deſtitutum autem ſe illis queritur, nec uſquam ſe eos reperire poſſe. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere poſſit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, ſed & verſionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, ſi quid hac in parte illi prodeſſe queas, mihi præſtitum agnoſcam. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, mihique dilectiſſime,

Amſtelod. 26 Apr. 1695.

Tui amantiſſimus,

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUamprimum ego noviſſimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, ſtatim Londinum ſcripſi, & quantum in me eſt curavi, ut libri quos ad opus ſuum deſiderat Marcus ille noſter, ſicubi reperiri poſſint ei ſuppeditentur. Eo diutius reſponſum diſtuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholoſano factum ſit certiorem te facerem; ſed nec D'Aranda, nec alter cujus curæ librorum perquiſitionem commiſi, hactenus quicquam reſcripſerunt, ſed ex eorum ſilentio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam ſit, rectius ex ipſo quam ex me cognoſces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otioſus fuerim procurator; ſed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempeſtate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico noſtrum communi commiſi viro prudenti & ſedulo, cui ſcirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas tranſeuntium officeret, poſt primum quod ab amico Londinenſi accepi reſponſum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam ut rem tranſigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium ſcriberet, ut ex illo reſciret quod ſcitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus eſſet. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: ſi quid amplius à me præſtari poſſit omnem operam, curam, induſtriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxonienſibus noſtris dicis quanquam nihil fando audiverim facile crediderim: quod Kilonienſem adverſarium negligis laudo, quodque ab aliis inter ſe diſſentientibus vapulas tanto magis æſtimo, veritatis enim ſinceris & incorruptis authoribus ſic fieri ſolet. Pro Theologia tua Chriſtiana jam denuo à me tibi reddendæ ſunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, ſed me ſcientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme in quo conſiſteret fides chriſtiana diligenter apud me cogitando ex ipſis ſcripturæ ſ. fontibus hauriendum duxi, ſemotis quibuſcumque ſectarum & ſyſtematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intenta & accurata N. Teſtamenti lectione novi fœderis ſtatus & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur meridiana luce clarior, nec quid eſſet fides chriſtiana dubitari poſſe ſincero evangelii lectori mihi perſuaſiſſimum eſt. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut eo melius partium inter ſe convenientiam & harmoniam, & fundamenta quibus inniterenter, ſedate & per otium contemplarer. Cum omnia in hoc meo ſymbolo ſana & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos conſulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide ſenſerint viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum alioſque quos ita id argumentum tractâſſe fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint capere nequaquam poſſim, adeo diſſona mihi in illis omnia videntur à ſenſu & ſimplicitate evangelica, ut illorum ſcripta intelligere nedum cum ſacro codice reconciliare non valeam. Tandem ſpe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec ſine ſummo gaudio legi cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquam reperiri theologum cui ego non plane eſſem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem nondum ſatis vacui temporis nactus ſum. Nihil mihi optatius eſſe poſſit quam te videre, & te coram quæ commentatus ſum legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio ſubjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta ſunto, nam me hoc tractâſſe argumentum tibi ſoli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 10 *Maij*, 1695.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

UTri noſtrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud ſilentium imputandum ſit, ignoro. Importunus ſim, ſi à te negotiis publicis occupatiſſimo ad ſingulas meas reſponſum efflagitem, aut ſilentium tuum ſilentio ulciſcar. Amicitia ſincera rigorem illum averſatur, neque epiſtolarum æquali numero, ſed fide ac charitate mutua conſtat. Interim dulciſſimo conſuetudinis noſtræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me reſpondiſſe memini, decimo Maij die anni præcedentis ſcriptæ ſunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D.Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi ſcribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hactenus fruſtra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentiæ unice adſcribendum duco. Aliquoties tibi ſcribere geſtii; ſed veritus ſum, ne importunior ſcriptio ab amico occupatiſſimo reſponſum minus tempeſtivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratiſſimum à primoribus Angliæ demandatum eſſe conſtans ad nos fama pertulit; ſilentium abrumpendum cenſui, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi quam Angliæ gratuler, quæ in collegio ampliſſimo una cum ſummis regni proceribus te aſſeſſorem habet, cujus conſilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac ſinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium ſaluti unice deſtinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, conſiliiſque tuis ſucceſſum quem merentur concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac ſi otio deſidioſo torperem. Arminii ſcripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promiſi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; ſed in ſcriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu neutiquam commodum, tantam reperio difficultatem, ut, niſi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua quam inde ad publicum redituram video utilitas, ingrati laboris moleſtiam levaret, jam operæ promiſſæ pœnituiſſet. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius poſthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies ſæpiſſime intendenda eſt utcharacteres exiles, & vetuſtate multis in locis ferme evaneſcentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compenſare poſſit. Sed quoniam alea jacta eſt, pergendum eſt. Prodibunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur diſputatio contra Judæos, in poſteriorem ad Theſſalonicenſes, in ſecundum & tertium caput Apocalypſeos; & diſputatio contra Cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opuſculis antehac editis juſtum conficient volumen. Præmiſit D. Caſpar Brantius prolixiorem vitæ Arminii hiſtoriam, quæ multa hactenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, *quod Religio Chriſtiana, qualis nobis eſt repræſentata in ſcriptura ſacra, ſit ſumme rationalis*, verſio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi eſſe amicum meum. Ego reſpondeo, mihi nihil de eo conſtare; & cum autor, quiſquis ille ſit, latere vult, noſtrum non eſſe conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego ſumma cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei chriſtianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorſus aſſentior. Hoc recte percepto, graviſſimas ac acerbiſſimas in eccleſia chriſtiana diſputationes feliciter componi poſſe puto; ſaltem eccleſia, non obſtante opinionum diverſitate, pacem facili negotio poſſe reſtitui: ea enim quæ nunc à pleriſque ut unicum ferme chriſtianiſmi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendi planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematiſmis, ſchiſmatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium eſt. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non poſſum, quin tibi obſervationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri poſſet eſſe momenti, tamen argumento autoris quo utitur pondus aliquod afferre poteſt. Cap. iv. autor ad ſuæ ſententiæ ſtabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epiſt. Joan. v. 7. quem optime ab ipſo allegatum judico: verum verſio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me judice, non exacte exprimat ſenſum qui in Græco extat, quique ſententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice expreſſerit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: *Que pluſieurs impoſteurs ſe ſont elevez dans le monde, leſquels ne confeſſent point, que Jeſus, le Meſſie,*

Meſſie, ſoit venu en chair: Quæ ſenſum hunc continere videntur, quod impoſtores hi non confeſſi ſunt, quod Jeſus, qui eſt Meſſias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet: Ὅτι πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ poſteriora verba ego verto, non, *qui non confitentur Jeſum*, qui eſt Chriſtus ſeu Meſſias, *in carne veniſſe*; ſed, *qui non confitentur Jeſum Meſſiam qui in carne venit*: non enim eſt infinitivus in Græco, ſed participium. Hic ſenſus eſt longe alius, & autoris hujus ſcopo multo accommodatior. Priore enim ſenſu hæc eſſe impoſtorum falſa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jeſum, qui eſt Meſſias, in carne veniſſe. Inde ſequeretur, quod qui confitetur Jeſum, de quo Johannes affirmat quod ſit Meſſias (vox enim Χριστὸς per appoſitionem hoc ſenſu eſt legenda) in carne veniſſe, maneat in doctrina Chriſti, ut eſt v. 9. Atqui multi qui non credebant Jeſum eſſe Meſſiam, credebant tamen Jeſum, qui Meſſias eſt, in carne veniſſe. Si poſteriore ſenſu vertantur, tum ſenſus eſt, impoſtores non confiteri Jeſum Chriſtum qui in carne venit; hoc eſt, non confiteri quod ille Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Confiteri enim Jeſum Meſſiam, eſt, confiteri quod Jeſus ſit Meſſias, ſeque illius diſcipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jeſum, quem confiteri oportet, deſcribit Joannes, quod ſit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos verſatus eſt. Inde ſequitur, quod ille in doctrina Chriſti maneat, qui confitetur quod Jeſus, qui in carne venit, ſit Meſſias. Et hæc eſt ſincera fidei in Chriſtum confeſſio. Eundem eſſe ſenſum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi ſimiliter non reperitur infinitivus, ſed participium ἐληλυθότα. Non eſt quidem hæc obſervatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris inſtituto favet. In aliis autem diſputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis noſtratibus inſtituuntur, maximi eſt uſus. Sed tempus eſt ut abrumpam. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem eſſe, qui, cum literis ſuis te compellat, calamo imperare non poteſt. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & feliciter age.

Amſtelod. .....
1696.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore quo tu uſus es in amicitia, non majorem offenſionem inter diſſentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimis ſilentium. Si epiſtolarum reciprocationem æſtimem an tua major taciturnitas an mea dicere non auſim, credo me ea ex parte peccâſſe. Ea vero utcunque ſe res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoſcendo prior effeciſti, ut culpa omnino mea ſit, eoque magis probroſam mihi ſentio, quod tu & leviſſima quidem reprehenſione abſtinuiſti: negotiorum excuſatione qua pro me apud te uſus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuiſſet, certe tibi me eo nomine excuſatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem tota præterita hyeme valde incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico ſcriberem, impedimento eſſe non debuit. Vis rem ipſam ut tibi ſcriberem, ſemper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis oportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ ſuperveniens tardiorem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuſo, hoc certo ſcio imminutæ amicitiæ, vel mutatæ voluntatis non eſſe crimen; & forſan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ uſus faſtidium menti non bene ſe explicanti eggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, Vir ampliſſime, omnia ſuperat. Gratulationem tuam eo quo tu ſcripſiſti animo, id eſt amiciſſimo, accipio: ſed quid tandem mihi ſenectutis & valetudinis onere ſuccumbenti cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Seceſſus mihi jam quærendus eſſet, & vel annis vel ſtudiis meis quies. Hoc, ſi mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo,

ſed

ſed neſcio quo fato quod alius ambitioſe & fruſtra quærit, alii vel inſcio vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri iſtius magni ſcripta inedita tua opera proditura gratulor reipub. chriſtianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo, cujus lectioni cum ad me ſcripſeras incubuiſti, idem tecum ſentio, contentionum & ſchiſmatum radices evellit quantum id poteſt religionis chriſtianæ veritas & fundamentum, ſi id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur ; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo ſententiam ſcire vellem. Theologis noſtris tam conformiſtis quam non-conformiſtis diſplicere audio, reliqui ut fit probant improbantve, prout ſuo vel alieno innituntur judicio. Quod monuiſti de loco Johannis tecum ſentio : idem eſt in verſione noſtra, quem in Gallica obſervâſti error ; ſed ad rem facit, verum appoſite magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectiſſime ut mihi videtur interpretaris. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & me ama

Lond. 3 *Sept.* 1696.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

CItius tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, reſpondiſſem, verum quoniam judicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verſo petiiſti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæſivi, ut tractatum illum elegantiſſimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta conſiderare & expendere poſſem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis feriari ſolemus ; ſed & illud frigore ſuo acutiſſimo non leviter impetum ſcribendi remoratum eſt. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem ; nec unica lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus eſt Actorum Lipſienſium menſis October, quo compendium tractatus illius pro doctorum illorum more nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt autoris illius Pockii nomen eſſe dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuiſſe, & in nomine una aberrâſſe litera) tum compendio quod confecere omnia quibus aliquam autori invidiam conflari poſſe putant ſedulo enumerant, ut ſyſtematum theologicorum contemtum ulciſci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Eduardum, quod præclare hactenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæreſin variis ſcriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit Meditationum quarundam de cauſis & occaſione atheiſmi, hodierni præſertim ſæculi ; in quo paſſim autoris hujus anonymi ſententias, ut periculoſas & à ſocinianiſmo ac atheiſmo non alienas perſtrinxit. Subjungunt hiſce compendium duorum ſcriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo eſt Apologia ; alterum Johannis Eduardi, titulo, *Socinianiſm unmasked.* Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôſti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Eduardi ipſis ad manum non fuerint ; alias & illarum compendium habuiſſemus. Syſtema theologiæ me ſcripſiſſe nôſti : non tamen eo in pretio apud me ſyſtemata ſunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis ſyſtematibus præferam ; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo quam ex operoſis multorum ſyſtematibus hauſiſſe me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam autor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ ſalutem anguſtis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit ; nec orthodoxiam ex ſectarum confeſſionibus, ſed ſolo verbo divino arceſſit. Hoc crimen eſt quod ſocinianiſmi & atheiſmi infami convitio à doctoribus ſyſtematicis traduci meretur : non aliter ac ſi, qui humana placita religioſe adorare recuſant, eo ipſo omnem religionem ejurare cenſendi eſſent. Ego autoris in hoc tractatu ſcopum ſummopere laudo ; ſcopum ſuum feliciter aſſecutum eſſe, ſolideque ipſum quod intendit probâſſe judico. Imprimis placent mihi duo : methodus accurata hiſtoriæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliis, in ſpeciem obſcura, feliciter admodum interpretatur : & perſpicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus oſtendit cur D. Jeſus Chriſtus in terris degens, non expreſſis verbis docuerit

cuerit se esse Messiam. Hæc autori huic peculiaria sunt, ipsiusque judicium ingeniique perspicaciam clare demonstrant. In iis autem plurima sunt, quibus præcipuum libri sui argumentum, quod est, fidem quod Jesus sit Christus, eam esse per quam justificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic judicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere statui. Petis autem ut si quædam in illius lectione observarem tibi scriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam quod tibi proponi meretur observavi; ita sibi penitus me habet assentientem, ut exigua sint quæ observaverim, quæque principali ipsius scopo nihil officiunt, & quæ forsitan à me non plene intellecta sunt. Quia vero judicium meum requiris, ego hæc qualiacunque tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii sunt, sed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio autor dicit, super lapsu Adami fundatam esse doctrinam de Redemptione. Equidem certum est, lapsum Adami à Doctrina de redemptione non excludi: attamen & propria cujusque nostrûm peccata ab ea secludenda non sunt. Plurimorum doctorum sententia est, Dominum Jesum nos liberâsse è miseria in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis statum, quem in Adamo amisimus, restituisse. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenso Christi beneficio sentire, ipsumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apostolus, Rom. v. loquitur, nos liberâsse, & ad statum multo feliciorem, vitam nempe æternam in cœlis perduxisse. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amisisse immortalitatem, & factum esse mortalem. Si immortalitas autori huic significet, quod Adamus si non peccâsset, moriturus non fuisset, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum necessitatem moriendi contraxerit; verissimam ejus sententiam judico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie sonat, illi significet moriendi impossibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuisse creatum immortalem. Ego sententiam meam plenius explicui in Theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc est, immunitas à morte, alterius plane est generis quam immortalitas Dei: sicut & mortalitas, seu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, seu moriendi necessitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230. quod Adami immortalitas sit imago Dei ad quam conditus est: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei; non tamen exinde sequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem esse immortalitatem; non enim necesse est, omnia quæ alibi scriptura imagine Dei designat, ea comprehensa esse quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: sufficit eximiam quandam in homine esse qualitatem, respectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici possit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232. citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29. ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædestinati *ut simus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut ipse sit primogenitus inter multos fratres.* Putat autor illa imagine cui conformes esse debemus designari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Christi similes esse debent, hic significari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus discipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. *Nonne oportuit Christum ista pati, atque intrare in gloriam suam?* Hanc explicationem totius capitis series evincit: jam enim, v. 17. dixerat, *hæredes sumus Dei, cohæredes autem Christi, siquidem cum ipso patimur, ut una cum ipso glorificemur.* Eaque occasione multus est ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii causa sustinendas, inter alia argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad salutem velit perducere: & ne id ipsis absonum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Christi proponit, cujus imagini ut sint conformes Deus eos prædestinavit, & consequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in sequentibus porro ostendit, illas afflictiones non posse ipsos separare ab amore Dei, quo ipsos in Christo complectitur. Hinc & scriptura passim aliis locis inculcat, nos gloriæ Christi fore consortes si & cum ipso crucem sustinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præsertim, Heb. ii. 10. *Decebat ut ipse propter quem sunt omnia, & per quem sunt omnia, multos filios in gloriam adducendo, principem salutis ipsorum per afflictiones consecraret.* Et hoc potissimum argumento fideles ad constantem persecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Petr. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo esse imaginem Christi, cui ut conformes simus Deum nos prædestinâsse ait Apostolus,

lus, Rom. viii. 29. conſentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Pag. 246. ait autor ſibi non occurrere quod D. Jeſus ipſe ſibi tribuat titulum Sacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei quæ ad ſacerdotium refertur. Munus Chriſti ſacerdotale in apoſtolorum epiſtolis, & præcipue in epiſtola ad Hebræos nobis plenius eſſe deſcriptum manifeſtum eſt; nec negari poteſt D. Jeſum nuſquam in evangeliis ſibi ſacerdotis titulum tribuere: attamen negandum non videtur quod ſibi alicubi actionem ſacerdotalem tribuat: diſerte enim ait, ſe *animam ſuam* λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν daturum, Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem ſuum vocat *ſanguinem novi fœderis, qui pro multis effunditur in remiſſionem peccatorum*, Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non poſſumus hunc eſſe actum qui ad ſacerdotium reſpectum habet. Quare fortaſſe præſtitiſſet id præteriiſſe, neque hominibus calumniandi occaſionem quærentibus quicquam ſuppeditâſſe quod cum ſpecie aliqua carpere poſſe videatur. Præter hæc in tractatu hoc quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter ſe conciliari poſſunt, niſi forte autor mentem ſuam plenius explicet. Pag. 13. ait, Cum Adam pulſus ſit è paradiſo terreſtri, omniſque ejus poſteritas ea propter naſcatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter ſequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum ſub potentia mortis manſuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos: ex eo ſtatu autem omnes per Chriſtum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam poſtea fuſe oſtendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non ſatis capio, quomodo cum his bene concilientur quæ leguntur, pag. 250, & 266. quod qui juſti ſunt non indigent gratia, ſed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami poſteri, etiam ſub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per ſuam juſtitiam jus poſſunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo ſtatu neceſſariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde ſequi videtur, liberationem illam non poſſe fieri niſi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miſeria liberare gratiæ eſt, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio iſto commode ſatis conciliare poſſum quod autor dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Chriſto nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, ſalvari poſſint. Si enim per Adamum neceſſariæ ac æternæ morti ſunt obnoxii, è qua per ſolam legem fidei beneficio Chriſti liberentur, non videtur illis ſufficere poſſe, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus ſit miſericors, ſcintillas habeant; ſed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus ſalutis obtinendæ conditionem ſtatuit, ſervari debere videntur. Video doctores ſyſtematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquieſcere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jeſum adventu ſuo in mundum hominibus contuliſſe docet autor. Ego in doctorum ſyſtematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico; & ſi quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum ſpernendam cenſeo: ſed conſiderandum, an non majus quid dici poſſit & oporteat, quod ipſis licet non ſatisfaciat, minus tamen forſan offendet, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Chriſti, nullos vero ſacerdotalis. Quid ſi ergo hic addatur muneris ſacerdotalis fructus; quod mundus Deo ſit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Chriſtum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum ſit è miſeria ſua, in quam occaſione peccati Adami, propriiſque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & ſalutem æternam conſequendi? Hoc poſito, puto explicari poſſe, qua ratione, ſalvis principiis ante poſitis, ii qui de Chriſto nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Chriſtum ſalvari poſſint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 292.) inſtinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & miſericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque reſipiſcentiam agunt, eorumque veniam ſupplices petunt, gratiam per Chriſtum impetratam applicet, ipſiſque propter Chriſtum remiſſionem peccatorum & juſtitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Chriſtus prædicatus eſt non niſi per directam in Chriſtum fidem obtineri poteſt, illi ſine directa in Chriſtum, ipſis non prædicatum, fide conſequantur per gratioſam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia ſua latius extendere poteſt quam promiſſorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium ſalus in ſacrificio Chriſti propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à ſententia hujus autoris differre, & iis quæ evangelio continentur conſentanea eſſe. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & obſervanda ut ſalutem conſequamur

evangeliis & actis contineri credo; nullumque novum articulum in epistolis apostolicis superaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli sunt, sed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illustre nobis documentum præbet epistola ad Romanos. Hæc sunt paucula illa quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortasse autoris mentem per omnia non plene assecutus sum. Verum exigua hæc sunt, & extra principalem autoris scopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probâsse judico, adeo ut me sibi habeat penitus assentientem. Imprimis laudo quod tam candide & ingenue, nec minus solide, demonstret resipiscentiæ & bonorum operum necessitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus esse abolitam legem operum, sed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, qua nobis merita Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum resipiscentiæ actum, nos coram Deo justificare docent. Hac enim persuasione imbuti facile mediis in sceleribus homines incauti sibi justitiam & salutem adscribunt, modo in se fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & sceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis firmam profiteantur, salutem sine ulla hæsitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita æstate ancilla quædam, ut heri sui ædes spoliare posset, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem suam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis coram ministro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixe professa est: Ille sceleratæ non tantum indubiam salutis spem fecit, sed & postridie pro concione illius fidem prolixe populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, se, sola ignominia excepta, talem sibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonstrantibus modo sed & Contra-Remonstrantibus) non sine indignatione talem Encomiasten cum suo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro solita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignoscas. Vale, Vir amplissime, mihique semper venerande.

Amstelod. 26 *Martij*, 1697.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir amplissime,

INter negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut sperem diuturnum meum silentium, non ex imminuta omnino in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua est in amicos lenitas, excusatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi novissime literas dederim quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu suavissimæ tuæ consuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolendusque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui destitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum sit, ex benevolentia solum mutuisque amicorum sermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ sanitatis rure totam absumpsit. Nisi quod negotia nonnulla importuna subinde irrepentia totum id quicquid erat temporis quod amicis destinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo solum, sed & multorum mihi amicissimorum ære alieno sim, nec quomodo me redimam scio, si taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiæ suspecta sit. Tu scio humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in respondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & si quando hac utor libertate, erga eos solum utor, quibuscum non solummodo vitam civilem, sed intimam solidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me scio debere, & quibus insuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum

profectus

profectus poſt octidui incommodam & anheloſam moram præpropero reditu huc me recipere coactus ſum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi ſpero reſtituet priſtino otio. Valetudinario ſeni quid reſtat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum eſt. Hoc mihi ſi concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia optima illa ſenectutis oblectamenta redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix ſcire vacat. Apud nos ſane diſceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur ſcripturientium atramentum. Si diſputantium fervor ſolo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda eſſet litigantium induſtria & contentio; ſed non ita ſemper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem ſtabiliendam elucidandamve quæſita credere poſſis. In mea de Intellectu Humano diſſertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum eſt non ita ſanum, idque à viris haud infimi ſubſellii reprehenſum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehenſione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoſcerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum non ſit, rationem mihi reddendam cenſeo cur non mutaverim ſententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defenſio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror noſtris nugis? Quid tu illic, voſque alii ſtudiis utilioribus intenti agatis aveo ſcire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor ſi à te feſtinatas poſtulem literas in ſcribendo ipſe tantus ceſſator. Verum tu ſcio id facies ne nimis ſerio mihi iraſci videaris. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 4 *Mar.* 169$\frac{6}{7}$. *Tui ſtudioſiſſimum*,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MENSE Martio ſcripſi tibi epiſtolam ſatis prolixam. Hac æſtate cum viris aliquot primariis ſermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit ſermo de tractatu de quo in ſuperioribus meis judicium meum ſcripſi. Omnes eum ſummopere laudabant. Unus vero titulum ſibi non ſatis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diverſum aiebat fuiſſe inſtitutum à plerorumque ſcriptorum conſuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere ſolent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixiſſe titulum. Oportuiſſe titulum aliquatenus reſpondiſſe dignitati operis, ut & ille poſſet lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladum noſtrum commendatum eſſe voluit, quod tibi ſoli dictum velim) ſe bis tractatum illum perlegiſſe aiebat: laudabat illum ſummopere, autoremque fidei chriſtianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum eſt, ſolidiſſime probâſſe affirmabat: unum deſiderabat; nim. quod autor jam ſtatim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis ſententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuiſſe autorem intacta illa ſententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus ſui argumentum adſtruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte ſententia illa inſedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut ſequentia non ea animi ſerenitate quæ requiritur, legant, ſicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipſorum benevolentia captanda fuiſſet, ut judicio integro expendant ſententiam, veram quidem, ſed communi theologorum appetitui minus conſentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei chriſtianæ aliquid de ſuo admixtum cupiunt; quaſi ea ſuo cœtui peculiaris ſit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipſorum animis eruetur, allicendi potius ſunt, quam aſſertione alicujus dogmatis ſibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi ſcribo quid viri hi deſideraverint. Hac occaſione, ut fieri ſolet, ſermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis ſolidiſſime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, ſe argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus

probetur Ens æternum, ſeu per ſe exiſtens, ſeu undiquaque perfectum, eſſe tantum unum. Deſiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Chriſtianæ. Addebat, audiviſſe ſe tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum ſe tribuere judicio tuo, ac ſummopere verſionem illam deſiderare. Quæſivit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis à ſe exiſtentis adſtruxiſſes? Ego me ignorante reſpondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conſcriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi ſerio per me commendari, ut ſi in tractatu tuo quæſtionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adſtructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis ſolide adſtruere. Manifeſtum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in ſe complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum eſſe: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari juſſit, & à me quæri, an jam ad te ſcripſiſſem, & aliquod à te reſponſum accepiſſem. Non crediderat ipſum id tam enixe voluiſſe; ſed quia video rem hanc ipſi cordi eſſe, ſcriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime ſtatui. Rogo, ſi id negotia tua permittant, ut mihi reſponſum ſcribas, quod ipſi prælegere poſſim, ita tamen temperata tua ſcriptione, ut minime ſubolere ipſi poſſit, me tibi ipſum aliquatenus indicâſſe; poſſes ita reſpondere, quaſi ego tibi ſcripſerim, viros quoſdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipſis aliquem, qui te magni æſtimat, de ea tuum voluiſſe audire judicium, & ut quæſtionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes deſiderâſſe. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare auſim. Hagam Comitis nuper excurri; ſalutavi honoratiſſimum Comitem Pembrokienſem, & per integram horam varios cum ipſo, etiam de rebus theologicis, ſermones habui. Virum in tam excelſa dignitate conſtitutum tantum in rebus ſacris ſtudium poſuiſſe ſummopere miror. Ita ſermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per ſemihoram ipſi adfuiſſe mihi viſus ſim, cum tamen ab eo digreſſus integram horam eſſe elapſam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentiſſimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipſius auſpiciis feliciter adminiſtrentur: tibi vero valetudinem proſperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare poſſis. Vale, ampliſſime Vir, & ſalveat plurimum Domina Maſham. Salutat te uxor mea & filia.

Amſtelod. 8 *Octob.* 1697.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *à Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

SI mon nom eſt venu à la connoiſſance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes eſcrits dans les converſations que vous avez avec eux, c'eſt une faveur dont je vous ſuis entierement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une perſonne que vous voulez bien honorer de vôtre amitié les à prévenuë en ma faveur. Je ſouhaiterois que mon Eſſai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pûſſent entendre, car par le jugement exact & ſincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter ſurement ſur ce qu'il y a de vray ou de faux, & ſur ce qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a ſept ans que ce livre a été publié. La premiere, & la ſeconde edition ont eû le bonheur d' étre generalement bien reçuës: mais la derniére n'a pas eû le même avantage. Aprés un ſilence de cinque ou ſix années on commence d'y decouvrir je ne ſçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'etoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de ſingulier, on prétend trouver matiere à des controverſes de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû deſſein de traiter que des queſtions de pure ſpeculation philoſophique. J'avois reſolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ay deja compoſé quelques unes qui ſont aſſez amples, & qui auroient pû paroitre en leur place dans la quatrieme edition que le libraire ſe diſpoſe à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers ſatisfait

fait à votre deſir, ou au deſir d'aucun de vos amis en y inſerant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui ſe preſentent à mon eſprit. Car je ſuis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être auſſi evidemment demonſtrée que ſon exiſtence; & qu'elle peut être établie ſur des preuves qui ne laiſſeront aucun ſujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment ſi fort les criailleries & les vaines conteſtations, que je doute ſi je dois leur fournir de nouveaux ſujets de diſpute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens ont faits ſur le *Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity*,&c.ſont ſans doute fort juſtes, & il eſt vray que pluſieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines penſées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, leſquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communement reçuës. Mais ſur cela je ſuis obligé de renvoyer ces Meſſieurs aux deux defenſes que l'Auteur a fait de ſon ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit luy-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrêtienne, il ſemble qu'il à êté conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré luy; car pour rendre ſon livre utile aux deiſtes, il ne pouvoit point ſe taire entierement ſur ces articles, auxquels ils s'aheurtent des qu'ils veulent entrer dans l'examen de la religion chrêtienne. Je ſuis,

Londres, 29 *Octob.* 1697.

Monſieur,

Votre tres humble,

& tres obeïſſant ſerviteur,

J. LOCKE.

Vir ampliſſime,

Ne mireris quod lingua Gallica reſponſum à me ſit acceptiſſimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus menſis mihi ſcriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excuſare & negotiorum multitudine quæ otium negat, & linguæ Latinæ deſuetudine, quæ expedite ſcribere prohibet. Hanc meam epiſtolam aliis vel prælegendam vel monſtrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium cenſuræ ſtyli negligentia me objicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excuſare ſolet, aliis vel nauſeam vel certe non condonandam moleſtiam creare poteſt. Scripſi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula feſtinatim, Galloque in ſuam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta eſt inter epiſcopum Wigornienſem (qui me quæſita cauſa aggreſſus eſt) & me diſputatio: gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudataque hactenus diſſertatio illa, tota jam ſcatet erroribus (vel ſaltem continet latentia errorum vel ſcepſeos fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato argumenta non abunde ſatisfaciunt. Putaſne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoſcit, poſſe dubitare numen illud eſſe unicum? ego ſane nunquam dubitavi; etiamſi, fateor, mihi ex hac occaſione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevandam eſſe mentem, & à communi philoſophandi ratione ſegregandam, ſi quis id philoſophice, vel, ſi ita dicam, phyſice probare velit; ſed hoc tibi ſoli dictum ſit. Uxorem tuam dilectiſſimam liberoſque officioſiſſime ſaluto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

GRatiſſimas tuas 29 Octobris ſcriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico cujus potiſſimum rogatu ad te ſcripſi, prælegi. Res ipſa de qua quæritur à nemine ſano in dubium vocari poſſe videtur: ipſa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi poſſit. Quare, me judice, nemo qui attente ſecum conſiderat quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum aſſerere poteſt. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis aſſeri videmus, & contra eos ſcripturæ autoritate pugnari non poteſt, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi ſunt. Quare ejuſmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus,

nificus, quibus ſolide demonſtretur ens independens & perfectum unicum tantum eſſe poſſe. Ex ſolide adſtructa eſſentiæ divinæ unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, noſtrumque tam erga Deum quam proximum officium deduci poſſe certiſſimus eſt. Carteſium dicit unitatem illam non probâſſe, ſed præſuppoſuiſſe, Ipſe ſibi demonſtrationem ſcripſit, ſed eam aiebat ſubtiliorem eſſe. Et quia multum tuo tribuit judicio, tua argumenta avidiſſime videre deſiderat. Prælegi illi epiſtolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea aſſirmes te id præſtare poſſe: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua deſiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortaſſe novis litibus & ſuſpicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas anſam, publico ſcripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me ſcribas, ſub promiſſo ſilentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, ſed ad propriam ſuam inſtructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori noſtræ converſationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fiſci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, niſi fortaſſe & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii eſt; ipſo enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te ſcribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam; & quod fidis ſolummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, concreditur, cujuſque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id diſpaleſcere non poteſt. Quinimo, ut tanto honeſtius apographum denegare queam, ſuaſerim ut id in epiſtola tua enixe à me ſtipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam ſcepſeos fundamenta jacientem, magis ſuſpectum fieri: pleroſque illorum alieno judicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipites in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus ſum. Cum tuas legerem lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in ſua Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus coram Cardinale Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi doctiſſime de republica diſſeruiſſet, legis quendam peritum commoto capite & labiis diſtortis quicquid dixerat improbâſſe, ac ſtatim omnes qui aderant pedibus in juriſperiti illius iviſſe ſententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi ſententiam probabat, mox quæ ipſo narrante contemſerant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus eſſe proſecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro ſexennio communi applauſu exceptus fuit, nunc inſurgente contra te magni nominis epiſcopo totus erroribus ſcatet, & latentia continet ſcepſeos fundamenta. Ita ſolet theologorum vulgus non ex ſuo ſed alieno ſapere cerebro. Verum talium judicio epiſtola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ latinæ deſuetudinem prætexis quæ expedite ſcribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me judicium eſſe cenſebo, cujus ſtylus cum tuo comparatus plane ſordet? Epiſtolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo ſcriptæ, ſunt non tantum puræ & terſæ, ſed & vividæ ac elegantes; quæ ſi tibi diſpliceant, quid de meis judices non difficile mihi eſt colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamum venit tibi ſcribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni conſulere novit, plane ſecurus: impoſterum vero ſi ea excuſatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in ſcribendo facies. Excuſationem itaque hanc minime admitti poſſe facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant reſponſum, nolim nimia feſtinatione graviora negligas, ſed tempus ad ſcribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque ſcripſeris gratiſſimum erit: interim ſi cito des, bis te dediſſe gratus agnoſcam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapſa D. Clericus tuum de Educatione liberorum tractatum in linguam Belgicam verſum; pro quo dono magnifico ſummas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ ſatiatæ fuerint, integrum, quod & ipſis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officioſiſſime juſſit vir magnificus. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC occaſione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Hiſtoriæ Inquiſitionis inſeri poſſunt. Ego autores quos nunc evolvo, majore cum applicatione ad materiam Inquiſitionis lego quam antehac, & ſi quid, quod ad majorem illius illuſtrationem facere poſſit, occurrat, illud excerpere ſoleo, & hiſtoriam meam locupletiorem reddere. Tu ſi velis aliis à me antehac ad te miſſis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinerario Du Mont ſuppeditâſti, ea quanto magis conſidero, tanto magis hiſtoriæ meæ inſerenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ ſecretum confeſſionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei fiunt legibus prohibita; quas ſanciviſſe videntur eum tantum in finem, ut ſimpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquiſitionis leges, ſed præcipue geſta ac acta illius, quæ cum legibus ſæpiſſime adverſa fronte pugnant, conſideranda cenſeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confeſſarios Melitenſes obligatos eſſe Inquiſitoribus revelare, quicquid ipſis in ſecreta confeſſione negotium fidei ſpectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confeſſiones inquiſitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix poſſum; fortaſſe confeſſariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujuſmodi lex extet. Quibus accedit, quod ſit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundam incolarum ſermonibus hauſit; quorum relationes quandoque valde eſſe incertas, imo falſas, ex itinerariis quibus Belgium deſcribitur ſæpius ipſe deprehendi. Quare conſiderandum, quomodo ejuſmodi cavillationes pontificiorum ſolide retundi poſſint. Quicquid vero hujus ſit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur quæ hiſtoriæ meæ inſeratur, ſi ſcriptoris alicujus pontificiis non ſuſpecti autoritate confirmari poſſet. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scripſi ante duos aut tres menſes virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi deſiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia interturbare, aut aliquid tibi moleſtiæ creare. Scio, ſi ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare poſſis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratiſſima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejuſmodi meditationi, & diffuſiori paulum ſcriptioni requiſitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam moleſtiam verearis (de quo tamen te ſecurum eſſe jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico prout potero te excuſatum reddam: velim tamen eo in caſu excuſationis rationes à te mihi ſuppeditari: malim autem, ut, ſi ſine incommodo, aut incommodi metu poſſis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tua opera explanatiorem habeat. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Tui amantiſſimus,

Amſtelod. 11 *Martij*, $16\frac{9}{3})(98$ P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

DOctiſſimas tuas literas 21 Februarii datas, Martii 21. die recte accepi. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis ſignificavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invictis te unita-

unitatem essentiæ divinæ adstruxisse, nihilque in argumentatione tua desiderari. Verum nondum viro magnifico eas ostendendas censuimus, nisi sententia tua propius explorata. Est enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plane tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipsius sermonibus percepi, agnoscit ille quidem evidens satis esse, unum tantum hujus universi esse rectorem: sed argumentum desiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus existentia est necessaria, tantum posse esse unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à necessitate existentiæ desumatur, & à priori (ut in scholis loquuntur) non à posteriori concludat, hoc est, ex natura necessariæ existentiæ probetur eam pluribus non posse esse communem. Narrabat enim, se cum aliis de materia hac differentem, dixisse, quid si tale ens existat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependemus, illud ens minime nos spectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis sufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum disquirendum, an tale ens necessario existens possit esse præter Deum necessario existentem à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curiositati plene satisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas sollicite asservabo, ac nulli ostendam. Vale, Vir amplissime, & si quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum sit, benignus ignosce.

Tui amantissimus,

Amstelod. Kal. Apr. 16)(98 (1 / 19

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *à Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

LA question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un genie si vaste & d'une si profonde capacité, que je suis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, ou il luy seroit plus avantageux & plus seur de s'en rapporter à luymême. Je ne sai quelle opinion vous avez pû luy donner de moy, seduit par l'amitie que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je suis fort assûré, c'est que, si je ne consultois que ma propre reputation, j'eviterois d'exposer me foibles pensées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article comme une question à prouver: bien des gens étant peut-étre d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux etabli sur les fondemens ordinaires que si l'on tachoit de l'expliquer par des speculations & des raisonnemens aux quels tout le monde n'est pas accoutumé. Mais je sai que la personne, par qui je croy que cette question vous a été proposée, a l'esprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité égalent sa science & ses autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons assez claires ou assez convaincantes, il ne sera pour cela porté à condamner aussitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moy sous pretexte que mes preuves ne sont pas aussi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction dans mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma foiblesse, je n'ai pas laissé d'obeïr à ses ordres. J'ecris donc simplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monsieur, que vous fassiez voir s'il vous plait ma lettre à cet excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouverent dans vôtre conference. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes: La premiére, que ces Messieurs me promettront de m'apprendre librement & sincerement leurs pensées sur ce que je dis; la seconde, que vous ne donnerez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce soit, mais que vous me promettrez de jetter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de le faire. A quoy je serois bien aise que vous eussiez la bonté d'ajouter une troisieme condition, c'est, que ces Messieurs me feront l'honneur de me communiquer les raisons sur lesquelles ils etablissent eux mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La

La queſtion dont vous me parlez, ſe reduit à ceci, *Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée?* ou en d'autres termes, *Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu?*

Pour reſoudre cette queſtion il eſt néceſſaire de ſavoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entende par le mot de *Dieu*. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je croy, la veritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoiſſent ſon exiſtence, c'eſt, qu'il eſt *un Etre infini, eternel, incorporel & tout parfait*. Or cette idée une fois reconnuë, il me ſemble fort aiſé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un être qui eſt tout parfait, ou pour ainſi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait ne ſçauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou dégrez des perfections, qu'il luy importe plus de poſſeder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entierement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection que de n'en avoir point; avoir plus de pouvoir eſt une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui eſt être tout puiſſant) c'eſt une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela poſé; deux êtres tout puiſſans ſont incompatibles; parce qu'on eſt obligé de ſuppoſer que l'un doit vouloir neceſſairement ce que l'autre veut; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté eſt néceſſairement determinée par la volonté de l'autre, n'eſt pas libre; & n'a pas, par conſéquent, cette perfection là: car il eſt mieux d'être libre, que d'être ſoumis à la determination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne ſont pas tous deux reduits à la neceſſité de vouloir toûjours la même choſe, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prevaudra ſur la volonté de l'autre, & ainſi celui des deux, dont la puiſſance ne ſauroit ſeconder la volonté, n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'eſt pas tout-puiſſant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne ſauroit y avoir deux tout puiſſans, ni par conſequent deux Dieux.

Par le même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu eſt *omniſcient*. Or dans la ſuppoſition de deux êtres diſtincts qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté diſtincte, c'eſt une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ſes penſées à l'autre. Mais ſi l'un des deux cache ſes penſées à l'autre, cet autre n'eſt pas *omniſcient*, car non ſeulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même choſe de la toute-preſence de Dieu: il vaut mieux qu'il ſoit par tout dans l'étenduë infinie de l'eſpace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet eſpace, car s'il eſt exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni ſavoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conſequent il n'eſt ni tout-puiſſant ni omniſcient.

Que ſi pour aneantir les raiſonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on ſuppoſe; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raiſon qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) ſi l'on oppoſe, diſ-je, que pluſieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puiſſance qui ſoit exactement la même, qu'ils ont auſſi la même connoiſſance, la même volonté & qu'ils exiſtent egalement dans le même lieu, c'eſt ſeulement multiplier le même être, mais dans le fonds & dans la verité de la choſe on ne fait que reduire une pluralité ſuppoſée à une veritable unité. Car de ſuppoſer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoiſſent, veulent & font inceſſamment la même choſe, & qui n'ont pas une exiſtence ſeparée, c'eſt ſuppoſer en paroles une pluralité, mais poſer effectivement une ſimple unité. Car être inſeparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu; c'eſt être autant uni qu'un être intelligent peut être uni à luy même; & par conſequent, ſuppoſer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'eſt ſuppoſer une diviſion ſans diviſion, & une choſe diviſée d'avec elle-même.

Je me ſuis hazardé à vous écrire mes reflexions ſur ce ſujet, comme elles ſe ſont préſentées à mon eſprit, ſans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit ſervir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour ſi on leur don-

noit un peu plus d'étenduë. Mais ceci doit paroitre devant des perſonnes d'une ſi grande penetration, que ce ſeroit les amuſer inutilement que développer davantage mes penſées. Telles qu'elles ſont je vous prie de m'en écrire vôtre opinion & celle de ces Meſſieurs, afin que ſelon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puiſſe, pour ma propre ſatisfaction, les examiner de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaiſe ſanté & le peu de loiſir qui me reſte, ne me permettent pas de faire preſentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun uſage. Je ſuis,

Oates, 2 Avril 1698.

Monſieur,

Votre tres humble,

& tres obeïſſant Serviteur,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIteras tuas poſtremas recte mihi fuiſſe traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud deſignavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materiæ gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad ſe vocavit; iterumque epiſtolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua ſuppoſita illa quam adhibes Dei definitione: ens enim undiquaque perfectum, ſeu, quod eodem redit, omnes in ſe complectens perfectiones, non niſi unum eſſe poſſe manifeſtum eſt. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei deſumptum, ſed ex ipſa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo inſtituit demonſtrationem ſuam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens, & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens. II. Ens tale eſt tantum unum, & plura iſtiuſmodi entia eſſe nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia eſt unicum, omnes in ſe complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens eſt Deus. Primam propoſitionem, ait vir magnificus, te in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano egregie adſtruxiſſe, iiſdem plane argumentis quibus ipſe in demonſtratione ſua uſus eſt, adeo ut ſuas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expreſſas viderit. Tanto enixius ſecundam propoſitionem à te probatam videre deſiderat: qua ſolide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci poteſt. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philoſophos, quin & ipſum Carteſium, non probare ſed præſupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem ſuam argumentationem communicaturus ſit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipſe es meditatus, cum ſuis conferre poſſit. Verum hic ambigere quis poſſet, an non propoſitionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc ſecunda eſt, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia eſt, ſecunda eſſe debeat: hoc eſt, an non, quando probatum eſt, dari ens æternum, independens, ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, exinde poſſit porro probari, illud in ſe omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti, ſibique ſufficienti ulla perfectio deſit: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud ens tantum eſſe unum. Verum huic methodo hæc objicitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus eſſe duas naturas tota eſſentia diverſas (loquor terminis eorum qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extenſionem: ſuppoſito dari cogitationem æternam & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, ſtatuere quis poſſet etiam eſſe extenſionem ſeu materiam æternam, ſibi ipſi ſufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem? ſic ſtatuerentur duo entia æterna; & tamen ex poſitione materiæ æternæ & independentis minime ſequeretur, eam in ſe complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens eſſe tantum unum, antequam omnes in ſe complecti perfectiones probari poſſit.

Quod

Quod ſi ſecunda propoſitio ens independens eſſe tantum unum non poſſit probari, nihil religioni, ſeu neceſſitati ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo ſoli ſum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiuſque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte exiſtat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me ſpectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exſerere poteſt. Imo neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere poſſet. Quoniam enim ſibi ipſi eſt ſufficiens, ergo nec per alterius poſitionem aut remotionem ullam acquirere poteſt majorem perfectionem, aut de ſua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias ſibi non eſſet ſufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis ſcrutatori ſummopere gratum ſit, evidenter demonſtrare poſſe, ens independens eſſe tantum unum: ſi tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonſtrari non poſſe, nihil tamen religionis neceſſitati & perfectioni propterea deceſſurum videtur, quoniam ens à quo ego dependeo eſt tantum unum. Hæc fuit ſermonum viri magnifici ſumma, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filum, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano non legi. Probâſſe te, ens aliquod eſſe à quo dependes, illudque ens eſſe æternum & ſibi ipſi ſufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum quo id probatur evidens eſt & clarum. Verum an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri poſſe ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere; ſed nondum vidi ab ipſo probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen ſpectat primam propoſitionem. Nam in ſecunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum eſſe ens æternum. Itaque ſimiliter hic præſupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, ſaltem id nondum diſtincte probatum audivi: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propoſitionis ſecundæ procedatur. Tum & deſpiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, ſupponi materiam æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem: ſi enim ens ſibi ſufficiens & æternum, neceſſario ſit omni modo perfectum; ſequitur, materiam, quæ iners eſt ſubſtantia, omni motu ac vita deſtituta, non poſſe concipi æternam ac ſibi ſufficientem.

Voluit Vir magnificus, ut tibi diſtinctius, qualem deſideret probationem, præſcriberem: verbis ſuis te quam officioſiſſime ſalutari juſſit; pro ſuſcepto in ſui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & ſi ea minus permittat ſubtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictiorem moleſtis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & ſi ea permittat, ut de propoſitionis ſecundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius propoſita eſt, judicium tuum ſcribas, rem facies ipſi gratiſſimam. Tu ipſe judicabis de illius methodo, & quid reſcribendum ſit. Hoc unum addo, ipſum lecta tua epiſtola nullum illius apographum petiiſſe, ſed conditionibus, quas ſtipularis, acquieviſſe: & ſi petiiſſet, ego modeſte negâſſem: verum ea eſt humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus eſt manum de tabula tollere. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 16 *Maij*, 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE *à Mr.* LIMBORCH.

Monſieur,

SI ma ſanté ne me permettoit pas de ſatisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d' executer les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçoit ſi favorablement mes reflexions, toutes mediocres qu'elles ſont, il eſt pourtant vray que je ne ſaurois la ſacrifier pour une meilleure occaſion que celle qui me porte à examiner le ſujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de luy faire voir combien je ſuis prêt à luy obeïr. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me ſoit obligé d'un tel ſacrifice; car ſi je ne hazarde point ma reputation auprés de luy, je ſuis fort aſſuré que ma ſanté ne ſera point intereſſée par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raiſonne ſi nettement, & qui a ſi bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas beſoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendu. Son extreme penetration luy fera ſentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais propoſer, de ſorte que, ſans qu'il ſoit neceſſaire que je m'engage dans de longues deductions, il pourra juger ſi elle eſt bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empecher de remarquer l'exactitude de ſon jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ſes propoſitions, & il eſt vray comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troiſieme à la place de la ſeconde, les Theologiens, les Philoſophes, & Deſcartes luy-même, ſuppoſent l'unité de Dieu ſans la prouver.

Si par la queſtion qui me fut d'abord propoſée, j'euſſe compris comme je fais preſentement, quel etoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la Rêponſe que je vous ai envoyée, mais une beaucoup plus courte, & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raiſon, où chaque choſe paroit dans ſon meilleur jour.

Je croy que quiconque reflechira ſur ſoymême, connoitra evidement ſans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un Etre intelligent. Je croy encore qu'il eſt évident à tout homme qui penſe, qu'il y a auſſi un Etre infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un Etre infini, & que cet Etre infini doit être auſſi l'Etre éternel; parce que, ce qui eſt infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucunes additions faites dans le temps, ne ſauroient rendre une choſe infinie, ſi elle ne l'eſt pas en elle même, & par elle même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'enſuit que l'infini ne ſauroit être ſeparé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'eſt la, ſelon moy, une preuve *à priori* que l'Etre éternel independent n'eſt qu'un; & ſi nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections poſſibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu eternel, infini, omniſcient, & tout-puiſſant, *&c.*

Si ce raiſonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme qui doit le voir, j'en ſerai extremement ſatisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer ſa preuve que je tiendrai ſecrette, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de ſa part, ſelon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'aſſurer de mes tres humbles reſpects. Je ſuis, *&c.*

Oates, 21 *May*,
1698.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

VIro magnifico poſtremas tuas oſtendi: illo pro labore rogatu ſuo à te ſuſcepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquieſcit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per ſe exiſtens ac ſibi ſufficiens: deinde, illud ens eſſe tantum: tertio, illud ens in ſe com-

complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde eſſe Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præſupponis, omni homini attente meditanti evidens eſſe dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi poteſt: atqui id idem ipſi eſt ac ſupponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ eſt tertia ipſius theſis; adeo ut ex præſuppoſita illius theſi tertia probes ſecundam: cum ſecunda prius probari debeat, antequam ex illa poſſit concludi tertia. Hæc fuit cauſa cur ego tibi conſiderandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia eſt non debeat eſſe ſecunda theſis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea theſis præſupponi, ſed ex prima theſi probari: aut ſi illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod ſit ens æternum ac ſibi ſufficiens probari illud eſſe unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud eſſe infinitum, ſeu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem ſuam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus ſit, valde dubito. Idem ipſum qui te ſcrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum cenſuras, qui omnia è ſchola ſua non hauſta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exoſiſſimarum hæreſium nomenclatura traducere ſolet. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum inſtituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere poſſim, quod ſcripto tradere gravatur. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. Cal. Jul. 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

POſt ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipſum conveniendi occaſio fuit: aliquamdiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime ſibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, ſi ſupponamus dari cogitationem per ſe exiſtentem, & præterea extenſionem ſeu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius poſſit habere cognitionem: extenſionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non poſſe, quin cogitatio cognitionem ſit habitura extenſionis: quia cum cogitatio per ſe exiſtat, ſibique ſit ſufficiens, etiam eſt infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ ſuæ cogitationis neceſſario cognoſcit extenſionem exiſtentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per ſe exiſtenti ſibique ſufficienti probantur ineſſe alia attributa, antequam probatum ſit illud eſſe tantum unicum; reſpondebat, neceſſario de tali ente debere affirmari illud eſſe infinitum, ſed in ſua natura; cogitationem quidem eſſe infinitæ ſcientiæ; materiam infinitæ extenſionis, ſi quidem per ſe exiſtat. Sed inde ſequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa poſſe probari: probata enim infinitate, etiam probari poſſe alia illi ineſſe, ſine quibus infinitas concepi nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum ſentire videbatur unitatem ejuſmodi entis tali methodo fruſtra quæri, ſed oportere theſin ſecundam eſſe tertiam. Credideram ego virum magnificum hanc ſibi inveſtigandæ veritati præſcripſiſſe methodum, & cum ipſe quæ ſibi ſatisfaciant argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens neceſſitate naturæ ſuæ exiſtens eſſe tantum unum, antequam ex neceſſaria exiſtentia, alia, quæ eam neceſſario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper profeſſor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangeliæ edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo ſcripto deſidero. In fine etiam contra me inſurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Chriſtiana ſcripſi Burmannum pleraque, quæ in ſua Synopſi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, deſcripſiſſe ex Spinozæ Cogitatis Metaphyſicis. Ille non negat, ſed contendit Burmannum propterea non eſſe Spinoſiſtam, quod ego nuſquam

ſcripſi.

ſcripſi. Neuter noſtrûm tam inepto ſcriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomadas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir eſt eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione ſentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit de ſtatu noſtro plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis ſalutavit, quodque poſtremis meis literis nondum reſponderis excuſavit. Gratiſſimæ mihi ſemper ſunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; ſed non ſum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum diſpendio eas à te flagitem. Scio reſponſi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, ſed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adſcribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam profectionis tuæ inſtante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam noſtram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inſervire queat, opto ſummis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui poſt tam diuturnam abſentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortaſſe ultimum valedicendi occaſio detur. Vale,

Amſtelod. 12 *Sept.* 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime, *Lond.* 4 *Oct.* 1698.

ROgo ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicaſque me magnopere rogare ut ſuam methodum, qua unitatem entis per ſe exiſtentis ſibique ſufficientis adſtruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipſi non penitus ſatisfaciat. Nollem ego in re tanti momenti falſo vel fallaci innixus fundamento mihimet imponere. Si quid ſtabilius, ſi quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit enixe rogito. Si tectum, ſi tacitum velit, pro me meoque ſilentio ſpondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invideat, in proxima, quæ jam inſtat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, ſi libet, vel velato auctore.

Carteſianorum quam in epiſtola tua reperio loquendi formulam nullatenus capio. Quid enim ſibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere poſſum cogitationem per ſe exiſtere, ſed rem vel ſubſtantiam cogitantem, eamque eſſe de qua affirmari poſſit eſſe vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, neſcio quid obſcuri vel fraudulenti ſub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel ſaltem quod ſentiant clare & dilucide enuntiare non audere, faventes nimium hypotheſi non undique ſanæ. Sed de hoc forſan alias quando majus ſuppetet otium.

Quod de profeſſore Vander Weeyen ſcribis non miror. Iſtius farinæ homines ſic ſolent, nec aliter poſſunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

Literas tuas quæ Roterodami hærent avide expecto & virum illum, cui eas ad me perferendas tradidiſti. Ex tua commendatione mihi erit gratiſſimus. Viros probos fovendos colendoſque ſemper exiſtimavi. Ignoſcant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diverſitatem bellum indico ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus ſum ego chriſtianus non papiſta.

Hucuſque ſcripſeram die ſupra notato, quo autem die epiſtolam hanc finiri permiſſum eſt infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me chriſtianum evangelicum, vel ſi mavis orthodoxum, non papiſtam dico, paucis accipe. Inter chriſtiani nominis profeſſores duas ego tantum agnoſco claſſes, evangelicos & papiſtas. Hos qui tanquam infallibiles dominium ſibi arrogant in aliorum conſcientias: Illos qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & ſibi & aliis, argumentis ſolum rationibuſque perſuaſam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, ſuæ imbecillitatis haud immemores; veniam fragilitati & ignorantiæ humanæ dantes petenteſque viciſſim.

Hyems

Hyems jam ingraveſcens & pulmonibus meis infeſta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum ſuadet invaleſcens tuſſis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propoſitum langueſcere videtur: quid fiet neſcio, ſed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus ſum. Saluto Uxorem tuam optimam liberoſque amicoſque noſtros communes Veeneos, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D° Guenellone epiſtolam 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipſi prima data occaſione reſponſurus. Vale, Vir amiciſſime, & me ama

Tui amantiſſimum,

18 *Octob.*

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S.P.D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUod literis tuis hactenus non reſponderim valetudo minus proſpera in cauſa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, acceſſere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convalui, & ad intermiſſa ſtudia reverſus ſum.

Carteſianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per ſe exiſtentem non percipio, ſed quidem ſubſtantiam cogitantem: verum ne ſententiam ſuam minus candide proponi querantur, iiſdem quibus illi eam explicant verbis uti neceſſe habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non ſoleo.

Quæ de chriſtianis evangelicis & papiſtis diſſeris, optima ſunt & veriſſima. Ego utramque claſſem in omnibus chriſtianorum ſectis reperiri credo. Nullum enim cœtum ita prorſus corruptum mihi perſuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero ſit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipſe profeſſionem edat papiſmi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conſcientias diſplicet, ac diſſentientibus ſalutem abjudicare religio eſt. Rurſus licet cœtus evangelicam caritatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, ſperare auſim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui profeſſionis ſuæ obliti, tyrannidem animo fovent, libertatemque ſentiendi quam ſibi cupiunt aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc ſæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego quocunque in cœtu ſunt amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papiſtas licet ejuſdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam ſpurios Chriſtianos conſidero, nec genuina eſſe corporis Chriſti membra agnoſco, utpote charitate, ex qua diſcipulos ſuos agnoſci vult Chriſtus, deſtitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill tradetur faſciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Hiſtoriam Inquiſitionis, quam cum epiſtola addita Franciſco Cudworth Maſham tradi velim: addidi tria defenſionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Franciſco, tertium D° Coſte deſtinavi. Adverſarius meus ſe reformatum vocat: an evangelicus an vero papiſta ſit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obſecutus ſum: verum bonas meas horas melioribus ſtudiis deſtinavi, nec facile me iſtiuſmodi ſcriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut ſcias quo reſpiciam, quando de ſpatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adſcribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipſe adeo rudis, ut diſcrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorſus ignoret. Hæc ſunt ejus verba: † *Ridere in calce ſi lubeat, lege quæſo Diſſertat. Hiſtor. p.* 298. *Americæ longitudinem protendit* (Spanhemius) *ultra* 180 *gradus. Forte pars ejus in ſpatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cum hactenus ab uno polo ad alium non ultra* 180 *gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantiſſime protenditur. Cave credas* (Spanhemio) *adeo craſſe philoſophanti, cum ad matheſin ventum eſt.* Monitus ab

† *Spanhemii Epiſt. ad amicum, & neceſſ. animadverſ.* p. 72. & ſeqq.

amico,

amico, reſciſſoh oc folio aliud ſubſtituit; ſed libellus jam toto Belgio diſperſus erat, & in omnium officinis proſtabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res ſit. Hyemem hanc ſine gravi incommodo ruri ut tranſigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Maſham, totique familiæ officioſiſſimam à nobis dicas ſalutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum ſalutant, imprimis ego

Amſtelod. 9 *Dec.* 1698.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

LIteras tuas vir eruditiſſimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menſes tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus diſſolutionem Defenſionis meæ, verum adeo diſſolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut ſponte evanitura ſit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adverſario quicquam negotii eſſe. Ut exiguum aliquod ſpecimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi eſſe innatam; atque propterea me criminatur quod glorier de propriis meis viribus, ſe vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adſcribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus ſexies repetit: talis farinæ totus eſt liber. Si dixiſſem me natura eſſe propenſum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuiſſem illi orthodoxus. Hanc ſibi indolem naturalem agnoſcit: actiones vero ejus oſtendunt, regenerationem (quam ſibi tribuit) admodum eſſe imperfectam, partemque irregenitam multum prædominari regenitæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice ſua *Parrhaſiana*, in quibus de variis diſſerit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perſtringit: verum accuratiorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus eſt. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia oſtendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura ſint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa ſupponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertiſſima ſunt aliis falſa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Hiſtoriam Angliæ ſub Elizabetha, in cujus Parte II, Anno 1579. hæc verba reperi: *Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum Chriſtumque ejus Norwici hoc tempore debacchata eſt, & cum illius vivicomburio, ut ſpero, extincta, oblivione potius eſt obruenda, quam memoranda.* Velim Camdenus paulo diſtinctius impietatem illam indicâſſet, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo ſupplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate conſtare poſſit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blaſphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati qua in diſſentientes ſæviunt prætextum quærant. Fruſtra ego hactenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum ſunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi: non dubito tamen quin ea in ſcriptoribus Anglis reperiri poſſit. Si ſine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi ſuppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratiſſimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere ſtatui, non ut alios traducam, ſed ut omnes à ſævitia in diſſentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noſter plurimam tibi ſalutem ſcribi juſſit. Literas traditurus eſt nobili Muſcovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Angliam trajiciet, quod tibi ſignificari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Maſham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Franciſci Maſham epiſtola mihi perplacet, ſed jam non eſt reſpondendi otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D°. Coſte ſalutem dices à me

Amſtelod. 23 *Junij*, 1699.

Tui amantiſſimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIteras meas circa menſis Junii finem ſcriptas fideliter tibi eſſe traditas nullus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus ſibi à te miſſum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphraſtas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnoviſſe. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare oſtendit, ab autore ignoto ſcriptus, qui duos ſcriptores Rittangelium & Voiſinum, idem quod D. Allix aſſerentes, impugnat. Commoda mihi per nautam mihi notum oblata occaſione exemplar illius ad Bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione inſtituta, de tota controverſia judices. Ego non video cauſæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamſi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum ſcriptis deprompto, propugnari non poſſet: nec ego tali argumento in diſputatione contra Judæos multum tribuere auſim. Alia ſunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius ſtringunt: verum hoc ſine occultæ cum fidei hoſtibus conſpirationis ſuſpicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ ſemel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum eſt vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac ſtramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi ſolitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præſtantiſſimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti ſint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T——— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de ſ. ſcripturæ divinitate ſentientem aliquoties gloriatum de honore, ſibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria noſtra exhibito: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi viſum, quique ater an albus ſit ignoro, moveat, falſo jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem juſtam mihi cauſam præbet ſuſpicandi, ſimilia eum de noſtra amicitia in Anglia diſſeminaturum, hac occaſione id ſcribere tibi conſultum duxi; ut ſi quid ſimile jactet rumorem illum falſi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus eſt; ipſum hunc bis convenit, ſed ſemel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus eſt, ut de conſenſu illius ſecum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epiſtolas, quibus ſe contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus ſimul reſpondet. Vitam Epiſcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum ſermonem verſam relegi: quædam emendavi; omnia autem ſi emendare cupiam res magni eſſet laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Hiſtoria noſtra exteris plenius paullo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonſtrantiſmi, ſed ſolummodo vitæ Epiſcopii hiſtoriam conſcripſi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipſo Epiſcopio geſtarum continere me debui. Fortaſſe verſio illa, qualiſcunque ſit, brevi prælo ſubjicietur. Vale, Vir ampliſſime: ſalutem dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi ſalutem precantur.

Amſtelod. 3 *Auguſt.* 1699. *Tui amantiſſimus,*

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

NUdiuſtertius tractatum contra Rittangelium quem mihi miſiſti accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit ſi hoc nomine mihi ignoſcas tarditatem reſponſi ad literas tuas tertio Auguſti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis

ſatis datum eſt ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus pleriſque primo auditu viſus eſt, quod trinitatis doctrinam è ſynagoga haurire præ ſe fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriuſque lectionem; multi enim ut audio apud nos dictitant quæſtionem hanc prius non intellectam jam primum in lucem produxiſſe Allixium, & ſuis fundamentis innixam mundo obtuliſſe. Quas partes hac in controverſia habent Judæi, perpenſis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas vanæ hujuſmodi gloriolæ avidum ex aliis audivi; ſi de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiareſque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus ſit ex me ſcient.

Criminationes hujuſmodi adverſariorum quibuſcum res eſt Domino Clerico an negligendæ an refutandæ haud facile eſt ſtatuere. Quidam enim non aliud quærunt niſi calumniandi rixandique anſam. Non dubito quin amicus noſter ſatis habet quod reſpondeat. Ego ſane laudo tuum conſilium qui placide juxta ac ſolide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne ſcripſerat Weeyenus. De controverſiarum quæ me aliquandiu exercuerunt eventu etiamſi non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi ſuffuratum, quod aliis ſtudiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas inpoſterum mihi negligendas cenſeo.

Vitam Epiſcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderem; Belgica enim lingua non ſatis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere poſſim. Non dubito quin multa contineat ſcitu & jucunda & utilia, ſive mores privatos reſpicias, ſive rerum eo tempore geſtarum hiſtoriam.

Hactenus ad tuas 3 Auguſti datas, ſed qua excuſatione utar cum reſpicio ad antiquiores, ſcilicet, menſe Junio ſcriptas? Si delictum conſuetudine delinquendi defendi poſſit, habeo quod dicam, nôſti tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut ſoles, & inveteraſcentem in me delinquendi morem tu conſuetudine ignoſcendi vincas.

Cum in noviſſimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operoſe ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet, ſed quod nuſquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forſan reperiri poſſit. *

Tractatus viri docti quem in Anglia videram apud vos editus nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certiſſimis ſuperſtructum cenſuit minime mihi ſatisfecit, cum de iis coram diſceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti hiſtoriam quæſivi, nondum autem reperi quenquam qui eam mihi explicatius tradere poſſit, vel ſcriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen deſiſtam. Laudo enim conſilium tuum in colligendis hujuſmodi exemplis.

Guenelloni noſtri literas quas me expectare juſſeras nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muſcovitam cui tradendæ erant ad me perferendæ. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit nondum ſcio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occaſionem teſtandi quam paratus eſſem inſervire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipſius, ſocerumque ejus Veenium noſtrum officioſiſſime meo nomine quæſo ſalutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberoſque tuos. Vale & me ut facis ama

Lond. 5 *Sept.* 1699.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

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* *Mirum viros clariſſ. latuiſſe quæ ſuper hac quæſtione meditatus eſt* B. Spinoza. *Vide Epiſt.* 39, 40, 41. & *Oper. poſthum.*

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

LIcet nihil mihi literis tuis gratius ſit, abſit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac graviſſimis diſtractum negotiis ad ſingulis meis reſpondendum conſtringi cupiam. Amicitia arithmeticam illam ſcribendi & reſpondendi proportionem non requirit, ſed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquieſcit, & bene ſecum actum credit, quotieſcunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis reſpirationem nactus vel tantillum temporis, epiſtolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continuet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas perveniſſe gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, ſi vel tribus lineis judicium tuum de utroque ad me ſcribas.

D. Clerici epiſtolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipſum ſtrinxerunt ſimul reſpondet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adverſarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quoſdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præſertim illum qui ipſum & me non provocatus invaſit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus judicium pronuntiat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum ſupercilio carpit. Contra Clericum ſcribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum ſterquilinium: verum quod Spencerus ſcribit de fictitio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nuſquam in Philonis operibus exſtat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros adeo in Philone hoſpes Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accuſare auder. Me ſibi ſeditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in ſpatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex fœcunda gente Meneni turba currum fauſtis acclamationibus proſequente: ignarus fœcundam gentem Meneni non ſeditioſos, ſed ſtolidos, quorum magna ubique copia eſt, deſignare. Clerico contra talem adverſarium ſimilem, quanquam non adeo glorioſum propter adverſarii exiguam eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium judicio conſecutus es, prævideo. Scripſit de eo nuperrime ad me doctus quidam Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: *Non dubito quin jamdudum audiviſti de indubitata victoria quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de Epiſcopo Vigornienſi, in ejus reſponſione ultima ad objectiones Epiſcopi contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Epiſcopus eam vidit, nec multo poſt mortuus eſt: Sed etiamſi diutius vixiſſet, vix credo eum reſponſurum fuiſſe: omnia enim iſtic adeo ad vivum demonſtrantur, ut nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur.*

Exactiorem Hammonti hiſtoriam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: ſi abſque tuo incommodo eam mihi ſuppeditare potuiſſes, gratum fuiſſet. Credidi ego lingua Anglica exſtare hiſtorias eccleſiaſticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermiſſum neutiquam eſt. Ejuſmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæreſibus triumphos zelotæ in ſuis hiſtoriis magnifice deprædicare ſolent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non eſt, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Epiſcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo ſubjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens quod ſub prælo habebat typographus opus jam jam in lucem proditurum eſt, ut jam illius præla hujus opuſculi editione occupari poſſint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipſo reſponſi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congreſſum meum vitare, fortaſſe quia me reſponſum flagitaturum credit: verum ego ſtatui eum amplius non urgere, ne reſponſum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo ſcripſiſti, prælegiſſe teſtes ſunt literæ ipſius, quibus has incluſas voluit. Ipſe de nobili illo Muſcovita pluribus ad te ſcribit. Salutem quam officioſiſſime à nobis dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego

Amſtelod. 2 *Oct.* 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUod à me petiiſti, quærendo apud veterem hiſtoricum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

Matthæus Hammont aratrorum faber ex vico Hetharſet tribus miliaribus à Norwico diſtante reus factus coram epiſcopo Norwicenſi accuſatus, quod negaverat Chriſtum ſalvatorem noſtrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum eſt, quod ſequentes propoſitiones hæreticas publicâſſet, nempe quod N. teſtamentum & evangelium Chriſti pura ſtultitia erat, inventum humanum & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam reſtituitur ſola miſericordia divina ſine ope ſanguinis, mortis, & paſſionis Chriſti. Inſuper quod Chriſtus non eſt Deus nec ſalvator mundi, ſed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum, & quod omnes qui illum colunt ſunt idololatræ abominandi. Item quod Chriſtus non reſurrexit à morte ad vitam poteſtate ſuæ divinitatis, neque in cœlum aſcendit. Item quod ſpiritus ſanctus non eſt Deus, nec quidem omnino eſt. Item quod baptiſmus in eccleſia Dei non eſt neceſſarius, nec uſus ſacramenti corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti. Propter quas hæreſes condemnatus eſt in conſiſtorio, epiſcopo ſententiam pronuntiante 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicenſi. Et quia verba blaſphemiæ (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra Reginam alioſque è concilio Reginæ ſanctiore, condemnatus eſt à judice Norwicenſi Windamo, & prætore Norwicenſi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum eſt in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maij, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis vivicomburium paſſus eſt in foſſa caſtelli Norwicenſis.

Hactenus Hollinſhead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic ſimile exemplum reperio in eodem hiſtorico ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc ſunt:

18 Die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes hæreticus obſtinatus, qui negavit deitatem Chriſti, & profeſſus plures alias deteſtandas hæreſes, quales fere erant prædeceſſoris ſui Hammonti combuſtus eſt Norwici.

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejuſmodi ex alio autore ſuggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte uſui eſſe poſſunt in eo quod præ manibus habes argumento. Primum eſt vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinenſis, anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreſes, & blaſphema dogmata aſſerta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim poſitionibus ſequentibus. Nempe quod ſymbolum dictum Nicænum illudque alterum Athanaſii non continent veram profeſſionem fidei chriſtianæ: vel quod ille ipſe non vult profiteri ſuam fidem ſecundum illa ſymbola. Quod Chriſtus non eſt de Deo Deus genitus, non factus; ſed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ ſunt in Deitate perſonæ. Quod Chriſtus non fuit Deus ab æterno, ſed incepit eſſe Deus quando carnem aſſumpſit ex virgine Maria. Quod mundus non fuit factus per Chriſtum. Quod apoſtoli docent Chriſtum eſſe merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla ſit generatio niſi creaturarum. Quod hæc aſſertio, Deus factus eſt homo, contraria eſt fidei regulæ & blaſphemia enormis. Quod Chriſtus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, niſi promiſſione. Quod Chriſtus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Chriſtus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo, i. e. in ſubſtantia Dei, ſed in juſtitia & dando ſalutem. Quod Chriſtus deitate ſua nulla operatus eſt miracula. Quod preces Chriſto non ſunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab Epiſcopo Londinenſi, aſſiſtentibus conſentientibuſque aliis reverendis Epiſcopis, doctiſque clericis, hæreſeos condemnatus eſt & brachio ſæculari traditus, & deinde igni commiſſus & combuſtus in Weſt-ſmithfield Londini.

Eodem ſupplicio affectus eſt Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab Epiſcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreſeos damnatus, ob has ſequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non eſt trinitas perſonarum, patris, filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, in unitate deitatis.

2. Quod

2. Quod Jeſus Chriſtus non eſt verus naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejuſdem ſubſtantiæ æternitatis & majeſtatis cum patre, reſpectu deitatis ſuæ.

3. Quod Jeſus Chriſtus eſt homo ſolummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus ſimul & homo in una perſona.

4. Quod ſalvator noſter Chriſtus non ſibi ſumpſit carnem humanam ex ſubſtantia virginis Mariæ matris ſuæ; & quod promiſſio illa, *Semen mulieris conteret caput ſerpentis*, non adimpleta erat in Chriſto.

5. Quod perſona ſpiritus ſancti non eſt Deus, coæqualis, coæternus, coeſſentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quod tria ſymbola, ſc. Apoſtolorum, Nicænum, & Athanaſii, continent hæreſin Nicolaïtarum.

7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, eſt propheta ille cujus mentio facta eſt xviii Deuteron. his verbis: *Suſcitabo illis prophetam*, &c. Et quod verba Iſaiæ, *Ego ſolus torcular calcavi*, & Lucæ, *Cujus ventilabrum in manu ejus*, pertinent proprie & perſonaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, eſt perſona illa ſpiritus ſancti cujus mentio facta eſt in ſcriptura, & paracletus ille de quo loquitur Joannes, *c.* xvi. evangelii ſui.

9. Quod verba ſalvatoris noſtri Chriſti de peccato blaſphemiæ contra ſpiritum ſanctum de ſua perſona intelligenda ſunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur, Malach. *c.* iv. ſuam perſonam deſignat.

11. Quod anima æque ac corpus dormit in ſomno primæ mortis, & eſt mortalis reſpectu ſomni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima ſervatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti in illo ſomno mortis dormivit æque ac corpus ejus.

12. Quod animæ ſanctorum defunctorum non ſunt membra quæ poſſident eccleſiam triumphantem in cœlo.

13. Quod Pœdobaptiſmus eſt ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio cœnæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in eccleſia eſſe non debet; neque baptiſmi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in eccleſia Anglicana uſus obtinet. Sed baptiſmus in aqua adminiſtrari debet ſolis adultis à paganiſmo ad fidem converſis.

15. Quod Deus ordinavit & miſit illum, ſc. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum ſuam partem operis ſalutis mundi, ut ſua doctrina ſuiſque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæreſi Nicolaïtarum, ut Chriſtus ordinatus fuit & miſſus ad mundum ſervandum, & à peccato liberandum morte ſua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod chriſtiana religio non integra, ſed pars ſolum illius prædicatur & admittitur in eccleſia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres verbatim pene neglecta latinitatis elegantia & ſermonis proprietate tranſtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia quæ ſupplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innoteſcerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, ſi cupias, ex noſtra hiſtoria eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi eſt gratiſſima tua 2. hujus menſis ſcripta epiſtola adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem ſemper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimum per otium licebit Allixii & anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam nec oſcitanter. Quandoquidem in eo cardine ſummam quæſtionis verſari creditum eſt. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epiſtolas Criticas propediem prodituras; ut brevi confoſſis adverſariis in pace vacet ſtudiis melioribus. Controverſiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane ſentio, nec ultra fatigandum cenſeo. Guenellonis epiſtolæ amicæ brevi reſpondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officioſiſſime meo nomine ſalutes ut & uxorem tuam & filiam; Dominam Guenellon Veeneumque reliquoſque amicos noſtros communes. Vale & ut facis me ama

Lond. 7 *Octob.* 1699.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOAN-

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

PRO labore quem meo rogatu ſuſcepiſti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didiciſſe, quæ Epiſcoporum illius temporis judicio horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non niſi atrociſſimo ignis ſupplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diverſis verbis enuntiari, atque ita quod uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures diſtendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæreſium reatus tam atroci ſupplicio prætexi poſſit. Malim dogmata ipſis eorum, qui ea profeſſi fuerint, verbis legere expreſſa; ſic certus forem, me non legere conſequentias, ſed ipſa dogmata, eaque non terminis odioſis concepta, forte in alienum ſenſum detorta, ſed ipſis autorum verbis nude & candide enuntiata, nihilque continentia niſi quod ipſe, cujus cauſa agitur, pro ſuo agnoſcit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad ſancti tribunalis inſtar omnia exacte eſſe conformata, non ſine dolore, agnoſco. Bartholomæi Legati ſupplicium, verum ſuppreſſo illius nomine, laudat Caſaubonus, in epiſtola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani ſupplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke in Antinicæniſmo contra Bullum, *p.* 30. Utriuſque autem latius deſcribit Gerardus Croeſius Hiſtoriæ Quakerianæ, *lib.* iii. *p.* 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum ſuppliciorum ignarus ſim, rem mihi feciſti longe gratiſſimam, quod pleniorem hæreſium ipſis attributarum, hiſtoriam miſeris: multa hactenus mihi ignorata, & ſcopo meo apprime inſervientia, me docuiſti. Verum unum eſt quod deſidero, nomen autoris ex quo hiſtoriam Legati & Wightmani habes: illud enim in epiſtola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortaſſe calami feſtinatione, commiſſum eſt. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicenſi 13 Maij, & poſtea 12 ejuſdem menſis illum vivicomburium paſſum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc ſupplicia legi in Burneti Hiſtoria Reform. Eccl. Angl. ad annum 1549, ſub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, ſeu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque ſatis diſtincte deſcriptum: itaque nihil eſt quod hic deſidero.

Verum in Mennonitarum ſcriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio ſub Elizabetha ſævam contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos excitatam perſecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cœtus ſuos in Anglia fuiſſe diſturbatos, aliquot ſuorum in carcerem conjectos, quorum quinque, poſt varias diſputationes & comminationes mortis, ad profeſſionem religionis reformatæ adacti ſunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico ſpectaculo fuere expoſiti, ſingulorumque humero rogus fuit impoſitus, quod deſignabatur ignis ſupplicium fuiſſe meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus ſunt impoſitæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæſus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire juſſus, intentata pœna mortis ſi redirent. Quinque viri in ſqualido ac profundo carcere detenti ſunt, quorum unus in carcere diem ſuum obiit. Miniſtri Belgicarum & Gallicarum Eccleſiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in ſuam ſententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julij die 22. duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis ſupplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combuſti & in cineres redacti ſunt, &c. Hiſtoriam hanc ſatis diſtincte, multiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hiſce nihil prorſus ſcribit Camdenus; ſolummodo ad annum 1560. refert Elizabetham anabaptiſtas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex tranſmarinis regionibus ſpecie declinandæ perſecutionis convolârant, & ſectarum virus in Anglia ſparſerant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâſſe, ſive illi indigenæ ſive exteri, ſub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amiſſionis. Velim ſcire ſi levi labore fieri poſſit, an quæ de ſupplicio hoc narrant ſcriptores Angli conſentanea, ſint illis quæ hic ex Mennonitarum ſcriptis excerpſi. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde chriſtianæ charitati adverſari videtur tribunal de fide, ſive id prope Tiberim, ſive Lemanum, ſive Thameſin conſtituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut noſtrate proverbio dicitur, idem eſt Monachus, ſed alio indutus cucullo.

Judicium

Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire geſtio. In hoc argumento quæſtionis cardinem verti à veſtratibus credi miror. Ego nihil cauſæ principali contra Judæos deeſſe credo, etiamſi hoc argumento deſtituatur. D. Clerici Epiſtolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 6 Nov. 1699.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

REcte quidem mones, Vir ampliſſime, errore feſtinantis calami tranſpoſiti ſunt characteres numerales, & 12 ſcriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maij Hammontus paſſus eſt vivicomburium. Quereris inſuper, idque non ſine cauſa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo hiſtoriam Legati & Wightmanni hauſi, omiſſerim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea eſt. Libellus proſtat Anglicè, cui titulus, *The Hiſtory of the firſt fourteen Years of King James*; i. e. Hiſtoria quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi Regis. Autor nomen ſuum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus cui titulus, *A true Relation of the Commiſſions and Warrants for the condemnation and burning of* Bartholomew Legatt, *and* Edward Wightman, *the one in* Weſt-Smithfield, *the other in* Litchfield, *in the Year* 1611, *ſigned with King* James's *own Hand.*

De Mennonitis quod quæris nondum aliquid ex noſtris hiſtoricis eruere mihi contigit quod tibi ſatisfaciat, vel lucem afferat: forſan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus ſint ſcriptores quos conſulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam deſiderato opere quicquam quod in me eſt opis tibi deſit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut ſi qua opera reperire poſſit inter authores noſtros illius rei monumenta, id totum, quicquid eſt, excerptum ad me tranſmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua teſtimonia ad rem tuam facientia mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confeſtim tranſmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum quamprimum prodiit coëmi animo legendi, ſed otioſe hactenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum ſive per valetudinem ſive per alias avocationes legere licuit, ſpero propediem pinguius & fructuoſius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxam credunt doctrinam trinitatis, Judæis tribuere & ſtabilimentum iſtius dogmatis è ſynagoga petere. Alii è contra dictitant hoc jugulum cauſæ eſſe; & hoc fundamento ſtabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia Unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipſa res doceat aveo videre, opem enim in hac cauſa à Judæis & Rabbinis olim non expectavi. Sed lux ſemper gratiſſima undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Maſham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Noſque omnes tibi tuiſque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 6 Jan. 1700.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquoſque noſtros quæſo meo nomine officioſiſſime ſalutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus ſæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUod hactenus ad amiciſſimas tuas ſiluerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa reſponſum diſtulere; præcipue quidem triſtis ille caſus tibi ſatis notus, & mœror inde contractus. Ego ad ſtudia, hoc infelici caſu multum languentia, reverſus ſum; recuperata jam ſanitate,

quæ

quæ valde afflicta fuit. Relegi epistolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum responsum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propositum meum promovere contendis, citius merebatur responsum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum est silentium. Verum vidi reverendissimum episcopum Bathonienſem & Wellenſem in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnasse. Ego velim genuinum statum controversiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candide ac solide in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorem tractatum & animum non studio partium abreptum, sed veritatis sincere studiosum requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice scriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, *Le Platonisme devoilé*. Autorem jam obiisse præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia scriptus, indeque huc missus ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus sit tractatus, multis displiciturum credo: & licet ego discrepantes de religione sententias sine ulla erga autores indignatione investigare soleo, non possum tamen dissimulare, aculeatos ipsius sarcasmos in materia sacra mihi quam maxime displicere: licet enim credere posset, adversarios quos oppugnat illos meruisse; materiæ tamen quam tractat majestas cohibere eum debuisset, ne hic quicquam gravitati christianæ adversum immisceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejusmodi sarcasmis adversariorum contra se hac suos indignationem, alias satis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam esse missa; quare à te visum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum scripsisse aiunt, eumque jam sub prælo esse, ac brevi proditurum: Weeyenum habuere continuum instigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipsi sub specioso defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in se ac inglorium laborem susciperent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinozæ, è libris editis eradere possunt; neque inficiari eadem esse quæ in Spinoza, & parentis sui Synopsi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæstio facti est, quæ prolatis ex utroque autore testimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contemnere possum. Vale, Vir ampliſſime. Salveat Domina Masham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod. 11 *Maii*, 1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Amplissime Vir,

ANte hebdomadas aliquot tuo nomine mihi datus est præstantissimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi quas possum maximas ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc instant feriæ meæ quibus ejus lectionem destinavi. Materiæ enim quæ in illo tractatur gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis nostratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingravescentem & valetudinem minus firmam honoratissimi muneris ante aliquot annos tibi demandati dimissionem obtinuisse. Equidem institutum tuum minime improbare possum, quinimo laude dignum censeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies procul à strepitu politico, quieti, studiis ac meditationibus sacris consecrare, quam negotiis honestis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquilitatem spectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor ut senectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magisque exornet, ac quic-

quicquid corpuſculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & ſpiritus robore compenſet.

Tandem prodiit contra me *Burmannorum Pietas*, is libri titulus eſt: mole ingens, verboſus, contumelioſis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis refertus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem ſuum uterinum, à civitate Leidenſi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis ſuæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam ſed cum nauſea; & niſi in me ſcriptus fuiſſet liber, lectionem abſolvere non potuiſſem. Illi in eo ſummis viribus probare nituntur, parentem ſuum à me Spinoſiſmi accuſatum; & eum prolixe excuſare contendunt. Ægerrime ferunt, parenti ſuo à me aſcribi imprudentiam, & quod ſine judicio Spinozam ſecutus ſit. Aiunt parentem ſuum hæc ex Spinoza cum judicio exſcripſiſſe, ut mere Carteſiana: Spinozam enim in eo libro ſuam doctrinam nec aperte inculcâſſe, nec tecte inſinuâſſe, ſed ſola Carteſii dogmata tradidiſſe. Verum ego non credo Carteſianos hæc quatuor pro ſuis agnituros. 1. Tota natura naturata non eſt niſi unicum ens. 2. Poſſibilitas & contingentia non ſunt affectiones rerum, ſed intellectus noſtri defectus. 3. Si homines clare totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque neceſſaria reperirent, ac omnia illa quæ in Matheſi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari poſſe: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinozæ libro diſertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcaſmis plurimis in paralleliſmum inter Spinozæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere aut falſi arguere poſſunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præſertim cum ob molem ſuam non diſtrahatur & à nemine legatur.

Verſiculos in me narratur ſcribere Cinna:
Non ſcribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicunque meam contra Weeyenum defenſionem legerit, nova defenſione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis ſatisfecero. Vale, Vir ampliſſime.

Amſtelod. 20 *Julij*, 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

HAC æſtate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas perveniſſe ſpero. Dolerem ſi aberrâſſent. Nunc ad te mitto Vitam Epiſcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôſti, à me lingua Belgica ſcriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Epiſcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te miſi. Quoniam nunc Latino ſermone prodit, à noſtro Marco Teute cum in Anglia eſſet verſa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominæ Maſham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu rogo. Videbis ibi ſpecimen aliquod perſecutionis in patria noſtra, libertatis aſylo inſtitutæ; unde quomodo erga integras eccleſias, & ingenuos veritatis confeſſores, paſſim ſævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc ſævitiam deteſtentur! verum qua nunc fruimur quietem non moderatioribus Eccleſiaſtarum conſiliis, ſed magiſtratus prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ niſi igneum illorum zelum compeſceret, eadem nos hodie quæ olim majores noſtros procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditiſſimi partem maxima cum voluptate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phraſium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam diſtincte percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda ſunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardiorem reddit: verum moleſtiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumentorumque

torumque quibus eam adſtruis pondere abunde compenſas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. *de la puiſſance*, ubi prolixe de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo diſſeris, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi judicium ſcribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te diſſenſurum, adeo omnia quæ legi mihi probantur. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & ſalve à me ac meis: ſalutem etiam officioſiſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 30 *Octob.* 1700.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

PRælegit mihi hiſce diebus Guenellonus noſter epiſtolam tuam, quæ te cum aſthmate graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non ſine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepiſſe; cum circa finem menſis Octobris tertias ſcripſerim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Epiſcopii à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Franciſco Cudworth-Maſham, una cum literis ad ipſum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Faſciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo deſtinata erant Rev. Epiſcopis Salisburienſi, ac Bathonienſi & Wellenſi. Doleo interim etiam epiſtolam aberrâſſe, in qua ſcripſi magnam me libri tui partem legiſſe, omniaque maximopere mihi probari. Poſtea retulit mihi amicus, ſe Carteſii quoſdam ſequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, conveniſſe; illis maxime diſplicuiſſe duo, quæ ego veriſſima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non eſſe nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Carteſii ſequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & ſententiæ tuæ applaudantes. Ego ſumma delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phraſeon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione aſſequar, præſertim in materia ſubtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut diſtincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratiſſimum foret, ſi librum tuum latinitate donatum conſpicere quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ ſcripſiſti intelligerem, & fortaſſe de quibuſdam quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſiſti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi ſcribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obſcuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidâſſe; ſed neſcio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & ſi quid occurrat ad quod hæſito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te ſcribam, plane perſuaſus dilucida tua explicatione omnem (ſi quæ ſit) obſcuritatem diſparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi confiteor, mœrorem ſæpe meditationes meas, quas ſtudiis conſecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honeſta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tædium diluam, incepi Commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum conſcribere, ſed nova quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere poteſt. Itaque omiſſa critica aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præſcripſi; ut ex hiſtoria apoſtolorum, variiſque illius circumſtantiis, ac præſertim eorum concionibus, religionis chriſtianæ veritatem & divinitatem aſſeram, & qua methodo apoſtoli contra Judæos eam adſtruxerint oſtendam. In hiſce explicandis prolixior paullo ſum: reliqua huc non ſpectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos diſputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum eſt; &

apoſto-

apoſtolos duces ſequi præſtat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, Vir ampliſſime. Deus priſtinam tibi reſtituat ſanitatem, ut quoad vivis egregiis tuis laboribus publico inſervire poſſis. Salutant te quam officioſiſſime uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 18 *Feb.* 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir colendiſſime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præſentis Februarij datis probe ſentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis ſit tua erga me amicitia, cum tribus ante miſſis ad me ſilentem literis quartas addere non dedignatus es, ſine reprehenſione ulla tantæ & tam criminoſæ taciturnitatis. Ignoſcis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non cauſabor. Penultimas tuas cum faſciculo librorum vel amiſſas vel in itinere male hærentes maxime dolco, quod crediderim te ſenſum tuum de libro meo jam tum cum ſcriberes perfecto liberius explicuiſſe. Quod de iis quæ de libertate hominis in volendo ſcripſerim aliquantum hæſitas non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omittendum cenſui, ſed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipſius & novitate & ſubtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores aliis aſſueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perſpecto ubique animi mei ſenſu offenderentur, & ea quæ in iſto parergo commentatus ſum vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconſulte errantis ſphalmata negligerent ſi non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiareſque meos de hoc uno ſubjecto mecum ſeruere ſermones quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuiſſe cui ſcrupulum quo detinebatur, non exemi, ſi modo dabatur otium ſenſim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati non meæ quantulæcunque mediocritati tribuendum cenſeo. Quod ſi tibi nova recenſione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, perſuaſum tibi ſit nihil acceptius mihi fore quam errores meos amica manu detegi eoque ipſo evelli: non enim famæ nec opinioni ſed veritati ſoli litandum cenſeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, diſputationes noſtras in unam eandemque ſententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem ſtudioſe quærimus.

Gaudeo te Commentarium in Acta Apoſtolorum meditari, & ejuſmodi interpretandi methodum quæ non hæreat in criticis obſervationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, ſcopus geniuſque religionis chriſtianæ quam in ea hiſtoria. Quid enim magis genuinum ſincerumque evangelii ſenſum nobis indicare poſſit, quam primæ illæ apoſtolorum prædicationes quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Chriſti convertebant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; Laudo conſilium tuum quod *Burmannorum Pietati* minime reſpondendum cenſueris: hujuſmodi vitilitigantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum noſtrum in fermento eſt, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter diſputationes politicas eccleſiaſticaſque. Quorſum tandem res evadet neſcio. Quid minatur turbo video: exitum non video. Tranquilitati quantum poſſum ſtudeo. Deus optimus maximus eccleſiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conſervet; Sic precatur

Ootes, 22 *Febr.* 170$\frac{0}{1}$.

Tui obſervantiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

NUper Tranſiſalani rigoris in cauſa religionis minime excuſandi exemplum præbuere vere deteſtandum. Quidam miniſter Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim ſynodo ſuſpectus fuit ſocinianiſmi, & illius Hæreſeos coram ordinibus Tranſiſalanis à miniſtris eccleſiæ publicæ accuſatus. Itaque à muneris ſui functione ſuſpenſus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio eccleſia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Poſt longam actionem, cum miniſtri accuſationem ſuam probare non poſſent, ipſe ad eccleſiam ſuam fuit remiſſus, eique injunctum, ut ſibi à dogmatibus ſocinianis docendis caveret, ſub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes chriſtianorum ſectas ſuadet, etiam cum ſocinianis; qua occaſione imprudentius quædam pro ſocinianis ſcripſit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic ſi contemptus fuiſſet, vix inveniſſet lectores: verum ſcis gentem illam ſacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad Satrapam diſtrictus Vollenho, à deputatis claſſis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello ſupplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum ſocinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit; ſed etiam audaciſſime edidit, & ſparſit, iiſque intolerandos ſarcaſmos ac blaſphemias admiſcuit, ab ipſo Satrapa compellatur coram proxima Synodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commiſſa teſtari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac ſupprimatur: impenſæ quas claſſis ob hanc cauſam ſuſtinere debuit ab ipſo reſtituantur, ipſeque propter crimen commiſſum pœna arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit, hominemque ad ſynodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos ſubſcribendos, quibus continebatur confeſſio, quod contra mandatum Ordinum libellum iſtum edidiſſet, quod ipſum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quod omnia libelli ſui exemplaria eſſet ſuppreſſurus; aliaque quibus ipſe ſubſcribere recuſavit. Inſtabant aliqui ex miniſtris, imo obteſtabantur ut ſubſcriberet: verum ille conſtanter recuſavit. Poſtea dicitur compertum fuiſſe, illos id adeo ardenter cupiviſſe, ut haberent reum confitentem, & ſic propria ſua confeſſione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc geſta ſunt media æſtate anni CIↃ IↃC XCIX. Proximo Januario anni ſequentis à Satrapa in carcerem eſt conjectus, & poſt longam novem vel decem menſium incarcerationem tandem ſententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris ſqualore emaciato, mulcta irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras veſtras ſterlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus è carcere pronuntiatur, niſi ſoluta pecunia. Ille cum ſolvendo non eſſet, utpote pauper, in tetrum, fœtidum ac tenebroſum carcerem ſubterraneum detruditur; ubi poſtquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipſi mandatum exhibetur menſe Novembri proxime elapſo, quo ipſe errores libello ipſius contentos diſſeminare prohibetur; ſub pœna ſi ſecus fecerit cataſtæ & exilii, ſine ulla ulteriore forma proceſſus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miſer ad extremam inopiam redactus eſt: omni illius divendita ſupellectile, quæ tamen neutiquam explere potuit mulctam in quam condemnatus erat. Non poſſum excuſare illius imprudentiam: verum nec poſſum quin deteſter hanc ſævitiam, præſertim quando in extenſione ſententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta quibus dura hæc ſententia innititur. Sic ſenſim ad deteſtandum illud Inquiſitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione *cap.* xxi. *lib.* ii. tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phraſes quas in materia hac controverſa adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepiſſe, à qua ego non diſſentio. §. 6. optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates revera ab anima diſtinctas, ſed mentem ipſam humanam immediate per ſe ipſam intelligere & velle. Inde infers non recte voluntatem dici liberam, ſed hominem: recte etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, §. 24. liber-

libertatem conſiſtere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo ſolo: non puto id te reſtringere ad ſolas actiones externas, ſed & extendere ad internas, ſeu cogitationes noſtras; illæ enim non minus quam actiones externæ ſubjectæ ſunt arbitrio noſtro: idque conſentaneum eſt iis, quæ in ſequentibus capitis illius ſcribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum eſt, quid ſit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet. Ego hactenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, ſeu voluptatem eſſe id quod hominem allicit, illique oppoſitum dolorem eſſe malum quod homo averſatur: adeoque quodcunque homo vult, id ab eo conſiderari ut jucundum, quod vero averſatur & fugit ut moleſtum. Non negas tu illud quinimo id etiam urges, § 41, & ſeqq. Verum ut diſtinctius oſtendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, §. 29. & ſeqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in ſe experitur, aut ex præſentia doloris, aut ex abſentia boni ſeu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel ſaltem partem ſuæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in ſtatu ſuo acquieſcit, nullam illius mutationem quærit; ſed ſolummodo quando in ſtatu ſuo non acquieſcit, ſeu quandam inquietudinem, ſive ex præſentia doloris, ſive ex abſentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis ſuæ partem conſiderat, in ſe ſentit. In his facile tibi aſſentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare deſiderium, non tamen inde ſequi majus bonum ſemper in nobis majus deſiderium excitare. Quod veriſſimum eſt & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo conſiſtere, quod poſſit ſuſpendere impletionem cujuſcunque deſiderii ſui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum poſt aliud conſiderandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte obſervandi, ac inter ſe comparandi, antequam ſe determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnoſco. Inde jam infers, *indifferentiam*, quæ non poſſit determinari per ultimum judicium quod homo fert de bono & malo, cujus electionem ſequendam credit, eſſe ſummam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonſtrantium ſcrip is ſæpe vox *indifferentia* occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc ſenſu accipitur, quod poſito illo ultimo judicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis conſiſtit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi ſit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: ſed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet ſe in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppoſitorum determinatus eſt: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, ſeu volendi actu indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puto nos conſentire. Reliqua capitis iis quæ jam recenſita ſunt magis illuſtrandis ac confirmandis inſerviunt. Puto me hic ſententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepiſſe. Nec eſt quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam diſtinctius, & clarioribus quam hactenus à noſtris factum eſt terminis ac phraſibus poſſe exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut ſi quid omiſerim, quod, ut ſententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in ſententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam prout eam percepi etiam meam eſſe agnoſco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibuſdam diſſentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre geſtio, ut exiguus qui forte reſtare poſſet diſſenſus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite conſuliſſe non miror. Materia eſt intricata & diverſis philoſophorum ac theologorum ſententiis ſemper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, *Epiſcopius* in tractatu de *libero arbitrio* & contra Cameronem eam clarius explicuit, oſtenditque intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas facultates revera inter ſe & ab anima diſtinctas, uti hactenus in ſcholis creditum fuit, ſed animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iiſdem tecum vocibus ac phraſibus utatur, in ſumma tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, eſt conſenſus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere ſtatui; ſecunda enim lectione multo diſtinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolumem ac proſpera fruentem valetudine conſervet. Uxor ac filia te ſalutant. Salveat quam officioſiſſime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Maſham ejuſque liberi. Vale.

Amſtelod. 30 *Mar.* 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHI-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MAgno honori mihi eſſe duco quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non diſplicuiſſe gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem conſiſtere dico, §. 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id reſtringo ad ſolas actiones externas, uti conſtat ex §. 8, 38. aliiſque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis quod *quicquid homo vult ab eo conſiderari ut jucundum*, metuo ne *voluntatem* cum *deſiderio* confundas. Quod à pleriſque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non ſine magno veritatis vel ſaltem perſpicuitatis incommodo. *Deſiderium* fertur in jucundum fateor, ſed *voluntas* fertur ſolum in actiones noſtras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia *voluntas* raro agit niſi ducente *deſiderio*, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque ſumuntur, cum toto cœlo diſtent, §. 30, 40. *Cupido* enim paſſio eſt mota à bono abſente. *Volitio* autem actus *voluntatis* vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, ſcil. illa qua cupit aliquid, & illa qua determinat vel imperat aliquid agendum, niſi diſtinguantur probe, nihil dilucide, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate ſtatui poteſt: ideoque ſpero ignoſces mihi quod de iſta loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de ſumma rei à me omnino non diſſentias. In uſu vocis *indifferentia* quod à veſtris differam non mirum eſt, dum in his ſcribendis nec aliorum placita ſecutus ſum, nec vel ſcripta omnino conſuluerim, ſed quæ res ipſæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione aſſequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptiſſimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur uſu nulla inter nos erit diſputatio, modo de re ipſa conſtet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, iſta antecedens *indifferentia* hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem ſive decretum voluntatis, ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quia libertas unice conſiſtit in potentia agendi vel non agendi ſecundum determinationem voluntatis. Diſputare autem an homo ante ultimum judicium intellectus libertatem habet ſe determinandi ad alterutrum oppoſitorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo ſive de re impoſſibili diſputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorſum attinet rogare, an homo poteſt ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum ſe determinare in ſtatu, in quo ſe non poteſt omnino determinare? Nam ante judicium intellectus non poteſt ſe omnino determinare, ideoque fruſtra quæritur an in illo ſtatu libertatem habet ſe determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem poteſt ſe determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate ſe in alterutram partem determinandi ante judicium intellectus, mihi videntur (ignoſcas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæſtionem de libertate: quæ ne ſupponi quidem debet nec poteſt, in ſtatu in quo manifeſtum eſt quod homo ut agens liberum non poteſt agere, cum libertas, ut dixi, conſiſtat in ſola potentia agendi vel non agendi conſequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem ſæpe uſu venit. Diſputantium fervor & partium ſtudium rebus per ſe claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquiſitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & abſurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem viciſſim expectans; ſi enim tu meæ vel ego tuæ opinioni aſſentior, perinde eſt veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur ſententia quæ verior, & in ea conſentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, ſi quid minus recte dictum vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, Vir optime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 21 *Maij*, 1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIP-

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

EOdem die quo nuperrime ad te mane ſcripſi, literas tuas 27 Maij datas veſperi accepi. Vitam Epiſcopii ſumma cum voluptate perlegi. Hiſtoria placet, res geſtæ plane diſplicent. Doleo ſane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter queſti ſunt, imitatos. Sed ſcire juvat quod cognitum laudare non poſſis. Inquiſitionem quæ in eccleſia Romana lentius ſuccrevit, uno quaſi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conſpicere mihi videor. An has proteſtantium inter ſe inimicitias & mutuas perſecutiones jam caſtigaturus ſit Deus, neſcio: hoc ſaltem credo, theologorum ambitioſa diſſidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hoſtibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad perſecutionem tam proclives animos perſecutione catholica puniat. Unum eſt quod in libro tuo deſidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonſtrantium, quorum tam frequens eſt mentio. Hos vel quod in propera lectione non obſervatos præterierim, vel quod eos Hiſtoriæ tuæ non inſeruiſti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eos legere poſſim, magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbebunt cauſam Remonſtrantium penitus cognoſcere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam Hiſtoriam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni chriſtianæ. Vale & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun. 1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH, *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

VItam Epiſcopij tibi, ſummi judicii viro, non diſplicuiſſe eſt quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi eſſe præterita, quia nobis notiſſima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem articulos noſtros, quorum decidendorum cauſa ſynodus Dordracena convocata fuit nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione ſententiæ Arminij, *p.* 6. in Vita Epiſcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Exſtant autem in Remonſtrantia Ordinibus Hollandiæ CIↃ IↃ CX oblata, quam reperies in Epiſtolis præſtantium Virorum à me editis n° cxlv. *p.* 254. vel in Hiſtoria Quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglica, *cap.* 5. *p.* 50. Si altera Vitæ Epiſcopii editio aliquando prodeat, poſſem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non ſine Epiſcopio geſta, aut ipſum ipſiuſve conſanguineos ſpectantia hic illic inſerere, quæ ad Hiſtoriæ noſtræ cognitionem penitiorem haud exigui futura ſunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noſter ſenior hiſtoriam uſque ad finem anni CIↃ IↃ CXXIII. in qua gravis illa contra noſtros perſecutio exacte deſcribitur: verum ille hactenus lucem non adſpexit; & præ metu ne edatur, ſynodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis ſuis in mandatis dedit, ut ſollicite invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim myſteria illa iniquitatis revelare. Utinam hiſtoriam ſuam continuâſſet ad annum uſque CIↃ IↃC XXXII. quo perſecutioni ubique ferme in patria noſtra finis eſt impoſitus, nobiſque palam in cœtus religioſos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectione deprehendere poſſes veritatem dicti cujuſdam Monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epiſtola ad Caſparum Verheiden, inter Epiſt. ſelectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Baudio & Heinſio editas, cent. 2. epiſt. 51. *Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam fuiſſe, atque illorum quos tantopere inceſſerent: videre ſe plane, antequam per ſæculorum intervallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii eccleſiaſtici fore rationem.* Scripta eſt hæc epiſtola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi,

Legi, relegi, & ſerio expendi quæ de libertate ſcribis; ſed non deprehendi illum inter nos eſſe conſenſum, quem lecto illo *de potentia* capite credidi. Quia uterque unice veritatem quærimus, paullo diſtinctius terminos quibus uſus ſum explicabo, & ſi qui aptiores ſint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perſpicuitatem; & in veritatis inquiſitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem quantum fieri poteſt vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud eſſe deſiderium non voluntatem. Deſiderium enim ferri in bonum abſens; volitionem autem eſſe actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc diſcrimen admitto, & ut perſpicuitatis cauſa unicuique verbo ſuam tribuamus ſignificationem utile eſſe exiſtimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa deſideramus quæ tamen non volumus. Eſt enim deſiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; ſicut & voluptas alia eſt completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in ſcholis vocant *velleïtatem*, qua deſignamus non quid homo proprie velit, ſed quid vellet. Prudentis eſt ex multis deſiderabilius illud eligere ſibique omnium ſuarum actionum finem proponere, quod undequaque eſt perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes quæ rem deſiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit ſine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo decernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, ſibi omnium ſuarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte poſſe dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum ſemper ab ipſo apprehendi ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, ſed debere appellari deſiderium, quia fertur in bonum abſens, te termino non contendam, modo de illius ſignificatione conſtet. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus deſiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis deſideria confundamus, & deſideria completa diſtinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleïtates, voce in ſcholis uſitata appellari ſolent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare poſſis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri poteſt, obſcuritas & ambiguitas in ſermone noſtro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem *indifferentia*, certum eſt noſtros ea non raro eſſe in hac materia uſos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin ſi commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi ſimus; eoque magis quia videmus philoſophos Carteſianos eâ ſenſu à noſtro plane alieno uti: illis enim *indifferentia* eſt fluctuatio judicii; quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta eſt quid ſibi eligendum ſit. Nobis vero *indifferentia* eſt vis illa animæ, qua poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis poteſt agere vel non agere. Verum in tota hac de libertate diſputatione video ſæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut ſaltem in ambiguum ſenſum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem ſignificatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes diſceptationes & λογομαχίαι vitari poſſent. Nunc quoniam in ſignificatione verborum convenire non poſſumus, neceſſe eſt ut quiſque explicet, quo ſignificatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipſam video nos diſſentire. Dicis, *Iſta antecedens indifferentia, qua homo ante determinationem ſive decretum voluntatis ſupponitur libertatem habere ſe determinandi ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, non omnino mihi videtur ſpectare ad quæſtionem de libertate; quia libertas unice conſiſtit in potentia agendi vel non agendi ſecundum determinationem voluntatis.* Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice conſiſtere in potentia qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare: & ſi eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quod non ſit liber, neque ullus ſtatus concipi poſſit in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum noſtrarum domina eſt, eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur, ſi determinatio voluntatis non ſit libera, nec in actionibus noſtris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones noſtræ voluntatis determinationem neceſſario ſequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non poteſt ſe omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic ſententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum judicium intellectus ſignificetur propius explicandum eſt, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis in oratione noſtra aliqua ſit obſcuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus judicium vocant, quo homo decernit quid ſibi faciendum ſit, idque

vocant

vocant ultimum judicium practicum intellectus; verum hoc judicium non eſt tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel ſaltem actus mixtus, ad cujus complementum voluntas concurrit. Judicium autem quod ſolius intellectus actus eſt, non ulterius procedit quam hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulterius ſi procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea eſt ſententia hominem, quando rectæ rationi conſentaneæ agit, ſemper velle quod intellectus judicat oportere fieri: poſſe tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat, poſſe bruto impetu agere non quod rationi conſentaneum eſt, ſed quod concupiſcentia dictat. Hic ſi homo non habet libertatem ſe determinandi aut non determinandi, & actionem ſuam ſuſpendendi, videre nequeo in quo libertas conſiſtat. Eandem tuam eſſe putabam ſententiam, idque colligebam ex §. 47. capitis ſupra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, *animam quæ habet potentiam ſuſpendendi impletionem cujuſcunque deſiderii ſui, ſicuti evidenter patet per experientiam, conſequenter etiam habere libertatem ea ſucceſſive unum poſt alterum conſiderandi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte obſervandi, & inter ſe comparandi; & in hoc conſiſtere libertatem hominis:* omnemque erroris & vitiorum originem inde arceſſis, *quod præcipitemus judicium, voluntatemque noſtram cito nimis determinemus, & actioni nos accingamus antequam bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oporteat.* Hæc aliaque quæ ibi addis veriſſima eſſe judico; iiſque plane aſſentior. Verum hæc cum iis quæ epiſtola ſcribis, *quod homo ante judicium intellectus ſe non poteſt omnino determinare,* conciliare non poſſum. Fortaſſe mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, ſi grave non ſit, ut oſtendas, qua ratione hæc inter ſe conciliare debeam, & diſtinctius quod ego non plene percepi explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phraſi aut voci, ita ſum addictus, quin meliora monſtranti cedere paratus ſim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam ſi invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc ſcripſeram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono ego ſummas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantiſſima verſione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero, candide tibi judicium meum ſcribam, non quia neceſſe eſt, ſed quia id à me exigis, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnoſco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ verſionis lectione percepi, me ſententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: ſi vero ad quædam hæſitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorem eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodeſſe poſſis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ. Vale

Amſtelod. 19 *Julij,* 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUod omnis obſcuritas & ambiguitas in verborum uſu ſit vitanda tecum plane ſentio: verum liceat mihi adjicere, quod hoc ſæpe non ſit etiam à volentibus evitare obſcuritatem. Ideæ, quæ obverſantur hominum mentibus, præſertim eorum qui veritatem attentiùs quærunt, multo plures ſunt quam voces cujuſvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ ſunt. Hinc fit quod homines (quibus integrum non eſt nova vocabula quoties opus eſt ad novas ideas ſignificandas ad libitum procudere) eadem voce pro diverſis ideis, præſertim ſi cognatæ ſint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro ſermonis obſcuritas & incertus ſenſus, quando ad præciſiones accuratas veniendum

eſt, quo non ſolum audientium ſed & ipſorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ propoſui, *lib.* iii. *cap.* xi. huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, ſc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes ſimplices ideas quæ ingrediuntur compoſitionem cujuſlibet ideæ complexæ cujus nomen uſurpamus, eaſque eidem voci affixas ſedulo in animo teneamus. *V. g.* in argumento quod præ manibus habemus, ſi *voluntas* ſignificat potentiam quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis ſui, ut ego fuſius explicui, *lib.* ii. *cap.* xxi. §. 5, &c. in quo tu etiam acquieſcere videris: ſi hæc, inquam, ſit idea quam vox *voluntas* ſignificat, eamque præſentem in animo habemus quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius eſſe poteſt, quam quod voluntas terminatur ſolummodo in actionibus noſtris, nec poteſt, ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & abſens. Adeoque ſi contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum ut finem, recedis ab ea idea quam huic voci aſſignavimus, aliamque ſubſtituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diverſas res deſignamus quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino poſſumus inter nos de voluntate diſſerentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox *voluntas* ſignum eſt, ut de ſenſu vocis, i. e. de re qua diſſerimus conveniamus.

Diſtinctio de *deſiderio completo & incompleto*, ſive de *voluntate completa & incompleta*, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod ſit *incompletum deſiderium*, vel *incompleta voluntas*, quod ſane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut ſit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua poteſt eſſe *incompleta volitio*; *voluntas* enim hic, ni fallor, ſumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facilè agnoſco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralyſi ſolutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & ſine ſucceſſu eſt iſta volitio, ſed non *incompleta*. Actus enim volendi hoc in caſu æque completus eſt, ac olim quando manus volitioni obſequebatur. Itidem deſiderium alicujus propoſiti boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatibile proſequi negligimus, non eſt *incompletum deſiderium*, nec *incompleta voluntas*, ſed deſiderium completum brevi terminatum, eouſque non procedens ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones quibus obtineri poſſit illud bonum in quod ferebatur breve illud deſiderium: nec *incompleta* dici poteſt *voluntas*, ubi nulla omnino eſt volitio, etiamſi ſcholæ *velleitatem* appellare amant. Quod ſi breve illud deſiderium eouſque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem excitet, *voluntas* illa non eſt *incompleta*, ſed completus actus volendi, etiamſi omiſſa ulteriore inefficax ſit ad obtinendum bonum propoſitum quod ceſſante deſiderio negligitur. In his & hujuſmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres ſunt motus animi, & inter ſe conjuncti, ut non mirum ſit, quod ſæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius conſideranti diſtinguenda ſunt, ut recte conceptus noſtros formemus. Vis libere dicam quid hac de re ſentio. Homo fertur in bonum abſens ſive finem. Multis ſimul intellectui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, ſibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut proſequendum, hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propoſitionem iſtius boni, ut finis, fateor non raro dicitur vulgo quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philoſophicam decet ἀκρίβειαν, tu judices.

Quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis in uſu verborum, quæ irrepit ſubinde nobis inſciis, patet, ut mihi videtur, ex iis quæ in epiſtola tua ſequuntur. In priore epiſtola libens & aperte mecum conſentire videris, quod actiones ſunt agentium ſive ſubſtantiarum, & non potentiarum ſive facultatum: & tamen hic uſitata loquendi forma te abduci pateris, diciſque quod *voluntas eſt actionum noſtrarum domina eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & ſimilia paſſim in toto illo epiſtolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni feciſſes nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis eſſet. Hoc non dico quod adeo delicatulus ſim, ut hujuſmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati poſſim: earum uſus in ſermone familiari, ſi rectè intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus. Quando vero in diſceptationibus philoſophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quaſi iis inniteretur rerum veritas,

omnino

omnino rejiciendæ ſunt metaphoricæ & tralaticiæ hujuſmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: reſque ipſæ, uti revera ſunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v. g. dicere *quod voluntas ſit actionum noſtrarum domina eaſque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & inde arguere quod *niſi voluntas ſit libera nulla erit in homine libertas*, eſt, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. *Libertas* apud me *eſt poteſtas hominis agendi vel non agendi ſecundum ſuam voluntatem*; ſcilicet ſi homo poteſt agere hoc, ſi vult agere hoc; & abſtinere è contra ab agendo hoc, quando vult abſtinere ab agendo hoc, eo in caſu liber eſt homo. Hanc eſſe veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi conſtare ex iis quæ à me dicta ſunt §. 8. & ſeqq. Quæ ſi vera ſit, inde omnino ſequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monſtravi §. 14. Imo inde ſequitur quod illa *antecedens indifferentia ante decretum voluntatis*, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæſtionem de libertate. Si enim libertas ſit potentia agendi actionem quam vult homo, & viciſſim abſtinendi ab eadem actione, ſi ab ea homo vult abſtinere: quid facit, rogo, iſta antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem quæ eſt potentia agendi vel non agendi conſequenter ad voluntatis determinationem?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quæſtio de iſta veſtra *antecedente indifferentia*, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paullo diſtinctius inquirere. Hæc *indifferentia* definitur à te *vis animi qua poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis poteſt agere vel non agere*. Jam hic rogo an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio ſit unum ex requiſitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio ſit unum ex *requiſitis ad agendum*, veſtra *antecedens indifferentia* nunquam efficiet ut voluntas ſit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adſtrui poſſit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione ſemel intellectui propoſita, voluntas non eſt in ſtatu in quo poteſt agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, conſiſtit libertas) neceſſario debet agere; nec poteſt abſtinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam ſcilicet, vel illius omiſſionem. Imo vero voluntas eo in ſtatu non eſt indifferens ad alterutram partem oppoſitorum, nempe ad actionem propoſitam, vel ejus omiſſionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omiſſionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, ſive cogitatio, non ſit unum ex *requiſitis ad agendum*. Videas quæſo, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis? & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, ſine quo nec eſſe nec ſupponi poteſt libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu deſtitutas nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur quæſo & tecum cogita an libertas hominis recte fundari poteſt in ejuſmodi ſtatu qui excludit cogirationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis? An illa indifferentia pertinere poteſt ad quæſtionem de libertate, quæ ſepoſita cogitatione nullum locum in ſubjecto relinquit libertati?

Hæc omnia ita ſe habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fuſius traditam invenies §. 8, 13. Quod ſi tu aliam iſti voci ſenſum tribuas, forſan hæ omnes evaneſcent difficultates. Sed tunc rogandus es ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, ſi de diverſis rebus ſub eodem nomine differentes nolumus ſine fructu diſputare.

Ex his quæ ſupra dixi mihi conſtare videtur quod libertas nullatenus conſiſtit in indifferentia hominis, ſed ſolummodo in potentia agendi vel non agendi prout volumus. Exemplo forſan res clarior erit. Homo v. g. amat vinum, judicat ſibi bonum eſſe, ex voluntate ſua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia eſt, & tamen libera prorſus eſt hæc actio, quia ſi modo mutaverit voluntatem poteſt abſtinere. Contra homo vinum nec amat nec averſatur, nec judicat ſibi bonum aut malum eſſe, ſupponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abſtinet à vino in carcere ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abſtinentia à potione vini eſt voluntaria fateor, ſed non eſt libera: quoniam homo ille ſi mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo caſu bibere non poteſt. Vides igitur quod indifferentia poteſt eſſe ſine libertate, & libertas ſine indifferentia, & actio voluntaria ſine utraque. Hæc me res ipſæ per ſe planæ docere videntur. Imo vero res ipſæ melius

forſan & ſimplicius nos docerent multa, ſi ſcholarum ſubtilitas in procudendis facultatibus, diſtinctionibus, aliiſque ſpecioſis inventis mire acuta, non obduceret ſæpe rebus in ſe claris operoſam & doctam obſcuritatem.

Dicis porro quod *Libertas conſiſtit in potentia qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare.* Si per *actionem volendi determinare vel non determinare* ſignificas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo conſiſtere non poteſt: quia aliqua actione homini propoſita, homo non poteſt abſtinere à volitione, debet neceſſario velle aut actionem illam propoſitam, aut abſtinentiam ab iſta actione, quantumvis levis & inſtantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio ſemper & neceſſario ſequitur actus volendi, quo actio propoſita vel eligitur vel negligitur: & ita voluntas præcedente cogitatione ſemper determinatur ad agendum, i. e. ad volendum ſcil. exiſtentiam vel non exiſtentiam actionis propoſitæ. Quod ſi per *potentiam qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non determinare,* ſignificas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel ſine prævia cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti ſequentia verba videntur innuere, ubi dicis, *niſi determinatio voluntatis ſit libera,* & loqueris de *bruto impetu:* libertas in hujuſmodi potentia non poteſt conſiſtere. Quia ut dixi libertas ſupponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla eſt cogitatio nulla eſſe poteſt libertas, uti fuſius explicui §. 8, & 9. Porro libertas non poteſt conſiſtere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus, quia homo non habet hujuſmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut illud ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat nunc hoc & nunc illud eſſe melius. Ex quo facile eſt intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante ultimum judicium intellectus homo non poteſt omnino ſe determinare: hocque facile conciliare poſſis cum iis quæ citas ex §. 47. de ſuſpenſione impletionis cujuſcunque deſiderii, ſi modo memineris quod ante unamquamque volitionem præcedit ſemper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judiciumque illud quod immediate præcedit volitionem ſive actum volendi eſt eo in caſu ultimum judicium intellectus. Quod te in diverſum abripuit mihi videtur hoc eſſe, nempe quod ultimum judicium intellectus videris confundere cum maturo & recto judicio, ſi recte capio ſenſum iſtius ſententiæ ubi hæc verba lego: *Intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen judicaverit quid facere oporteat,* &c. Sed id non eſt ultimum judicium de quo ego loquor. Loquor ego de eo judicio quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem, quod revera eſt ultimum judicium ſive bene expenſum ſit & matura deliberatione recoctum, ſive extemporaneum & ſubito impetu enatum, & æque voluntatem determinat, ſive ſit ſive non ſit rationi conſentaneum.

Si meum ſenſum in his ſatis recte & clare expoſui, non apparebit tibi, credo, hæc relegenti tanta inter nos opinionum diſtantia, quantum credidiſti: pro certo habeo nos veritatem utrinque ſincere quærentes non poſſe diu de rebus ipſis diſſentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam in diverſum abire. Sed de rebus ipſis cogitantibus facile erit phraſiologiæ nebulas diſcutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes controverſiæ.

En prolixiore epiſtola tibi explicationem ſententiæ meæ poſcenti, ut potui, morem geſſi. Ignoſcas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum; hoc feci brevitatis cauſa, ne hic in epiſtola ea reſcriberem quæ in libro impreſſo melius legeres.

De duabus verſionibus monere te convenit, ut ſicubi inter ſe diſſentientes reperias de ſenſu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam perlegit, & ubi à ſenſu meo aberrare deprehendi, correxit. Latinam nondum mihi legere contigit. Valetudo & negotia non ſatis otii conceſſerunt. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 12 *Auguſt.* 1701. *Tui amantiſſimum,*

J. LOCKE.

Poſtquam quæ ſupra habentur ſcripſeram, mihi venit in mentem non incommodum fore ſi aliquid libro meo inſererem, ad elucidandam *indifferentiæ* naturam in qua conſiſtit libertas, in gratiam eorum qui *indifferentiam* hoc in argumento

argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omiſſa nihil recte vel clare ſtatui de libertate poſſe exiſtimant. En igitur quæ §. 71. ſubjungenda cenſui. Ego Anglice ſcripſi: Gallice vertit D. Coſte, adeoque ſi probas Gallicæ verſioni libri mei inſerere poſſis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. §. 71. aprés ces mots, *par ſon propre jugement*, ajoutez ce qui ſuit.

Je ſai que certaines gens font conſiſter la Liberté dans une certaine Indifference *de l'homme, antecedente à la determination de ſa* volonté. *Je ſouhaiterois que ceux qui font tant de fonds ſur cette* indifference antecedente, *comme ils parlent, nous euſſent dit nettement ſi cette indifference qu'ils ſuppoſent, précede la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement auſſi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il eſt bien mal-aiſé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux dire immediatement aprés le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la volonté, parce que la détermination de la volonté ſuit immediatement le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifference qui précede la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'eſt, ce me ſemble, faire conſiſter la liberté dans un état de ténebres où nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'eſt: c'eſt du moins la placer dans un ſujet incapable de liberté, nul agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en conſequence de la penſée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoit en luy. Comme je ne ſuis pas délicat en matiere d'expreſſions, je conſens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainſi, que la liberté eſt placée dans l'Indifference; mais c'eſt dans une ſorte d'indifference qui reſte aprés le jugement de l'entendement, & même aprés la détermination de la volonté: ce qui n'eſt pas une indifference de l'homme (car aprés que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il eſt meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'eſt plus indifferent) mais une indifference des puiſſances actives ou operatives de l'homme, leſquelles demeurant tout autant capables d'agir, ou de ne pas agir aprés qu'avant le decret de la volonté, ſont dans un état qu'on peut appeller, ſi l'on veut, indifference: & auſſi loin que s'étend cette indifference, juſques là l'homme eſt libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ay la puiſſance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laiſſer en repos; cette faculté operative eſt indifferente au mouvement & au repos de ma main: je ſuis donc libre à cet egard. Ma volonté vient à determiner cette puiſſance operative au repos, je ſuis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette puiſſance operative qui eſt en moy, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reſte encore; la puiſſance de mouvoir ma main n' étant nullement diminuée par la détermination de ma volonté, qui à preſent ordonne le repos; l'indifference de cette puiſſance à agir ou ne pas agir, eſt juſtement telle qu'elle étoit auparavant, comme il paroit ſi la volonté veut en faire l'epreuve en ordonnant le contraire. Mais ſi pendant que ma main eſt en repos, elle vient à être ſaiſie d'une ſoudaine paralyſie, l'indifference de cette puiſſance operative eſt détruite, & ma liberté avec elle: je n'ay plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je ſuis dans la néceſſité de laiſſer ma main en repos. D'un autre côté ſi ma main eſt miſe en mouvement par une convulſion, l'indifference de cette faculté operative s'évanouit; & en cas là ma liberté eſt detruite; car je me trouve dans la néceſſité de laiſſer mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajoûté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle ſorte d'indifference il me paroit que la liberté conſiſte préciſement, & qu'elle ne peut conſiſter dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.*

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUod tantum mea cauſa laborem ſuſceperis, ut prolixiori epiſtola ſententiam tuam mihi diſtinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epiſtolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis obſervare videor, nos tam ſententiis, quam phraſibus ac loquendi modis diſcrepare, & quandoque diverſas ideas iiſdem, nonnunquam eaſdem ideas diverſis vocibus deſignare. Reſpondiſſem citius, verum conſulto reſponſum diſtuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegiſſem. Eo jam perlecto, & cum epiſtola tua collato,

magis

magis magiſque obſervare videor, omnem qui inter nos apparet diſſenſum, non tam circa rem ipſam quam circa voces, ac diverſam ejuſdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phraſium mearum ſenſum recte percepiſſe videris, & ut, quicquid fortaſſe adhuc inter nos reſtat diſſenſus, paucis & in compendio comprehendi poſſit, *primo* ſenſum vocum ac phraſium quibus uſus ſum quanta poſſum perſpicuitate explicabo: *deinde* phraſibus claris & ambiguitati non obnoxiis ſententiam meam quanta poſſum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus conſentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat diſſenſus; utrumne ille in re ipſa, an vero in vocibus ac phraſibus, & diverſa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione conſiſtat. Ita puto, ſi fortaſſe nondum per omnia idem ſentiamus, brevi omnem diſſenſum ſublatum iri, nec veritatem ſincere eam quærentibus diu abſconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod ſit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, ego tecum agnoſco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam diſtinguo deſiderium quo ferimur in bonum abſens, neque id unquam ſub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnoſco hic me minus exacte locutum, & deſiderium à voluntate eſſe diſtinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui niſi quod tu ipſe in epiſtola tua dicis; *Multis ſimul intellectui obſervantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, hominem unum neglectis aliis ſibi proponere ut finem, & ut proſequendum: hoc facit voluntarie.* Hæc ergo electio eſt actio voluntatis: quando hanc ſibi electionem fecit homo, deſiderio ſuo fertur in bonum illud quod ſibi elegit; & voluntate ſua dirigit actiones ſuas, quibus ſe bonum deſideratum conſecuturum credit.

Vox *libertas* mihi deſignat dominium quod homo habet in actionem ſuam; quo nempe poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis poteſt agere & non agere: qui non eſt actionis ſuæ dominus, ſeu agere non poteſt quod vult, non eſt liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, ſine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ eſt interna mentis actio, ſit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem eſſe actionum noſtrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, niſi, actiones noſtras externas dirigi à volitione noſtra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, niſi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem deſtruit. Semel declaravi, credere me animam ſeu mentem immediate, abſque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotieſcunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo niſi potentiam ſeu facultatem ipſius animæ qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediate exercet. Et hanc ſignificationem te etiam admittere puto.

Supereſt ut dicam de *indifferentia*. De qua primo præmoneo, eam non eſſe noſtram, uti tu credis, id eſt, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adſcitam, ut pro ea tanquam neceſſario in hac quæſtione uſurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce uſi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem ſuam habet. In diſputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem ſtatuunt duas eſſe facultates realiter & ab anima & à ſe invicem diſtinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum ſententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut neceſſario velit quod intellectus illi præſcribit: atqui tum omnis actio neceſſaria eſt, quia omnis actio intellectus eſt neceſſaria: Aut non determinatur ab intellectu, ſed ſeipſam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis eſt bruta & irrationalis, quia ſupponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, ſed ſolummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, reſponderunt, radicem libertatis eſſe in intellectu; quia in intellectu eſt indifferentia, qua poteſt quodcunque objectum quod ſibi offertur apprehendere & dijudicare. Reſponderunt noſtri, eam eſſe tantum indifferentiam paſſivam, qualis eſt in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta ſibi occurrentia poteſt videre

eorum-

eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non poteſt, quin quod ſibi videndum proponitur videat: ſicut non poteſt intellectus quin quod ſibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æquæ graves militant rationes. Si vero libertas quæratur in indifferentia, oportere eam eſſe activam, qua homo dominium habet in ſuam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem *indifferentiæ* adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in diſputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, diſtinctionis cauſa addidimus vocem *activæ*, diximuſque libertatem conſiſtere in indifferentia activa, eamque reſidere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam à nobis eſſe excogitatam: ſed nos vocem ab aliis uſurpatam explicuiſſe, & additione vocis *activæ* ſignificationem illius explanatiorem reddidiſſe. Interim non nego, nos poſtea quandoque etiam illa in ſcriptis noſtris eſſe uſos, quia juxta explicationem noſtram accepta commodiſſima viſa fuit, & idem ſignificare cum phraſi antea à nobis uſurpata, dominium in actiones noſtras. Idque etiam conſtat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epiſtola dedi; quod ſit vis illa animi, qua poſitis omnibus ad agendum requiſitis poteſt agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil eſt, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem ſuam, ut poſſit prout ipſi placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requiſita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere eſſet irrationalis. Quando autem dico quod *poſſit agere & non agere*, mens mea non eſt, quod ſimul poſſit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, ſeu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium eſt; ſed quod potentia ad neutrum ſit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppoſitis poſſit eligere quodcunque ipſi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam ſe determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem ſuam ſiſtere poſſit, & ſe rurſus in partem oppoſitam determinare. Hoc eſt, quod dominium habet in ſuam actionem. Ubi hoc non poteſt non eſt liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abſtinet, non libere abſtinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manet, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia eſt ratio actionum internarum quæ ſola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur niſi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiſcit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiſcentia ſe oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiſcit & peccat, licet ea concupiſcentia intra ſolam delectationem moroſam, uti ſcholaſtici loquuntur, conſiſtat; ideoque ad ejus conſummationem ipſe externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per *brutum impetum* non intelligo actionem voluntatis ſine ulla præcedente cogitatione; ſic enim conciperem non hominem; ſed præcipitatam actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: ſicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu ſæpe abripi, ut hoc aut aliud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumſtantias, rationeſque ac argumenta quibus ad eam incitari aut ab ea deterreri poſſint, rite conſideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut, quando actio ipſi propoſita eſt, poſſit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumſtantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato conſilio agere: ejuſque libertatis unumquemque ſibi eſſe conſcium credo. Nec hoc omittendum per *indifferentiam*, me non intelligere ſtatum, in quo homo quaſi in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet quam in alteram; talis enim ſtatus indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur: ſemper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam, in actionibus præſertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut conſuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: ſed ſtatum in quo homo potentiam habet ſe determinandi in quamcunque oppoſitorum partem velit: licet enim magis ſit propenſus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem ſuam amiſit, ſed in alteram partem etiam ſe determinare poteſt. Verum quia vox *indifferentiæ* accipi poteſt pro ſtatu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinat, ſed plane in æquilibrio eſt conſtitutus, licet ille ſenſus directæ explicationi noſtræ adverſetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abſtinebo.

Ultimum

Ultimum intellectus judicium ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; ſed ibi diſtinguo ultimum judicium, quod ſit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis ſequitur vehementem concupiſcentiam carnalem, quam dictum rationis: utrumque eſt ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium eſt.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus uſus ſum, jam quanta poſſum brevitate & perſpicuitate ſententiam meam proponam. Eam his Theſibus comprehendo.

1. Homo eſt agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones ſuas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. Intellectus & voluntas non ſunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & à ſe invicem diſtinctæ; ſed anima per ſuam eſſentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, niſi deſiderio boni, aut ſenſu moleſtiæ ex abſentia boni deſiderati excitatus.

4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione ſua.

5. Judicium illud vel eſt prudens poſt adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen: vel eſt præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quam ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra ſuaſionem, hoc eſt eligibile, ſeu, hoc conſentaneum eſt eligere, hoc conſentaneum eſt rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis hoc minus eſt eligibile; inter fugienda, hoc magis hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium quo homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eſt ipſa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectione & volitione, & ad cujus conſummationem actus volendi concurrit.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus eſt merus intelligendi actus, eſt neceſſarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber eſt, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio eſt, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi, ſed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ ſola mente perficiuntur, libertas conſiſtit in libera mentis determinatione, qua actionem volendi vel elicere poteſt, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum conſummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem ſive potentiam faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, ſeu non faciendi, quod non vult: ſive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum uſum.

Ita paucis explicata ſententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos ſuperſit diſſenſus. Quando epiſtolam tuam confero cum *lib.* ii. *cap.* xxi. *de potentia*, videor mihi poſſe dicere, nos in quinque primis theſibus conſentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum eſſe diſſenſum. De ultima etiam nulla eſt inter nos controverſia, niſi forte quod tu libertatem in ſola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus collocare videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipſius voluntatis determinationem, ſeu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epiſtola tua ſcribis; quod homo fertur in bonum abſens, ſive finem; & quod multis ſimul intellectui obverſantibus bonis non ſubordinatis nec conſiſtentibus, homo unum neglectis aliis ſibi proponit ut finem, id eſt, ut proſequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis qua unum præ reliquis ſibi proponit ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem ſequitur deſiderium finis. Hactenus ergo conſentimus. Videamus quouſque in reliquis conſentiamus, & quis ſuperſit diſſenſus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: *Libertas apud me eſt poteſtas hominis agendi vel non agendi ſecundum ſuam voluntatem.* Quæ definitio mihi anguſta nimis eſſe videtur: & ſi ea agnoſcatur, tum certum eſt, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: ſicut certum eſt, animam

mam nunquam poſſe eſſe ſine cogitatione, ſi vera ſit definitio, anima eſt cogitatio. Imo ſi hæc genuina ſit definitio libertatis, fieri poſſet ut libertas conſiſteret cum ſumma neceſſitate. Ut mox oſtendam. Ego autem puto libertatem eſſe dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit ſecundum ſuam voluntatem, ſed & ad ipſum volendi actum, ſeu volitionem.

Quod ſextam & ſeptimam theſin attinet, neſcio quouſque in illis conſentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos ſit diſſenſus. In poſtrema mea epiſtola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epiſtola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus ſum quouſque hic mecum ſentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem judicium ſuum determinare, quia vult acquieſcere rationibus quas expendit: ſuſpendere autem judicium ſuum, quia nondum vult acquieſcere, ſed rationes aut exactius expendere; aut an ſint plures, quibus judicium ejus inclinare poſſit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi judicii, quo homo decernit hoc eſt eligendum aut faciendum, ſi non totam, maximam ſaltem partem, eſſe actionem volendi.

Octava Theſis, qua ſtatuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus eſt, eſſe neceſſarium, neſcio an inter nos controverſa ſit. Illam enim expreſſe aſſerere videris, *lib.* iv. *cap.* xiii. §. 2. & *cap.* xx. §. 16. At ea diſtinctius paulum explicanda eſt, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea ſit diſſenſus. Hic ergo obſervo, quod res quas intellectus percipit, ſunt vel mere theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus neceſſaria prorſus eſt: propoſita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus neceſſario aſſentitur, ſeu homo neceſſario eam percipit, illique aſſenſum præbet: propoſitis argumentis veriſimilibus tantum, homo neceſſario opinatur: propoſitis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, ſeu intellectus, neceſſario dubitat: omneſque hæ intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio eſt, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam neceſſaria eſt, pro rationum enim momento quas intellectus expendit, judicat quid convenientius, qui minus conveniens, quid ex uſu ſit facere, vel non facere. Hoc judicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: eſt enim illud imperium tantum ſuaſionis, cui voluntas poteſt non obtemperare, ſeu homo poteſt aliud velle; determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc eſt faciendum, eaque determinatio ſit vel juxta ſuaſionem intellectus, & tunc eſt rationalis; vel fieri poteſt contra eam, & tunc eſt irrationalis, hoc eſt, procedit ab affectu carnali, & ſuaſioni intellectus neutiquam auſcultat: vel etiam poteſt eſſe præceps & temeraria, ita ut maturum judicium antevertat. Hic videmur diſſentire: Dicis enim *hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus: actio enim volendi hoc aut illud, ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo judicat hoc & nunc illud eſſe melius.* Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine §. 71. dicti capitis. Sed tamen quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epiſtola, quod ſit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, ſiſtendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, & cum §. 47. *cap.* xxi. & aliquot anteced. & ſeqq. dubito an multum diſſentiamus, & an non magis diverſitas ſit in modo explicandi quam in re ipſa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoſcere libertatem quandam in judicando. Dicis enim illic, *liberum eſſe menti appetitionum ſuarum objecta conſiderare, eas introſpicere penitus, & utrum præponderet trutina diligenter examinare. In hoc libertas hominis conſiſtit:* & quæ ibi porro egregia habes. Addis mox: *indultam nobis poteſtatem voluntatem revocandi à proſecutione hujus aut illius appetitionis. Hic mihi videtur fons eſſe omnis libertatis*, &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam verſari in judicio formando, imo ibi eſſe libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non ſolummodo conſiſtere in potentia faciendi quod volumus: ſed etiam ante volitionis actum, imo ante judicium de actione ſua, hominem eſſe liberum & libertatem ſuam exercere. Solummodo diſcrimen inter nos eſſet, an judicium ultimum quo decernitur, non, hoc convenit facere, ſed, hoc eſt faciendum, ſit actio intelligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? & an libertas reſideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? ſive, an id quod in judicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum eſt, reſideat in intellectione an volitione? Si in eo

conſiſtat diſcrimen, puto facile ſententias noſtras conciliari poſſe: quamvis enim mihi perſpicuum videatur, libertatem reſidere in actione volendi, nihilque eſſe liberum, quin ſit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur poſſe diſſentire, quin facile ad conſenſum reducamur. Cum enim uterque ſtatuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non eſſe duas potentias realiter ab anima & à ſe invicem diſtinctas; ſed hominem, ſeu animam, immediate per ſuam eſſentiam intelligere ac velle, ſatis convenimus, quando uterque agnoſcimus judicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim adeſt potentia faciendi quod ultimum illud judicium libere à nobis determinatum dictat, & non faciendi, ſeu omittendi quod ultimo illo judicio non eſſe faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate, ſolummodo controvertitur, an illud judicium, quod homo libere format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, ſit actio intellectus, an voluntatis? ſic diſquireretur ſolummodo utra explicatio cum philoſophica ἀκριβείᾳ melius conciliari poſſet, in re ipſa autem foret conſenſus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus eſſe neceſſariam, & ultimum illud judicium practicum eſſe merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua ſit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, niſi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere poſſit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte obſervas, repugnant libertati: & quando noſtri juris ſumus ſemper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio ſit neceſſaria; omnia erunt neceſſaria: nam à principio neceſſario, hoc eſt, judicio intellectus determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones ſuas determinatus eſt; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata eſt. Atque ſic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret neceſſitas. Prolixior paullo fui; ſed prolixitatem, ut perſpicue mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte aut non plene percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me libere moneas & inſtruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice ſector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius quicquid tibi non probetur indicare poſſes. Ut vero plenius ſententiam noſtram percipias, ſuaderem ut legas brevem Epiſcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exſtat in Vol. I. Part. II. p. 198. Operum ejus; & Epiſtolam illius, qua judicium ſuum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito: quæ eſt IOLV. inter Epiſtolas noſtras Eccleſiaſticas & Theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profeciſſe gratus agnoſco. Lectionem ejus repetere ſtatui. Verum verſio Gallica multum Latinæ præſtat; eam ego ſubinde conſulo, quando Latina obſcurior eſt, ſive interpretis ſive typographi culpa. Quæ epiſtolæ tuæ incluſa ſunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, neſcio an in privatam meum uſum miſeris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto te ſententiam noſtram de indifferentia non recte percepiſſe, ideoque eam in hac epiſtola plenius & diſtinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, Vir ampliſſime. Uxor & filia te plurimum ſalvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officioſiſſimam dices D. Maſham totique familiæ.

Amſtelod. 11 *Oct.* 1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

GRatiſſimam epiſtolam tuam 11 Oct. datam legi relegique, & te auctore perlegi Epiſcopii tractatum de libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me ſentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum ſcriptis quicquam reprehendere: fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius diſſertatione & in tua epiſtola occurrere, quæ ſi coram tibi adeſſem, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perſpicere

ſpicere poſſem quomodo inter ſe & cum rei veritate conſiſtere poſſint. Sed ſi ſingula quæ in hoc argumento in aliorum ſcriptis ſuboriri poſſunt dubia perſequi velim, & penſiculatius ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epiſtola: nec meum eſt aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in ſcribendo nec aliorum ſententiam fugi, nec autoritatem ſecutus ſum) ſed ſolum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipſis perſpicere poſſum, rebus ipſis conformare. Hæc cauſa eſſe poteſt quod inconſultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in ſubjecto familiaribus non ſum uſus. Hoc mihi ignoſcendum poſtulo. Nec Epiſcopii acutiſſimi, cujus memoria ſumma apud me in veneratione eſt, mentionem hic feciſſem, niſi te ſuaſore tractatum ejus de libero arbitrio perlegiſſem quem tuum feciſti, tuamque per omnia ſententiam continere mihi notum feciſſes.

Hæc à me præfanda erant ne forſan videar aliorum ſcripta, qui me in hoc argumento præceſſerunt inſolenter nimis negligere, vel non ſatis eorum authoritati tribuere; quod à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & eſt & eſſe debet remotiſſimum. Fateor, ego non ſector nomina, ſed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice ſequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas quod me ubi errâſſe exiſtimas in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum quod in noviſſima hac tua epiſtola culpare videris, eſt mea definitio *libertatis* quam dicis *nimis eſſe anguſtam.* An tua laxior eſt quam illa, quam ego *lib.* 2. *c.* xxi. §. 8, & 12. tradidi, tum videbimus cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis *libertatem eſſe dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem,* hoc mihi non videtur eſſe definitio libertatis, quum nihil aliud dicit niſi hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem eſſe libertatem quam homo habet in quamcunque ſuam actionem; quo evenire poteſt ut nulla omnino ſit hominis libertas: ſcis enim eſſe aliquos qui negant hominem ullum in actiones ſuas habere dominium, ſed omnia præſtituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod ſi dicas te ſupponere hominem habere dominium in actiones ſuas, & in eo conſiſtere libertatem; tunc rogo quid ſit dominium hominis in actionis ſuas? *Dominium* enim, ſive ſit vox tralatitia, ſive ob aliquam aliam cauſam, mihi videtur æque ſi non magis obſcura quam vox Libertas, ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et ſic pergam rogando donec perventum erit ad ſimplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epiſtola quanta ſit vis conſuetudinis, & qua conſtantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris, & candide fateris, voluntatem eſſe animæ facultatem, & facultates non eſſe agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, *ſi mea definitio libertatis agnoſcatur, certum eſt libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati.* Voluntati enim nullo modo competere poteſt libertas, niſi pro agente agnoſcatur. Quippe agentium ſolummodo eſt libertas. Scio te Epiſcopii exemplo poſſe teipſum excuſare, qui in principio diſſertationis ſuæ ſtrenue rejiciens facultatum operationes ſubinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes quibus ſupponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam niſi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi faceſſes negotium, & tenebras ſæpiſſime tibi offundes.

Ad reliqua de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur reſponſio, rectius me & compendioſius ſatisfacturum credo, ſi aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inferam explicationes quibus animi mei ſenſum negligentius forſan vel obſcurius traditum clariorem reddam, adeo ut feſtinanti etiam, uti fit, lectori impoſterum pateat, modo quæ tradita ſunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cum tu attente perlegeris, & cum reliquis quæ in iſto capite expoſui contuleris, plene tibi ſatisfactum iri ſpero. Quod ſi quæ poſtea tibi remanſerint dubia, & aliqua reſtant quæ vel obſcura nimis, quorum te fugit ſenſus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus aſſenſum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem ſua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

Si qua ſunt in epiſtola tua ad quæ non ſatis diſtincte reſponſum à me credas, ignoſcas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad ſcribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam ſpero ex annexis explicationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perſpicuum tibi fore quid ad ſingulas dubitationes tuas reſpondi poſſit. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 19 *Nov.* 1701.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S.P.D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Epiſcopii de libero arbitrio tibi commendaverim, id eo fine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar; nihil minus: ſcio enim in ſincera veritatis inquiſitione nullam valere auctoritatem humanam, ſed tantum momenta rationum quibus veritas adſtruitur. Nec ego, licet Epiſcopii ſententiam approbem, vellem illius auctoritate conſtringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ ſalva principali veritate in dubium vocari poſſunt, admittam, nedum phraſibus ac loquendi formulis ab ipſo uſurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo cognoſceres, nos jam à multo tempore renuntiâſſe illi ſententiæ quæ ſtatuit animam intermediis facultatibus agere; ſed aſſeruiſſe tecum, animam immediate per ſeipſam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoſcere poſſes, quando communem loquendi uſum ſecuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis non intelligere facultates realiter ad anima diſtinctas; ſed ipſas intelligendi ac volendi actiones quas anima immediate ex ſeipſa elicit. Hoc ego etiam brevioribus verbis ſignificatum dedi in Theologia mea Chriſtiana *lib.* ii. *cap.* xxiii. §. 1, 2. Itaque ſi per incogitantiam ex inveterata conſuetudine mihi forte exciderit voluntatem eſſe liberam, rogo ut id meo ſenſu accipias, ac ſi dixiſſem actio volendi eſt libera, ſeu homo in elicienda actione volendi eſt liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, ſi tua libertatis definitio agnoſcatur, *certum eſt libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati*, hæc ſubſtituas, *certum eſt actionem volendi neutiquam eſſe liberam, ſeu hominem non libere velle.* Gratias interim tibi ago, quod inconſideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego annitar ut in poſterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitem, & ab inolita loquendi conſuetudine non abripiar; ne ulla in verbis meis ſit obſcuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox Dominii tibi explicatione indigere videtur, ſimplicius dico libertatem eſſe facultatem hominis actionem ſuam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum poteſt, non eſt liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcunque, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quaſcunque actiones non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi, ſed alterutrum tantum poteſt, hæ non ſunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc facultatem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberas voco: quando hac facultate homo deſtitutus eſt, libere nec vult, nec velle poteſt.

Utinam facultas eſſet coram tecum de omnibus his diſſerendi, & ex ore tuo pleniorem omnium circa quæ hæſito explanationem audiendi; meamque ſententiam, ac loquendi phraſes diſtincte explicandi, non dubito quin felicius totam hanc quæſtionem terminare poſſemus. Nunc etiam circa ea, quæ explicationis gratia addidiſti, hæſito, an ſtatuas judicium illud, quo formato non amplius in homine libertas eſt non volendi, ſit actio mera intelligendi, eaque intelligendi actio ſit libera vel neceſſaria: ſi in ea elicienda hominem liberum agnoſcas, non video quis inter nos, quoad ſummam rei, maneat diſſenſus. Sed coram poſſemus hæc diſtinctius & exactius expendere; idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia quanta fieri poteſt perſpicuitate nos explicemus, & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus. Nunc quoniam utriuſque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ miſiſti, ſemper

per quando de hac materia ago, conſulam, ne aut ipſe errem, aut aliis inconſiderata loquendi ratione errandi occaſionem præbeam. Vale, Vir ampliſſime. Salutat te uxor ac filia, omneſque proſperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoſo Domino Maſham gratulamur continuatam dignitatem: illi, ut & Dominæ Maſham totique familiæ, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amſtelod. 3 *Jan.* 1702.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

DE Valetudine ſatis conſtanti quod ſcribis maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis moleſta amplius non fuerit gaudeo. Quæ ad ſanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut ſperem te diu ab illo aliiſque morbis tutum & ſoſpitem futurum; præcipue ſi dictæ mediocritati venæ ſectionem, ſi plethoram vel ſentias vel metuas, quotieſcunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum ſi placet ad diu intermiſſa ſtudia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarij datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego ſtatuam hominem eſſe in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæſtionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas an actio volendi vel intelligendi ſit libera? Ad quam quæſtionem ſic reſpondeo:

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea ſententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber eſt, ſi ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abſtinuiſſe; ſi non, non.

2. Specialius, quoad voluntatem, aliqui ſunt caſus in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & in omnibus iſtis volendi actibus homo non eſt liber, quia non poteſt non agere. In cæteris ubi potuit velle vel non velle liber eſt.

3. Quoad actus intelligendi, in iſta voce *intelligendi* ſuſpicor latere amphibologiam, nam ſignificare poteſt actionem cogitandi de aliquo ſubjecto; & in iſto ſenſu homo plerumque liber eſt in iſtiuſmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. poſſum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præſentis ſæculi. In quibus omnibus & hujuſmodi aliis infinitis liber ſum, quia pro libitu meo poſſum de hoc vel illo cogitare vel non cogitare. Vel actus intelligendi poteſt ſumi pro ea actione qua percipio aliquid eſſe verum, & in hac actione intelligendi, V. g. quod tres anguli trianguli ſunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non eſt liber, qui excuſſa demonſtratione non poteſt non hoc intelligere. Homo poteſt plerumque non aperire oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum apertis & converſis ad ſolem vel lunam oculis, neceſſario videt & ſplendorem & figuram quæ ſe offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque eſt ratio. Sed de his hactenus. Si ſatisfactum tibi ſit gaudeo. Sin dubia reſtent utere libertate tua, ego paratus ſum & in his & in omnibus quantum in me eſt tibi obtemperare.

Oates 28 *Sept.* 1702.

Tui ſtudioſiſſimus,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

MUltis me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hactenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante ſeptem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi moleſtam ſenſi, ſine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ ſectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa moleſtia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intelligendi ac volendi ſcribis, tecum veriſſima agnoſco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus homo potuit abſtinuiſſe, eſſe liberum: minime vero ſi abſtinuiſſe non potuit.

2. Simi-

2. Similiter, quoſdam eſſe caſus, in quibus homo non poteſt non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi deſtitutus eſt. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipſo præſtandis, & ob quos non præſtitos pœnæ reus ſit, liberum credo, neque quemquam poſſe reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præſtitum actum ſibi minime poſſibilem, aut ob præſtitum ſibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum eſſe debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem eſſe liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem ſuam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc reſpectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici poſſe tecum agnoſco: Verum hæc actio, ſi accurate loqui velimus, proprie eſt actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes ſuas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vero actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit eſſe verum, eam recte dicis non eſſe liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis quæ philoſophi per ſolam intelligentiam cognoſci dicunt; ut, bis duo ſunt quatuor; idem non poteſt ſimul eſſe & non eſſe, &c. quam illis quæ excuſſa demonſtratione cognoſci optimè dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli eſſe æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere cenſeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res eſt obſcura aut dubia, & nullæ ſunt rationes eam evidenter probantes, aut pro utraque ſententia rationes ſunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo neceſſario aut ſuſpenſus eſt, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum aſſentitur, ita tamen ut falli poſſe ſe credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata ſit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima ſunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejuſmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri poſſe, quin & ſæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis diſtincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum aſſenſum, aut opinionem ſuam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut aſſenſus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, ſed volendi; quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illuſtratus judicium ſuum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus noſtros valde inclinare judicium noſtrum: itaque indulgendo affectui cuipiam qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & aſſenſum meum inclinare poſſum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi eſt actio, ſeu rem percipit, eſt neceſſaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum eſt procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus ſcilicet ego rationibus allatis acquieſcere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem noſtram eſſe, prout explicui in Theol. mea Chriſt. *lib.* v. *cap.* ix. §. 21, 22, 23. ibique plenius oſtendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide chriſtiana concurrunt: ſolummodo ex inveterata loquendi conſuetudine, uſus ſum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi deſigno, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram *lib.* ii. *cap.* xxiii. §. 1, 2. Hæc ſic diſtincte conſideranda exiſtimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam ſit dicenda ineſſe actioni intelligendi, dummodo conſtet hominem in actione illa liberum eſſe: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione ſe convertere in alteram. Diſtinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et ſic etiam ſimilitudo tua ab oculis deſumpta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale ſe oculis repræſentat neceſſario conſpicuunt: ſi in debita diſtantia oculis objiciatur, etiam neceſſario diſtincte videtur: ſi nimis remotum ſit, diſtincte videri non poteſt; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali diſtantia ipſi diſtincte appareat: ſed ſi diſtincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos conſentire: atque ita in ſumma rei nullum eſſe diſſenſum, licet forſitan in modo explicandi aliqua diſcrepantia ſit. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & ſalve ab uxore, filia, & me

Amſtelod. 27 *Oct.* 1702.

Tui amantiſſimo,
P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS *à* LIMBORCH *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

POſtquam afflicta tua valetudo, præſertim in extrema ſenectute, nos admodum de te ſollicitos habuit, tandem gratior paullo nuntius nos recreavit calore æſtatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil reſpirare, & meliuſcule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te conſecrâſti, ſtudiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ uſura frueris doctiſſimis tuis lucubrationibus orbi chriſtiano inſervire poſſis! Quæ tu concordiæ chriſtianæ jeciſti ſemina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur, gratæ poſteritati fructus ſuos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præſagiat, nihilominus quando ſervilia plurimorum,& pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia conſidero, ægre ſperare licet, eos depoſitis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac ſincero momenta rationum quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candide ceſſuros. Etiam reformatos, qui ſeſe opponendo Papatui nulla ſe humana auctoritate conſtringi velle aut poſſe, proteſtati ſunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, ſcriptaque humana majore quam par eſt in veneratione habere, actus ſingulis trienniis in patria noſtra repetitus, & cujus ſolennem repetitionem novellæ noſtrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum eſt omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria eſt quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipſa maxime diſpliceat, eam diſtinctius & cum præcipuis circumſtantiis deſcribam. Jam anno CIↃ IↃCXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut ſingulis trienniis acta authentica ſynodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ aſſervantur, à deputatis ordinum & eccleſiarum inſpiciantur: poſtquam deinde anno CIↃ IↃCXXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum verſio, juſſu ejuſdem ſynodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, à tranſlatoribus & reviſoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum aſſervatur, inſpici ſolet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati ſynodorum Hollandiæ Auſtralis & Borealis cœtum convocant ex omnium provinciarum eccleſiis, necnon ex eccleſia Walonica. Hi patres conſcripti ubi convenere, præſidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à paſtore loci, ſi cœtus membrum ſit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præſes & ſcriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta præleguntur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut ſcriptorum ſynodalium viſionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio ſuo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus ſtatuant, quin & per epiſtolam conſules Lugdunenſes præmoneant, & Collegii regentem, unius clavis cuſtodem, ut adſit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inſpiciendum autographa verſionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum conſtituta hora comparent in Ordd. Generalium camera ; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod eccleſiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod ſynodum ipſis conceſſerit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conſpexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inſpiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipſis concedat,ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipſis conſpiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conſpecta fuere. Poſtquam ſcripta inſpecta ſunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depoſitum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque ſincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Poſtridie Lugdunum proficiſcuntur, & à Magiſtratu in curiam adſciti authentica verſionis inſpiciunt. Hæc inſpectio ſimilibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præſide cœtus & ſcriba deputatis Ordinum & magiſtratus Lugdunenſis gratiæ aguntur, Hagam reverſi in actis ſcribunt, ſcripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata eſſe reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc eſt illa triennalis ſolennitas, viſioni ſcriptorum ſynodalium deſtinata, quam paullo diſtinctius, variiſque circumſtantiis veſtitam tibi ſcribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione ſynodi illius famoſæ reliquiæ hic aſſerventur, cognoſcas. Hæc ego excerpſi ex narratione cujuſdam miniſtri, qui ipſe

cœtus

cœtus illius membrum fuit, ſcripta inſpexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc hiſtoriolam ſcripto conſignavit. Cui etiam conſonant aliorum qui ſolemnitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantiſque ſumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inſpici. Ridenda hæc forent, ſi quorundam privatorum inconſiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda ſunt. Quid Gallica ſynodus nuperrime contra D. Clerici verſionem Gallicam Novi Teſtamenti ejuſque notas decreverit, quam frivolæ illius ſint criminationes, quam plene brevi ſcripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipſe tibi aut jam ſcripſit, aut brevi, ut credo, ſcripturus eſt. Hæc ſimiliaque quando conſidero, bonæ conſcientiæ ſtudio acquieſcendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefeſſo ſtudio unice litandum, laborumque noſtrorum benedictionem à ſolo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere poteſt, expectandum eſſe certus ſum. Illius te tutelæ commendo, illum oro ut omnia tibi largiatur fauſta ac ſalutaria, nec non honoratiſſimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Maſham, una cum digniſſima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D°. Coſte.

Amſtelod. Jun. 21. 1704.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO *à* LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE *S. P. D.*

Vir ampliſſime,

PUdet me ſane tam diuturni ſilentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine ſatis excuſatum credo, etiamſi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à ſcribendo aliquantulum detinuit ſatis ex ipſo morbo deſidioſum. Quorſum enim attinet te eruditioribus ſermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laborioſiſque verbis anhelum ſcriptorem redolentibus fatigare? Juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum etiamſi ſenio & morbo mutilum ad ſepulcrum uſque proſequi. Nihil ſane jucundius, nec eſt quod magis animum debilem & langueſcentem refocillat, quam conſtans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane inſipida ſunt & fruſtra ſollicitantur. Gratiſſimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epiſtolæ tuæ benevolentiæ & amicitiæ plenæ, nec quantum ex illis ſolatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, ſed ex voluptate quam profiteor, judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus eſt, hoc ſentientis grati & animi teſtimonium.

Etiamſi ſervilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate ſatis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi ſpes eſt de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex miſericordia ſua ſecundo filii ſui adventu reſtaurare eccleſiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit hiſtoria iſta quam in noviſſimis tuis perſcripſiſti. Actus ille triennalis cum omni ſuo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim ſuperſtitioſo, habet in ſe quod & ſtomachum & ſplenem moveat: certe cum omnibus ſuis circumſtantiis ita graphice depictus conſervari debet, etiam ubi commode fieri poteſt typis mandari & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obverſetur, & pudefiant qui ſic ſacris illudunt, Deique nomen ſacroſanctum, placitis inventiſque ſuis audacter præfigunt. Vitam tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in uſum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animitùs precor, uti & omnia proſpera tibi tuiſque. Optimam tuam fœminam filiamque reliquoſque amicos noſtros meo nomine rogo officioſiſſime ſalutes. Hæc tota familia te tuoſque ſalutat. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, & me ama

Oates, 4 *Auguſt.* 1704.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

FINIS.

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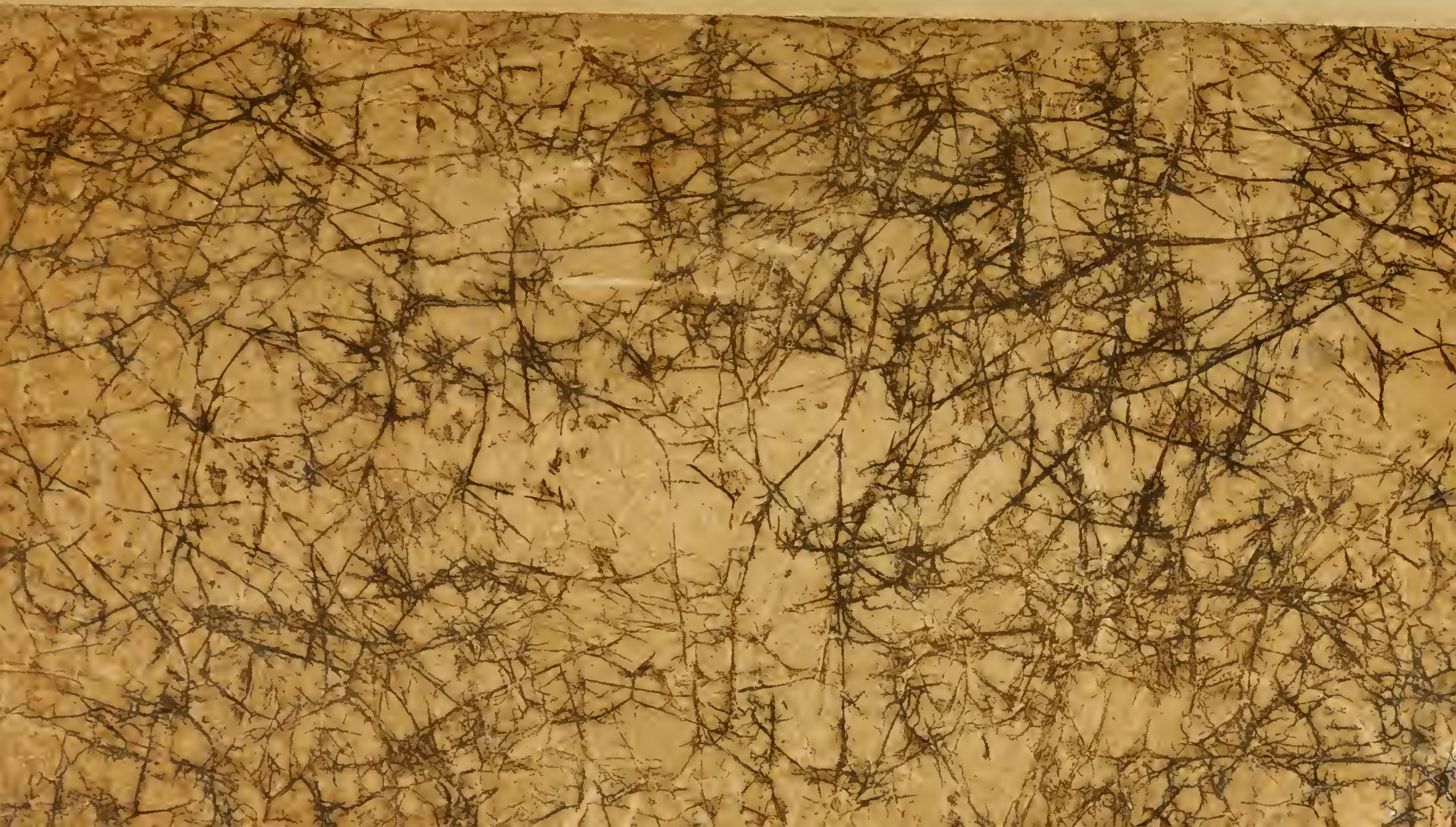
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